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A grammar of Awa Pit (Cuaiquer):
An indigenous language of south-western Colombia

by

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of

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This thesis is entirely my own work.

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Acknowledgements

For something which confidently states it is "entirely my own work", this thesis owes a great deal to many people, on two continents.

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Abstract

This thesis is a descriptive grammar of Awa Pit, previously known as Cuaiquer, an indigenous language of the Barbacoan family spoken in south-western Colombia and north-western Ecuador. The thesis concentrates on the variety of Awa Pit spoken in the settlements of Pialapí and Pueblo Viejo, in the Municipality of Ricaurte, Nariño in Colombia.

Chapter 1 gives a general introduction to the Awa and discusses previous research on Awa Pit, as well as describing the fieldwork for this thesis.

The phonetics and phonology of Awa Pit are described in chapter 2. Particular issues which have been problematic in earlier analyses of the sound system of Awa Pit are examined closely: the fricatives, [ɾ] as an allophone of /t/, the status of voiceless vowels, and the phone [e].

Chapter 3 begins the description of the syntax of Awa Pit, looking at issues which are definitionally important in the remainder of the thesis. After examining constituent order, the contrasts between main and subordinate clauses, finite and non-finite clauses, and complements and adjuncts are established. Following this the syntactic functions and grammatical relations of Awa Pit are discussed, and the various predicates types are illustrated.

After a survey of the word classes in chapter 4, together with a brief discussion of loan words, chapter 5 looks at noun phrases, postpositional phrases and Copula complements.

The following four chapters all deal mainly with verbs. Chapter 6 concentrates on verb stems and derivational processes, examining ambitransitivity, non-productive derivation including compound verbs, and productive verbal derivation, whether valency-increasing or valency-preserving. A survey of verb inflection is one of the major themes of chapter 7; however it also discusses number marking in verbs, which appears to be derivational rather than inflectional. In chapter 9, the various tense, aspect and mood inflections are discussed more fully.

Chapter 8 is an examination of one of the most interesting features of Awa Pit — the person-marking system. There is a binary division of 'person' in Awa Pit verbs into Locutor (first person in statements, second person in questions) and Non-locutor (second and third person in statements, first and second person in questions), with the split being quite similar to the conjunct/disjunct division found in some Tibeto-Burman languages. To complicate matters further, Awa Pit relies partly on grammatical relations, partly on semantic roles, and on a hierarchy (Locutor > Non-locutor) in determining which person marker to use in any situation.

After discussing verbs, complex sentences are examined. Complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses and clausal nominalizations — the four types of subordinate clause — are discussed in chapter 10, followed by an examination of complex non-subordinate phenomena in chapter 11: main–auxiliary structures, Serial Verbs, Conjoined Clauses, and juxtaposed clauses.

The interrogative and negative structures of Awa Pit, many of which are interrelated, are looked at in depth in chapter 12.

Chapter 13 examines adjuncts and adverbs in Awa Pit: temporal, circumstantial and locational adjuncts; manner adverbials; degree adverbs; and the structures used for comparison.

Finally the discourse particles are discussed in chapter 14. The majority of the chapter is dedicated to the Topic marker, which is very frequently used in Awa Pit, although the other particles are also examined.

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List of Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in glosses throughout this thesis.

.	Separates two meanings in portmanteau morpheme
:	Between words in a multi-word gloss
-	Separates morphemes
=	Separates clitics
( )	'Covert', unmarked meaning element
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
A	Transitive Subject (approximately); see section 3.5.1
ACC	Accusative case
ADD	Additive marker
ADJZR	Adjectivizer
AFTER	After marker
AND	Conjoined Clause marker
ANTER	Past Anterior auxiliary
AUG	Augmentative
CAUS	Causative
CNTRFC	Counterfactual marker
COLL	Collective action suffix
Comp	Comparative marker
COMP	Completive aspect
CONCESS	Concessive marker
CopComp	Copula complement
CPLTZR	Complementizer
DescrAdj	Descriptive adjective
DemAdj	Demonstrative adjective
DESID	Desiderative
DIM	Diminutive
DROP	Perfective Serial Verb *kway-*
DSPURP	Different-Subject purposive marker
DU	Dual
DUMMY	Dummy suffix (with the Desiderative)
EMPH	Emphasis marker
FUT	Future tense
GIVE	Perfective Serial Verb *ta-*

HELP	Auxiliative
HORT	Hortative
IMP	Imperative
IMPF	Imperfective aspect
IMPFPART	Imperfective Participle
INCEP	Inceptive aspect
INF	Infinitive
INTER	Interrogative marker
IRR	Irrealis mood
LEARN	Learnative
LOC	Locative postposition
LOCUT	Locutor person marker
NECESS	Necessitive mood
NEG	Negative
NEGADJZR	Negative Adjectivizer
NEGPOT	Negative Potential mood
NMLZR	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative case
NONFUT	Non-future tense
NONLOCUT	Non-locutor person marker
NP	Noun phrase
O	(Transitive) Object (approximately); see section 3.5.1
Obj, OBJ	Object
Obj2	Second Object
OBLIG	Obligative mood
PART	The non-finite form *wal*, perhaps a participle
PAST	Past tense
PFPART	Perfective Participle
PL	Plural
PLT:IMP	Polite Imperative
POSS	Possessive postposition
PossAdj	Possessive adjective
POT	Potential mood
PP	Postpositional phrase
PROHIB	Prohibitive
PROSP	Prospective aspect
Q	Question marker
Q:UNSURE	Tentative question marker
Quant	Quantifier
REST	Restrictive marker
S	Intransitive Subject (approximately); see section 3.5.1
SG	Singular
Subj, SUBJ	Subject
SV	Serial Verb marker
TEMP	Temporal marker

TERM	Terminative aspect
THROW	Perfective Serial Verb *kyan-*
TOP	Topic marker
UNDER	Undergoer
V	Verb
WHEN	Simultaneity marker

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Awa Pit is the traditional language of the Awa, an indigenous group who live in the border regions of Colombia and Ecuador in South America, between the Andes and the coast.

Throughout this thesis, the indigenous group will be referred to as the Awa (literally 'person' or 'people') and the language as Awa Pit ('people mouth' or 'people language'), as these terms are becoming more popular for both outside researchers and the Awa themselves. While the simple label Awa is generally sufficient, if those Awa who speak Awa Pit must distinguish themselves from other groups, they use the label *inkal awa* 'mountain people'. A more "traditional" label (for outside research purposes) for both the group and the language is Cuaiquer (Coaiquer, Cuayquer, Kwaiker, Kwayquer, etc.), and indeed this label appears to be the official designation of the group for the *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* (Colombian Journal of Anthropology), though they allow Awa in parentheses (Fernández 1989–90).

The Awa themselves generally only consider Cuaiquer as part of a place-name, the settlement of Cuaiquer Viejo. While it has sometimes been claimed that this is the "capital city" of the Awa (Ortiz 1938:557), Nuestra Señora de Cuaiquer (modern Cuaiquer Viejo, built on the River Güiza, formerly the River Cuaiquer) was founded around the year 1600 by Garcia Tulcanaza, a *cacique* ('chief') of the Pasto group who worked for the Spanish (Aragón 1974:69).

1.2 Physical environment and population

This section will give only a very general summary of the environment and material conditions in which the Awa live — for many more details, see especially Cerón Solarte (1986).

The Awa live in south-western Colombia and north-western Ecuador, on the western slopes of the Andes, between about 500 metres and 1 500 metres above sea level (Cerón Solarte 1986:13); to be more precise, in an area from approximately 78°45′ W to 77°45′ W longitude, and 1°45′ N to 1°00′ N latitude
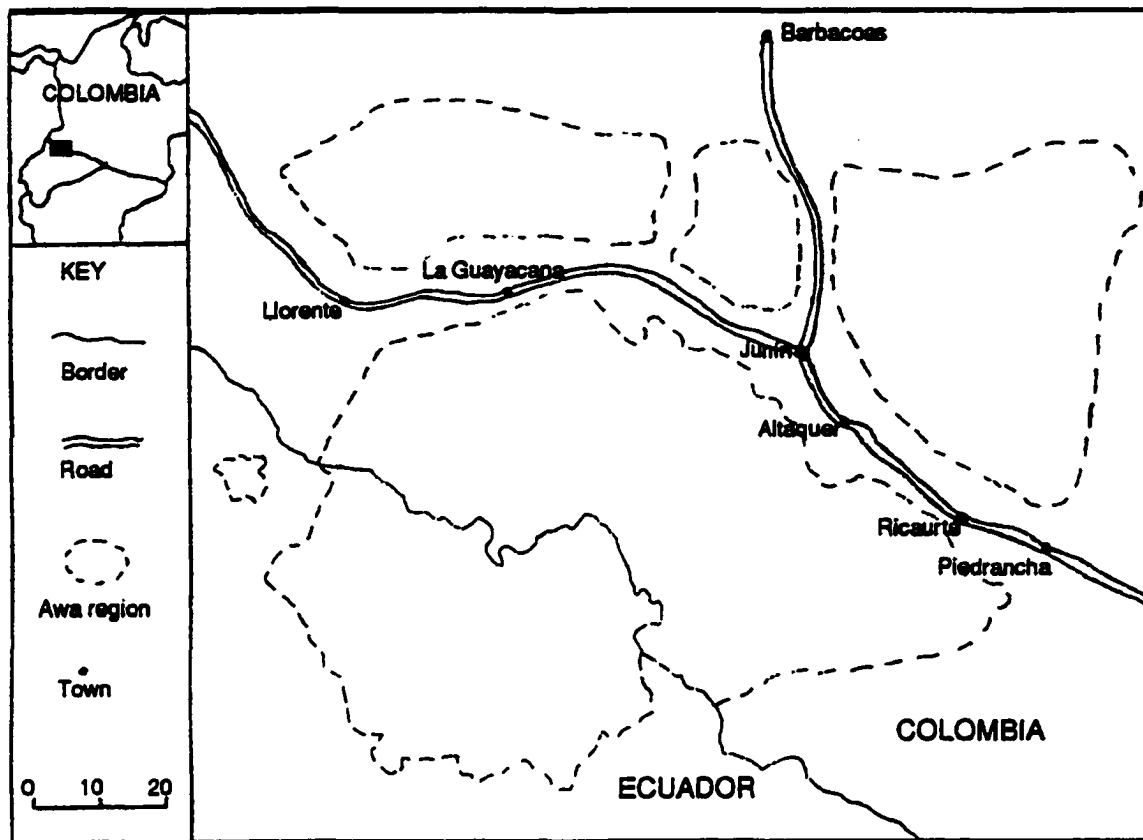
Figure 1.1: Map of the Awa region (based on Haug 1994:87)

(Martínez Santacruz 1992:8–9) — see Figure 1.1. The majority of the Awa live in the department of Nariño in Colombia, with some in the provinces of Carchi, Esmeraldas and Imbabura in Ecuador.

The fieldwork on which this study is based was carried out in 1994, in the settlements of Pialapí and Pueblo Viejo, in the area controlled by the Cabildo Integrado ('integrated local indigenous government') of Pialapí/Pueblo Viejo, in the municipality of Ricaurte, Nariño, Colombia. The Cabildo consists of a number of settlement areas around the settlements of Pialapí and Pueblo Viejo, which are on what is known locally as the "short path", a walking trail which connects Chucunés to Altaquer, both of which are on the Piedrancha–Junín stretch of the Pasto–Tumaco highway. The "short path" runs to the south-west of the highway (see Figure 1.2). The section of the trail from Chucunés to La Planada is gravel, and can be negotiated by car. The Cabildo of Pialapí/Pueblo Viejo is the most south-easterly modern settlement area of the Awa, and is relatively close to non-indigenous settlements, only about 5 or 6 hours walk from the Pasto–Tumaco highway. The Cabildo was formed in 1990; some of the region is in the Resguardo ('reservation') of Pialapí, officially constituted in 1993.

The physical environment in which the Awa live is extremely mountainous,
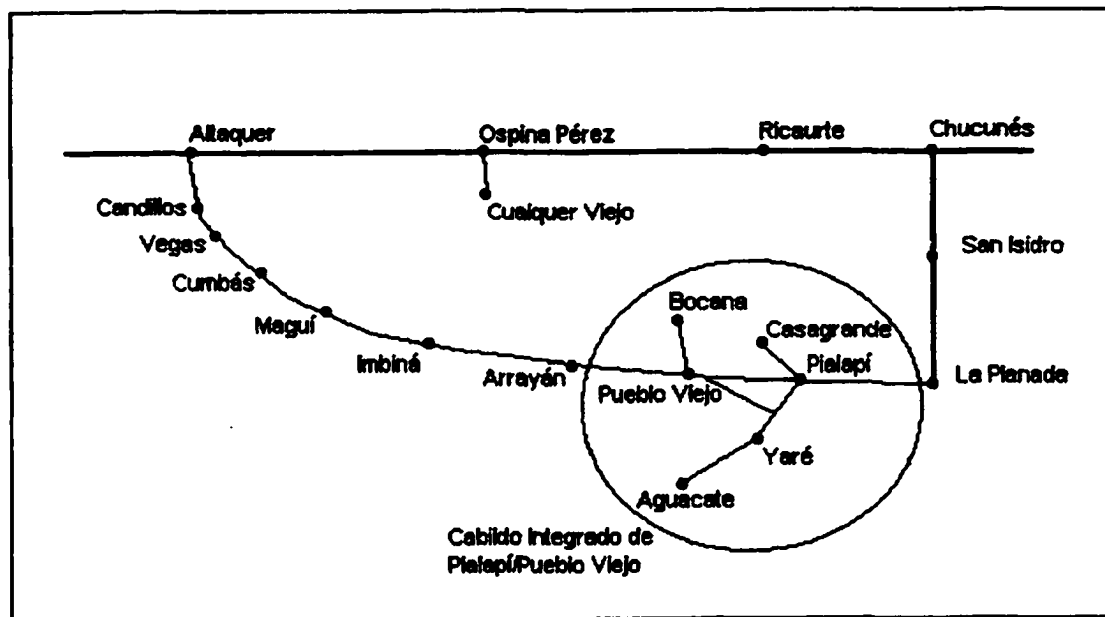
Figure 1.2: A schematic diagram of the "short path" and the Cabildo Integrado de Pialapí/Pueblo Viejo (not to scale, directions not precise)

and there is a very high rainfall, up to 7 or 8 metres annually. Access to the Awa areas is necessarily by foot or donkey, with only dirt tracks crossing the region.

The Awa are traditionally slash-and-mulch agriculturalists; the main crops are plantains (related to bananas), corn, sugarcane and beans. More recently, some Awa have begun clearing areas of jungle to pasture, and farming cattle.

The Awa do not live in villages, but rather in a scattered settlement pattern, with "neighbouring" houses often being 2 or 3 kilometres apart, and settlement regions being 3 to 8 hours walk from one another (Cerón Solarte 1986:13). In the region of Pialapí and Pueblo Viejo, the population density is higher than average, with the two settlements being only about an hour apart, and houses much closer together, although still usually 15 minutes or more apart. Few houses are built on the main trails, with most being at least 5 minutes, sometimes up to half an hour, off a main trail.

Often families will have a main house, but may own property at quite some distance also, and have a secondary house there. At particular times of the year, the entire family may move to the secondary house for a period of time in order to work the land surrounding it. Additionally, many families have huts on more distant parts of their properties, and various family members may live in these huts during particular points of the agricultural cycle — for example while clearing or planting an area, or during harvest.

The general inaccessibility of the region, the scattered settlement, the frequent shifting of abode, and also the "secrecy" of the Awa (discussed below) have all often made research with the Awa difficult, and it has been especially dif-

ficult to obtain accurate population figures. Cerón Solarte (1986:16–17) states
that there are 4 366 Awa in Colombia and 951 in Ecuador, with each settlement
being given a specific, listed population; Martínez Santacruz (1992) believes that
the population of Awa in Colombia is 6 549 (although she notes that only about
fifty percent of her census data is recent); based on surveys carried out by a vari-
ety of Colombian governmental agencies, Henriksen & Obando Ordóñez (1985:xii)
suggest an estimate of 20 000 for Colombia;[1] while based on an report of the Min-
isterio del Gobierno (Department of the Interior) from 1980, Telban (1988:337)
states that there are approximately 25 650 Awa.

1.3   Previous anthropological and social research

There have been three general discussion papers on the Awa produced for govern-
ments: Martínez et al. (1984) for the Colombian government; Carrasco Andrade,
Contreras Ponce, Espinoza V. & Moncayo Román (1984) for the Ecuadorian gov-
ernment; and more recently Martínez Santacruz (1992) for the Colombian Office
of Indigenous Affairs. These studies have as their aim a description of the current
situation of the Awa, to provide information around which the various govern-
mental and non-governmental organizations can base their programmes for the
Awa.

Apart from Cerón Solarte (1986), which is a general but detailed overview
of the Awa, dealing with geographical and environmental issues as well as social
and cultural issues, there are three other ethnographic works on the Awa which
deal more specifically with contact between the Awa and the mestizos (non-
indigenous Colombians), and the changes which have taken place in Awa culture
as a result of this. Aragón (1974) and Parra Rizo (1989) deal with the Colombian
Awa, in geographical and socio-cultural terms respectively. Ehrenreich (1989)
discusses the Awa in the Plan Grande of Ecuador, and is largely an ethnography,
or rather two ethnographies: by studying those Awa with lesser and greater
contact with mestizos, and around the time of the "discovery" of the Ecuadorian
Awa in 1974,[2] he is able to compare pre- and post-"discovery" Awa culture, and
examine the impact of the presence of various institutions on this culture.

In addition, there is a body of work produced by the British social an-
thropologist Ann Osborn. Based on fieldwork undertaken in the 1960s, Osborn
produced a general sketch of Awa culture (Osborn 1970), as well as studies
dealing with kinship and other aspects of social organization (Osborn 1969–
72, Osborn 1974), including the relationship of *compadrazgo* ("godparentship")
between the Awa and mestizos (Osborn 1991a). Osborn's later works were
based on fieldwork carried out for the Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Fa-
miliar (Colombian Institute for Family Welfare) and deal largely with health
and nutrition (for example Osborn & Melo 1991), although one of these studies

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[1]This is the figure used by Grimes (1996): 20 000 Awa in Colombia, 1 000 in Ecuador.

[2]That is, the official recognition of the Awa by the Ecuadorian state, with the consequent
influx of government services and church and other non-governmental organizations.

(Osborn 1991b), while ostensibly a study of Awa forms of child-rearing, is in fact an ethnographic study, drawing on Osborn's earlier fieldwork as well as the later.

The cultural practices of health among the Awa have also been studied by Kempf (in, for example, Kempf 1982), together with the impact integration into mainstream Ecuadorian society is having on these practices.

More recently health and indigenous medicine have also been the focus of study of Gloria Narváez, who spent over ten years working as a nurse in and with the Awa community, producing a number of studies of Awa culture and traditional medicine with different communities (Narváez Reyes & Awa Indigenous Community 1990, Narváez Reyes & Cabildo Cuchilla del Palmar 1992, Narváez Reyes & Cabildo Ramos-Mongón-Manchuria-Mirador 1992), as well as Narváez Reyes (1993), a more detailed study of traditional Awa medicine and how it can be incorporated into the educational system of the Awa, which has been reduced and published as Narváez Reyes (1994b); a briefer summary is given in Narváez Reyes (1994a).

Most recently, a study examining the social construction of space, kinship and power among the Awa has also been published (Haug 1994).

Perhaps the most important cultural aspect of the Awa for this study is the phenomenon of "secrecy" or "dissembling behaviour", discussed by Ehrenreich (1989:252–257). This phenomenon has been noted by all researchers, though the terms in which it is phrased vary greatly: ignorance by the Awa of their own culture; the Awa being ashamed of their culture;[3] or hiding their culture from outsiders. In her earliest work, Osborn described the phenomenon at a personal level:

> Quite apart from the demoralising effects of the mestizos and influences of other people before them on the Kwaiker, they are a difficult-to-get-on-with people, to say the least; they are reticent, hostile, insecure and dour.

(Osborn 1969–72:215)

Ehrenreich on the other hand discusses the same aspect of Awa life and interactions as a cultural attribute:

> La esencia y núcleo de su cultura están en conflicto directo con las metas y métodos de la investigación etnográfica. La cultura estimula el silencio, el secreto y el fingimiento como la quinta esencia de las respuestas a las indagaciones de los extraños y aún de otros Coaiquer.[4]

(Ehrenreich 1989:28–29)

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[3]The Awa themselves often describe it in these terms, saying that other Awa *tienen vergüenza* 'have shame'.

[4]"The essence and nucleus of their culture are in direct conflict with the goals and methods of ethnographic investigation. Their culture promotes silence, secrets and pretence as the quintessence of replies to the enquiries of outsiders and even of other Awa." (This and following translations are mine.)

Various authors believe that "secrecy" is a response to contact with the Spanish and mestizos, that the reaction of these

> ha creado una característica primordial en el Grupo [Awa] cual es la permanente evasión a establecer comunicación con interlocutores blancos y a ocultar sus manifestaciones de identidad cultural a tal punto que dejan una sensación de un Grupo que carece de lengua y de otros elementos de su cultura ...[5]

<div align="center">(Calvache Dueñas & Cerón Solarte 1988:14)</div>

However Ehrenreich (1989:252–257) believes that this phenomenon dates from pre-contact times, and his comment, quoted earlier, that this phenomenon applies to all strangers, whether white, mestizo or Awa, would appear to support this.

Equally relevant here is the non-sociability of the Awa. The pattern of settlement described above does not lend itself to an active "village" social life, and the cultural prohibition against travelling after dark further restricts this. While some community activity is now found, it is largely run through the schools (and normally only involves those Awa whose children are at school), and it would appear that, traditionally, Awa society was very similar to that of the Epena on the coast, where "social contact between the various Epena family groups of a community is limited to strictly business matters and community fiestas" (Harms 1994:3).

All of these cultural factors naturally lead one to question much of the early ethnographic and linguistic material, based on short-term fieldwork. As Pérez comments after a fairly recent short fieldwork experience with the Awa,

> Si en estos tiempos, en que dichos autóctonos mantienen contacto con los mestizos, no es posible obtener su confianza para una investigación, dudo de los resultados conseguidos por los autores citados por Jijón en aquellos tiempos de total aislamiento ...[6]

<div align="center">(Pérez T. 1980:6)</div>

It is unfortunate, but in early works it is often unclear what proportion of the information was based on direct observation, and what proportion based on discussion with the Awa, who were acting under the cultural rules of secrecy and evasion; nor indeed can we tell how much of the information was collected from discussions with mestizos, who while they may have a great deal of contact with the Awa, often have very incorrect ideas about the customs of the Awa, as Ehrenreich (1989:46) notes.

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[5]"has created a fundamental characteristic in the Awa, which is permanent flight from establishing communication with white interlocutors and hiding manifestations of cultural identity to such a point that they leave a feeling of a group who lack a language and other elements of their culture ..."

[6]"If in these times, in which the said indigenous people maintain contact with the mestizos, it is not possible to obtain their confidence for a research project, I doubt the results obtained by the authors cited by Jijón in those times of complete isolation ..."

The phenomenon of "secrecy" applies just as much to Awa Pit as to any other cultural issue. As a result of fieldwork in the mid-1940s, Lehmann notes that in dealings with mestizo villagers, the Awa

> parle espagnol, plus ou moins mal bien entendu. Il voudrait faire croire que l'espagnol est sa langue maternelle, car le fait de parler Kwaiker est pour lui une humiliation. Il le dit parfois lui-même: «J'en ai honte, c'est pourquoi je ne veux pas parler.» Ou bien il prétend qu'il est «cholo» [mestizo] ... Quand ils disent qu'ils sont «cholos», les Kwaiker cherchent à faire croire qu'ils ne parlent que l'espagnol.[7]

> (Lehmann 1963:268–269)

With regard to their language, Ehrenreich comments that among the Ecuadorian Awa, "pocos Coaiquer admitirán que ellos hablen otra cosa que no sea español"[8] (Ehrenreich 1989:31). And Osborn reflects on "secrecy" and Awa Pit as she sees it:

> Los Coaiquer son famosos entre las gentes curiosas y los científicos por su negación a hablar en otra lengua que no sea el español, y por su reticencia a dar información sobre su lengua, las razones de esto no son difíciles de entender, ellos no quieren ser conocidos como gentes extrañas, y ser considerados como distintos de los demás colombianos, y el lenguaje es el primer elemento cultural que distingue cualquier sociedad de otra. En las palabras de ellos "tiene vergüenza", la implicación es que ellos han sido objeto de ridículo y abuso por su lengua, pero la autora nunca ha observado mofa o abuso en este contexto.[9]

> (Osborn 1970:71)

This last comment, that Osborn never observed the mestizos ridiculing the Awa for using Awa Pit, is interesting. On the few occasions when I observed Awa Pit used in the presence of mestizos, the mestizos were fascinated, and rather than mocking, wanted to hear more (though this could, of course, have been

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[7]"speak Spanish, more or less badly, of course. They want it to be believed that Spanish is their mother tongue, because for them speaking Awa Pit is a humiliation. They themselves say from time to time: 'I am ashamed, that's why I don't want to speak'. Or else they claim that they are mestizos ... When they say that they are mestizos, the Awa want people to believe that they speak only Spanish."

[8]"few Awa will admit that they speak anything other than Spanish."

[9]"The Awa are famous among interested people and scientists for their refusal to speak in anything other than Spanish, and for their reticence in giving information about their language, the reasons for which are not hard to understand: they do not wish to be known as strange people, and be considered as different from other Colombians, and language is the first element of culture which distinguishes any society from another. In their words, they are 'ashamed', the implication being that they have been ridiculed and abused for their language, but the author has never observed mockery or abuse in this context."

related to my presence). What did occur is that any other Awa present, whether they spoke Awa Pit or not, burst into embarrassed giggles. However the older members of the community have assured me that when they were young, the Awa would go to town, and attempt to buy products such as salt from the mestizos using Awa Pit, whereupon the mestizos would call them "stupid Indians", tell them to stop speaking in that ugly way (*hablar feo*), and that they should speak "properly" (*hablar bien*), that is in Spanish. These last two terms are still used by a number of people in the community. Thus, if I was playing a recording of someone speaking in Awa Pit, I would sometimes be asked (in Spanish) "Who is that who is speaking ugly?"; and in recounting history, the Awa will often say "because in those times they couldn't speak properly". One of my informants, a fluent bilingual, occasionally used the expression *conversar al derecho* "speak the right way round", to refer to speaking in Spanish. Apparently one of the early mestizo teachers to enter the region put it even more strongly when she told the Awa that *hablaban caca* "they spoke shit".

1.4   Language classification

Much of the energy of early examinations of Awa Pit was directed into trying to discover the origins of the Awa through grouping their language together with other languages of Colombia and Ecuador. Perhaps the most pertinent comment about much of this work was made by Yolanda Martínez:

> El origen de los Awá se desconoce hasta el momento. No se cuenta con suficientes datos y estudios etnohistóricos, arqueológicos y lingüísticos que permitan esclarecerlo, aunque se han planteado muchas hipótesis al respeto.[10]

> (Martínez Santacruz 1992:8)

The majority of the comparative studies undertaken have been based on very small word lists collected by travellers through the region, and on studies of place names and personal names. The word lists used are normally some subset of those which appear in André (1884), Hidalgo (1913 [1894]), Gutiérrez (1920) and Caldas (1946), as well as the more substantial list collected by Pankeri specifically for Jijón y Caamaño (1941).

One problem with much of the early comparative work (where "comparative" is used in a broad sense; all these works are based on "inspection" rather than the comparative method) is the uncertainty of the existence of numerous groups or languages discussed in them. Thus the various authors are in a great deal of disagreement about whether, for example, groups such as the Telembís, Barbacoans, Sindaguas, Pastos, Mallas or Muellamueses are distinct groups (and/or languages), or simply alternate names for, or ancestors of, the Awa, known as

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[10]"The origin of the Awa remains unknown to this point. There are insufficient ethnohistorical, archæological and linguistic facts and studies to clarify it, although many hypotheses have been made."

Cuaiquers (in various spellings) throughout these documents. Paz y Miño perhaps takes the confusion further than most, claiming that the Cuaiquér were a subgroup of the Pastos (Paz y Miño 1946:160); but one page later in the same document that the Kuaikéres (note the spelling difference) were a subgroup of the Barbakóa group, one of the groups whose territory bordered on that of the Pastos (Paz y Miño 1946:161). As Jaramillo & Acosta Pinzón (1990:29) note, there is the further confusion that the term Cuaiquer could be used in historical documents to name a cultural group, the Awa, or as a term to refer to any people living along the Cuaiquer River (today known as the Güiza River).

Here I will only deal with the various classifications of the "Cuaiquer" (in whatever spelling), leaving aside whether these are identical with, a subgroup of, or descendants of the various other groups, except where this directly affects the classification of the Awa. The labels used to refer to indigenous languages and peoples is somewhat complex, as the original references are followed here; to simplify matters for the reader, the commonest label changes are the Cuaiquer (for Awa), and their language Cuaiquer (Awa Pit), the Colorado (Tsachila) and their language Colorado (Tsafiqui), and the Cayapa (Chachi) and their language Cayapa (Cha'palaachi).

Studies of place names have generally focussed on the ending *-ker*, which occurs in the place names Cuaiquer Viejo, Altaquer and Mayasquer in the actual territory of the Awa, as well as in many names of places in the Andes region, such as Yacanquer (near Pasto). While García Ortiz (1949:280) claims to have found an old Awa who, after offers of money and a great deal of *guarapo* (an alcoholic drink) revealed to him that Coaiquer is formed from two Awa Pit words, *coai* 'people' and *quer* 'force', although these words were no longer part of the current Awa Pit vocabulary, I suspect he was being misled. It is possible that the Awa in question had heard from an earlier researcher that *quer* meant 'people', since both Ortiz (1938) and Paz y Miño (1946) claim that it has this meaning in the now extinct Pasto language.[11] This has led some to link the Awa with the Pastos, although Ortiz (1938:557) thinks that Cuaiquer and Altaquer are Pasto names which "emigrated" to areas where Pasto was not spoken. Indeed as noted earlier, Cuaiquer Viejo and also Mayasquer were established by a Pasto chief. Altaquer was not, but oral tradition claims that Altaquer (which was founded at the end of the 19th century) was given this name when it was still only a resting-stop for travellers on the Pasto–Barbacoas road, after a huge tree at the location, of a species known in Spanish as *altaquer* (Parra Rizo & Virsano Bellow 1992:10–11).

Ortiz (1954) also analyzes the occurrence of many place names in *pi*, *al* and a variety of other monosyllables, which occur in Awa territory and in the Andes. It is quite unclear what meaning, if any, these monosyllables have in any language — Awa Pit, Pasto or any other.[12]

Turning now to language classifications, the earliest to include Awa Pit appears to be that of Brinton (1891:198–200), who includes the Cuaiquers as one

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[11]Alternatively, of course, the "Awa" in question may have been a speaker of Pasto.

[12]Apart from *pi*, which is Awa Pit *pii* 'river', and according to Ortiz has the same meaning in "a language in the Andes", presumably Guambiano.

of the eight groups in the Barbacoan linguistic stock, together with the Cayapas, Colorados, Barbacoas, Iscuandeses, Manivis, Sacchas and Telembís. He notes that André (1884) considers that the Cuaiquers speak Colorado (though he does not mention that André also claims that the Telembís speak Cuaiquer).

The first study to include this group as part of a wider classification is Beuchat & Rivet (1910). They use Brinton's classification of the Barbacoan group, and mix word lists of Awa Pit, Colorado and Cayapa to compare this group with the Paniquitan and Coconuco groups. On the basis of this comparison by inspection, they place Awa Pit in the Talamanca-Barbacoa subgroup of Chibchan. This classification, with minor variations, has survived through the majority of classifications to the present day.

Ortiz (1937:75) considers Kuaiker as in the Barbakóa group of "mixed languages", which also contains Sindagua, Moguex, Totoró, Kokonuko and Popayán. Kuaiker is a language "with vestiges of Mashakali". In his later classification (Ortiz 1965:135), Kwaiker remains in the Barbakóa group of mixed languages, but now accompanied by Kamsá (as well as Kayapa and Sáxchila/Colorado, though since these are spoken only in Ecuador, he does not deal with them directly in this work).

The most influential classification of the Chibchan languages is probably that of Jijón y Caamaño (1943). As far as Awa Pit is concerned, Coayquer turns up together with Cayapa and Colorado, following Beuchat & Rivet's (1910) classification, although the group is now called the "archaic or western group" of Chibchan, rather than Barbacoan. The influence of Jijón y Caamaño's classification (that is, Brinton's classification), both in this work and his earlier grammar of Coayquer (Jijón y Caamaño 1941), was such that authors such as Duque state with full confidence (although confusing languages and ethnic groups) that

> La lingüística comparada demuestra nexos indiscutibles entre el grupo Coaiquer de Nariño y el Cayapa-Colorado del Ecuador, ambos pertenecientes a la familia Macro-Chibcha.[13]

(Duque Gómez 1955:8)

Various recent works have also followed this classification. Thus Costales & Costales (1983:75–86) group the language of the Chachis and Zatchila as well as that of the Quijos together with Awa Pit in the Barbaco subgroup of the Shillipanu family (which also includes Cofán). Stark (1985:159) notes, unfortunately without references, that glottochronological calculations show that Cayapa-Colorado and Coaiquer separated around the year 50 BC. In his classification of American languages, Greenberg (1987:382) places Cuaiquer, Colorado, Cayapa and Cara together to form the Barbacoa subgroup of Nuclear Paezan, of Paezan, of Chibchan-Paezan, of Amerind. Obando Ordóñez (1992:38–45), using a Greenbergian approach based on a Swadesh word-list compiled from old sources, concludes that Awa Pit is related to Colorado and Cayapa, though the

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[13]"Comparative linguistics shows indisputable links between the Awa of Nariño and the Cayapa-Colorado of Ecuador, both belonging to the Macro-Chibchan family."

latter two are more closely related. He notes that the affiliation of this group to Chibchan is uncertain.

However there have been occasional dissenting voices — usually not proposing any other classification, but doubting the evidence on which conclusions have been based. This doubt extends from the most general to the most specific levels of classification. Thus various researchers have noted the deplorable lack of comparative work carried out in proposing general Latin American classifications, and consider that

> it is not an exaggeration to say that researchers working on native South American languages have been embarrassed by the dilapidated state of the classification schemes, at the same time as they are chagrined at seeing those schemes taken up uncritically by others [non-linguists].

(Urban & Sherzer 1988:294)

At the level of the inclusion of Barbacoan (Awa Pit, Tsafiqui and Cha'palaachi) in Macro-Chibchan, there are also doubts. Constenla, one of the few to have done any strictly comparative work on any of the Chibchan languages, notes, after a discussion of the literature referring to Macro-Chibchan, that

> las clasificaciones incluidas en las subsecciones precedentes en su mayor parte toman en cuenta lenguas o conjuntos de lenguas cuya relación con las consideradas como propiamente chibchas no está en absoluto comprobado.[14]

(Constenla Umaña 1985:164–165)

In his reconstruction of Proto Chibchan, Wheeler (1972) made very occasional use of South Barbacoan, reconstructed by Moore (1962) on the basis of Cayapa and Colorado. He notes that the level of lexical resemblance between these languages and Chibcha proper is very low, less than a ten percent correlation (Wheeler 1972:95). And for Adelaar, the comparative work of Constenla on Chibchan is conclusive:

> All these languages [Cayapa, Colorado and Cuaiquer] were formerly classified as Chibchan, but recent research (Constenla 1981) has shown the invalidity of that claim. A revised classification is needed. For the moment Guambiano seems to share a common origin with Cuaiquer and the Cayapa and Colorado languages of Ecuador.

(Adelaar 1991:66)

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[14]"the classifications included in the preceding subsections are largely taking into account languages or groups of languages whose relation with those properly considered Chibchan is totally unproven."

However even at the level of Barbacoan doubts have been expressed. After discussing the classification schemes of Jijón y Caamaño and others, Carrasco et al. consider that

> si bien esta clasificación se la ha venido manejando por muchísimos años, es conveniente tenerla más como marco de referencia mas no como lo final y correcto; sería conveniente estudiar comparativamente estos tres lenguas (Chapalachi, Tsifiqui [sic] y Kwaiker) como primer paso para esclarecer, reformar o sustentar de una manera más científica, lo anterior.[15]

> (Carrasco Andrade, Contreras Ponce, Espinoza V. & Moncayo Román 1984:8)

Until very recently, all comparisons of Awa Pit with Cayapa and Colorado have been based on inspection, and almost entirely on inspection of word-lists collected in the first half of the century by travellers and historians; at least in the case of the Awa Pit word-lists, these are very limited and contain a great number of errors. As Pérez says,

> Con escaso material como el de los autores consultados por Jijón y el mío, no es factible establecer conclusiones gramaticales ni lingüísticas ... Sería un atrevimiento concluir, con escaso vocabulario, que el Cuaiker pertenece a tal o cual familia lingüística.[16]

> (Pérez T. 1980:6–7)

Recently the suggestion has been made that the Awa language and people are a combination of a variety of languages and groups which previously existed in the region (Cerón Solarte 1987). However the linguistic evidence on which this is based is extremely weak. Citing evidence from West (1957), Cerón and Calvache note that

> algunos documentos de la audiencia de Quito del Siglo XVII afirman que los Nulpes, Panga, Guelmambí, Cuasminga, Chupa, Guapí y Boya usan dialectos poco diferenciados de una lengua común de la región.[17]

> (Cerón Solarte & Calvache Dueñas 1990:18)

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[15]"even though this classification has been used for many years, it is advisable to have it more as a reference point but not as the final and correct classification; it would be appropriate to make a comparative study of these three languages (Cha'palaachi, Tsafiqui and Awa Pit) as a first step in clarifying, reforming or supporting this classification, in a more scientific manner."

[16]"With scarce material like that of the authors consulted by Jijón and my own, it is not feasible to establish grammatical or linguistic conclusions ... It would be rash to conclude, on the basis of a small list of words, that Awa Pit belongs to this or that linguistic family."

[17]"some documents of the courts in Quito in the 17th century state that the Nulpes, Panga, Guelmambí, Cuasminga, Chupa, Guapí and Boya use little-differentiated dialects of a common language of the region."

As well as this conclusion being based on court documents, Calvache discussed the same hypothesis in an earlier work, supporting it with synchronic observations:

> ya se ha encontrado diferentes maneras de escribir y hablar el Kwaiker, por lo tanto, las palabras también varían en su significado, lo cual nos lleva a ratificar una vez más el supuesto ya enunciado de que aquellos proceden de varios Grupos indígenas precolombinos.[18]

(Calvache Dueñas 1987a:section 1-2)

But of course a variety of dialects is the natural situation of any language, especially in an area where communication between different communities is as difficult as it is in the Awa region, and hence the existence of the dialects mentioned in the above quotes, both in the 17th century and in the present day, in no way indicates that Awa Pit is a "reduction" of a variety of languages.

More recently there has been a strictly comparative study of Awa Pit and other Colombian and Ecuadorian languages. Curnow & Liddicoat (forthcoming) examine Awa Pit, Cha'palaachi (Cayapa), Tsafiqui (Colorado), Guambiano, Totoró and Paez, and show by reconstructing forty or fifty words, together with hypothesized sound changes, that the first five of these languages are apparently genetically related, but that Paez is related very distantly, if at all, to the others. Guambiano and Totoró are assigned to the North Barbacoan subfamily, Cha'palaachi and Tsafiqui to the South Barbacoan branch. Awa Pit is tentatively placed with a Guambiano–Totoró protolanguage in North Barbacoan, but this is not clear and Awa Pit may, in fact, form a separate Central Barbacoan subfamily.

This comparative work thus clearly places Awa Pit together with Guambiano and Totoró (in Colombia) and Cha'palaachi and Tsafiqui (in Ecuador) in the Barbacoan family. However the relationship between this family and any other remains to be established.

1.5 Previous linguistic research

Before the present investigation was undertaken, four main authors had written on Awa Pit from a synchronic point of view, although there had also been a number of meetings held to discuss the establishment of a Colombian–Ecuadorian bilingual–bicultural education programme, which necessarily involved discussion of the phonemic system of Awa Pit, in order to establish a unified orthography for the language.

Following an agreement between the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL; Instituto Lingüístico de Verano) and the Colombian government in 1962, in the late 1960s Lee and Lynne Henriksen arrived in Colombia to work with the Awa. The SIL have since published a variety of works on and in Awa Pit, sometimes

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[18]"different manners of writing and speaking Awa Pit have been found, and words also vary in their meanings, which brings support to the hypothesis mentioned earlier that they proceed from various pre-Columbian indigenous groups."

jointly with the Colombian Ministry of Government. While these include a series of readers in Awa Pit (Henriksen & Henriksen 1978) and a series of primers designed to teach the Awa to read and write in their own language (Henriksen & Henriksen 1986), they have included a number of more strictly linguistic publications: two papers on discourse (Henriksen & Levinsohn 1977, Henriksen 1978), a preliminary phonology (Henriksen & Henriksen 1979), and a short paper on various grammatical points (Henriksen 1985). More recently, a teaching grammar for non-Awa Pit speakers has also appeared (Henriksen & Obando Ordóñez 1985).

In the past eight years or so, two theses on aspects of Awa Pit have been produced, Calvache Dueñas (1989) and Obando Ordóñez (1992), the former at the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, the latter at the University of Texas at Austin. Both are essentially works on phonology, though both also contain some aspects of morphology and syntax. The two works have many disagreements between them, in some cases perhaps dialect differences, and there are also a number of inconsistencies within each work — a discussion of this will be postponed until the phonology chapter. A copy of the phonology and morphophonology sections of Calvache Dueñas (1989) also appear in Centro Experimental Piloto Nariño (1990) and Calvache Dueñas (1991).

The final author is Luis Montaluisa, working on the Awa Pit spoken in Ecuador, in contrast to the previous three authors who focus on Colombia. His phonology/orthography (Montaluisa Chasiquiza 1991) will also be discussed in the phonology chapter.

While none of the authors mentioned above refer directly to the phonology proposals of the others (although Montaluisa notes that his work involves the ideas of others as well as his own), Henriksen, Obando, Calvache and Montaluisa were all involved in the first meeting on the unification of the Awa Pit alphabet held on 17–21 May 1987 in La Planada, Colombia, and Montaluisa and Obando also participated in the second meeting on 30 May–3 June 1988 in Maldonado, Ecuador.

In both these meetings a variety of alternate phonemic systems were discussed, and internal inconsistencies and conflicts between the systems debated, so the authors of works published after these dates were aware of the ideas of the other participants. The major points of dispute, or areas where further clarification was felt to be needed, after the first meeting were: the vowel system (the existence or otherwise of phonemically voiceless, nasal and long vowels); the glottal stop; the existence of /ts/ and /r/; and possible consonant clusters /pj/, /pw/, /kw/, /tw/, and so on (First Binational Meeting 1987). The majority of these remained points of contention after the second meeting also (Second Binational Meeting 1988), although it was decided to adopt the suggested alphabet as experimental, to be tested in practice for a year. Between the two meetings a number of spectrograms were made to examine the existence and contexts of voiceless vowels in the language (Calderón Rivera, Trillos Amaya, Reina & R. de Montes 1987).

As far as I am aware, apart from general articles discussing the first (Calvache Dueñas 1987b) and second (Trillos Amaya 1988) meetings, the only

published result of these meetings to appear has been the Ecuadorian Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe's (1989) proposal for an experimental unified Awa Pit alphabet, which seems to be largely based on Montaluisa's work, though it takes into account a number of the issues raised during the binational meetings.

Contreras Ponce (1984) also gives a proposal for an alphabet for Awa Pit, however the phonological analysis on which this is based is highly dubious. For example, /p/ sometimes is realized as [p], sometimes as [β], both in intervocalic environments, with no indication of when it is one, when the other; and likewise for a number of other phonemes.

Beyond these works on phonology/orthography, almost nothing has been published on the morphology or syntax of Awa Pit, apart from the sketches of Henriksen mentioned above, and the brief sections in Calvache Dueñas (1989) and Obando Ordóñez (1992). These last two are both relatively short, and contain a number of serious disagreements between the two.

Some of the differences between analyses (although by no means all) could be related to dialect differences. It is clear that there are different dialects of Awa Pit, at least on the basis of pronunciation. For example the Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe (1989) suggests that orthographic s should be pronounced like a Spanish s ([s]) in words such as sun 'that'; in the dialect on which this study is based, /sun/ is pronounced [tsun], and there is some evidence that in some other regions it may be retroflex [ʂ] in this position (Obando Ordóñez 1992). Equally, there may be some syntactic and morphological differences between dialects, although lack of data clouds this issue — perhaps the only clear example is the difference between an apparently complex and obligatory number cross-referencing system in some dialects (Lee Henriksen, p.c.) and the much simpler optional system found in the data for this study (see section 7.3).

1.6   Origins and areal typology

One of the concerns which has perhaps plagued research on the Awa, and stopped references to them in works dealing with wider issues, is the problem of how to classify the Awa, culturally and geographically. Living as they do on the western slopes of the Andes mountains, down towards the Pacific coast, the Awa are not an Andean group, nor are they a group of the Amazon basin; but equally they are not a coastal group. The environment in which the Awa live is closest to that in which lowland, that is Amazonian, groups inhabit, in terms of being tropical and subtropical rainforest, with a very high rainfall; and indeed, Stark (1985) classifies the language of the Awa as a lowland language in her survey of "Indigenous languages of lowland Ecuador", although for most, 'lowlands' implies only the eastern side of the Andes (cf. Doris Payne 1990b:214). Discussing this classificatory problem, Ehrenreich (1989:46) proposes the label of an "inland culture" (tierra adentro), to distinguish the environment and culture of the Awa, Chachis and Tsachilas from Andean groups (tierra alta), coastal groups (costera) and Amazonian groups (tierra baja).

The geographical differentiation of inland groups from coastal and highland groups appears to be correlated with certain cultural differences also. Unfortunately, while various theories have been proposed over the years seeking the origin of the Awa in either the highlands or the coast (or even Central America or Polynesia), no archæological work has been carried out in the Awa region. The very little archæological research done near Awa territory appears to suggest that the peoples living on the borders of the current Awa area had a culture distinct from both the culture of the highlands and that of the coast. An analysis of archæological finds made on the western slopes of the Cumbal volcano and in Barbacoas shows that the ceramic types in this region were totally different from those found in the highlands and the coast (Jaramillo & Acosta Pinzón 1990:24). Of course, there is no evidence to link the Awa with finds in this area: they may well have arrived in the region from the coast or the highlands after these ceramics were produced.

The few aspects of Awa material culture which have been analyzed confuse the highlands–coast debate further, since some aspects link the Awa with one, some with the other. For example, traditional Awa music involves flutes, apparently originally a highlands instrument, and the marimba (a type of xylophone), used on the coast and usually believed to have been brought there by African slaves (Cerón Solarte 1986:168).

The entire living pattern of the Awa — housing style, dispersed settlement pattern, low frequency of social interaction — appears much more like the coastal Epena than highlands groups like the Quechua.

The current geographical distribution of the related Barbacoan languages is also somewhat unrevealing (see Figure 1.3). Guambiano and Totoró are currently spoken in the highlands of Colombia to the north of Awa Pit; but Tsafiqui and Cha'palaachi are spoken by "inland" groups, like Awa Pit. However there are further facts to be added to this geographical distribution.

The Guambianos and Totorós are currently found in the Andes highlands, and appear to have been there for quite some time, as they are completely surrounded by a traditionally war-like group, the Paez. This suggests that the Guambianos and Totorós are a "remnant" group, who have been encircled by the more recently arrived Paez.

While the Chachis (speakers of Cha'palaachi) and Tsachilas (speakers of Tsafiqui) currently live in inland Ecuador south of the Awa, both of these groups have traditions claiming that they lived earlier in the highlands, and the Chachis even "date many techniques and artifacts in terms of pre- and post-migration practices" (Murra 1963:278). Thus the Tsachilas claim to have had the volcanos Cotopaxi and Chimborazo (near Quito) in their territory (Karsten 1988 [1925]:56), while the Chachis lived near Ibarra further north, near the Colombia-Ecuador border (Barrett 1925:31), perhaps having moved there from near Quito (Vittadello 1988, vol.2:5).

Stark (1985:158–160) gives a possible scenario of migration for the Awa, Tsachila and Chachi peoples, as a result of invasion by another group, probably the Incas, and following post-Conquest contact with the Spanish. Her ac-
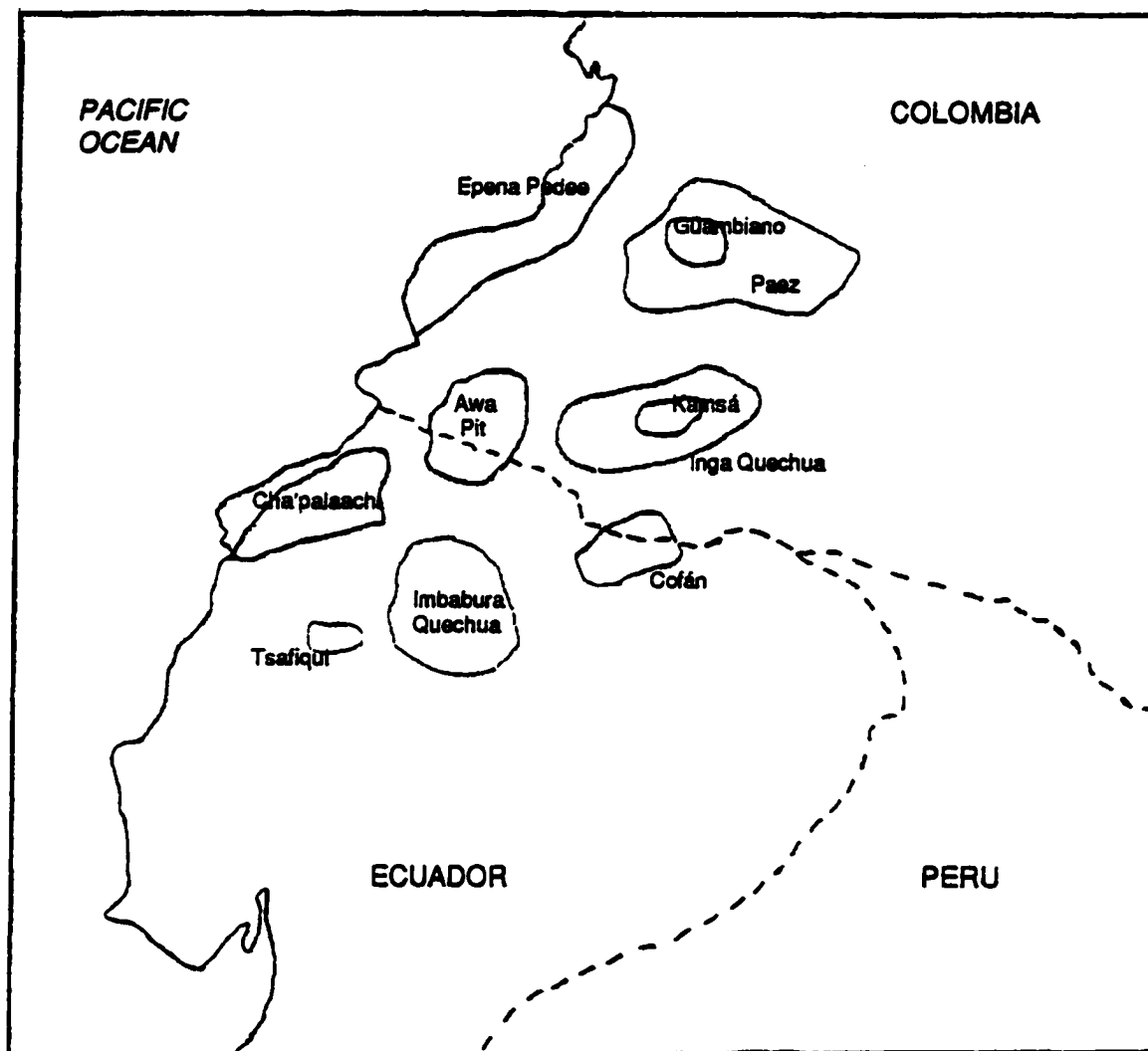
Figure 1.3: Indigenous languages of southern Colombia and northern Ecuador discussed in this work (based on Constenla Umaña 1991:70): Awa Pit, Tsafiqui, Cha'palaachi, Guambiano and Totoró (not shown, considered here a dialect of Guambiano) form the Barbacoan family of languages

count needs to be altered in the light of the relationship of these three languages with Guambiano and Totoró, perhaps pushing the boundary of the Barbacoan-speaking peoples much further to the north.

Typologically, Awa Pit also appears to be much more Andean than coastal or Amazonian. There are many typological similarities between all three groups, but certain differences. The closest Amazonian languages tend to have highly complex classifier systems (Doris Payne 1990b:220), completely absent from Awa Pit, and a much more polysynthetic structure (Doris Payne 1990b:214). While all languages in the region tend towards cliticized postpositions for case marking, there are relatively few postpositions in many Amazonian languages. Coastal languages such as Epena Pedee are ergative–absolutive (Harms 1994:9–10); while Awa Pit, Quechua and many languages on the Amazon side of the Andes are nominative–accusative and have similar case systems. Indeed, many of the case forms given by Levinsohn (1976) for Inga Quechua appear similar or identical to those of Awa Pit: an accusative and locative *ta*; a genitive *pa*; and a locative meaning encoded by *mal* in Awa Pit versus *ma* in Inga Quechua. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of lexical similarities, apart from a few words which are likely to be loans (Inga Quechua forms first): 'father' (*tayta*, *taytta*), 'cattle' (*huagra*, *wakata* [waɣara]), 'gun' (*illapa*, *iyaŋpa*), and so on.

1.7 Language death?

It is quite clear that not all members of the Awa indigenous group speak the traditional language — most are monolingual speakers of Spanish. Unsurprisingly, it also seems that those regions (such as the fieldwork site for this project) which are closer to non-indigenous areas have a lower percentage of speakers.

Given the uncertainty surrounding the number of Awa, with suggestions of between 5 317 and 25 650, together with the Awa cultural trait of secrecy, it is not surprising that exact numbers of speakers of Awa Pit are simply unavailable. The language is not accorded prestige in the community, and there are many

> dentro de los propios indígenas quienes desean que sus hijos no
> repitan la historia de explotación y marginamiento. Es decir, en su
> perspectiva ideológica se olvidó de su lengua nativa y el Castellano
> se presenta como clave del ascenso social, lo cual es comprensible
> ya que empíricamente el indígena así lo comprueba.[19]

> (Calvache Dueñas & Cerón Solarte 1988:11–12)

There are some figures available giving percentages of speakers of Awa Pit in different regions (Calvache Dueñas 1991:45), although it is unclear how accurate they are. These figures are based on schoolchildren and their parents,

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[19]"among the indigenous people themselves who don't want their children to repeat the history of exploitation and marginalization. That is to say, from their ideological perspective they have forgotten their native language and Spanish becomes the key to social progress, which is understandable given that the indigenous people have verified it themselves."

living in five different areas, and range from one area, where 0% of the children, 8% of fathers and 4% of mothers are bilingual, to the most strongly Awa Pit-speaking areas where 44% of children, 57% of fathers and 55% of mothers are bilingual. There is no evidence of any monolingual speakers of Awa Pit. The figures in this survey for Pialapí have 0% of children, 5% of fathers and 5% of mothers bilingual, which accords well with a survey carried out in 1994 by Lola Caguasango, the teacher in neighbouring Pueblo Viejo, which found that about 5% of the adult population spoke Awa Pit.

Of course these figures must be taken with extreme caution. While there appear to be no monolingual speakers of Awa Pit, it is clear that there are a few semi-speakers of both languages, and the criteria on which someone was assigned the status of 'bilingual' in the above survey is unknown. Osborn points out that:

> Los kwaiker que pueden hablar dos lenguas no son muy locuaces en ninguna de ellas. Sin embargo, quieren que sus niños aprendan español y se reservan su propio lenguaje (si es que lo conocen) para conversaciones íntimas con otros adultos. Existen casos extremos en este aspecto ... en los cuales los adultos no se saben expresar en ningún idioma en forma adecuada, ya sea por causa de matrimonios mixtos de sus padres (por ejemplo, con alguien que no hable kwaiker) o por represión cultural.[20]

(Osborn 1991b:193)

If non-fluent speakers have been included in the data above, the actual figures of speakers could be much fewer. Equally, it is not clear whether bilinguals are those who actually *speak* Awa Pit in some aspect of their daily lives, or simply those who feel that they *can* (but do not) speak Awa Pit.

Language loss within individual families appears to have been very sudden. The major informants for this study are all "former speakers": they state that they were monolingual in Awa Pit until the age of about 10, when they started going out to the non-indigenous town for purchases. The children of these speakers, however, have never learnt any Awa Pit. While speakers claim not to have known any Spanish before going to the town, this seems unlikely, as there are other members of the community in whose families the language loss appears to have occurred a generation or two earlier — while these Awa are of about the same age, none ever learnt Awa Pit as children. However the Awa Pit speakers are from the family which controls most land to the east of the Pialapí river, or the family with territory around Pueblo Viejo;[21] the family controlling the area between the two

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[20]"The Awa who can speak both languages are not very talkative in either. Nevertheless, they want their children to learn Spanish, and reserve their own language (if they know it) for intimate conversations with other adults. In this respect there are extreme cases ... in which adults cannot express themselves adequately in either language, whether it is because of a mixed marriage of their parents (for example, marrying someone who does not speak Awa Pit) or because of cultural repression."

[21]There are only small phonetic differences between the dialects of these different regions, and these will be noted below where relevant.

has (to my knowledge) no living speakers of Awa Pit (there has, of course, been intermarriage between the families), and perhaps this areal distribution accounts for the lack of contact with Spanish at an early age for some speakers.

1.8   Fieldwork and data collection

As mentioned above, the fieldwork for this study was carried out over about 10 months during 1994 in the settlements of Pialapí and Pueblo Viejo which are, to all intents and purposes, monolingual Spanish-speaking areas. While these conditions are not ideal for language study, various practical and political considerations made this area the only possibility.

Working in an area with fluent use of Awa Pit would obviously allow an examination of Awa Pit in contexts which was impossible in the present study. However there is evidence that the grammar of "former speakers" is in fact still viable. Reporting on a former speaker of Salvadorean Lenca, Campbell & Muntzel (1989:183–4) note that the speaker's phonological system was intact; and this is clearly the case with the Awa Pit informants, whose speech contained phonemes, allophones and combinations of phonemes not found in Spanish. The Lenca speaker's syntactic system was likewise fully viable, although the speaker's actual production consisted of simple constructions and phrases. This accords well with Mithun's (1989) experience with an Oklahoma Cayuga speaker. The speaker controlled the morphology, but tended not to use long combinations of morphemes, even when she controlled all the morphemes individually. Indeed, the most striking feature of the Oklahoma Cayuga speakers was "their complete retention of an amazingly complex morphological and phonological system, under such limited opportunities to use it" (Mithun 1989:257). In contrast to these other areas of grammar, discourse patterns seem to be lost relatively early by former speakers.

The present study involved work with five different male speakers of Awa Pit, with varying histories and fluency in Awa Pit. All informants traced their ancestry back, from two to four generations ago, to settlers from the region of Cuaiquer Viejo, Altaquer and Vegas, areas much closer to the Pasto–Tumaco highway. It would appear that the migration to current areas occurred at the time of increased settlement of the region around the highway by mestizo colonists, pushing the Awa out into the more inhospitable mountainous regions. Informants stated that the families moved into areas occupied by *indios bravos* 'savage indians', who were "less civilized" — for example, "they did not eat salt" — but did cultivate corn and were themselves speakers of Awa Pit.

The main informant for this study, E, was 54, and a resident of Pueblo Viejo. He lived alone, his monolingual Spanish-speaking wife having died quite some years before. It would seem that he never uses Awa Pit in his normal life.

A second informant, L, aged about 40, lived with two of his brothers in his sister's house in Pialapí, as did the sister and her grandchildren. The three men all admitted to being able to speak Awa Pit, although unfortunately the two other brothers both had speech defects. While his sister claimed initially to be unable to speak Awa Pit, and never "officially" changed from this status, she

was the only member of the community who ever greeted me (when meeting on a path) in Awa Pit rather than Spanish, when alone or with her granddaughter. The granddaughter, who was aged about 12, never spoke Awa Pit to me but appeared able to follow the limited Awa Pit interactions. This suggests that the family possibly speak some Awa Pit at home, although all are fully fluent Spanish speakers.

The third informant, T, nephew of L, was also probably in his early 40s, and had grown up monolingually in Awa Pit, but had a monolingual Spanish-speaking wife, and his children do not understand Awa Pit. While he does not speak Awa Pit in the community in Pialapí, he spent about five years living in Ecuador in his late teens and early 20s, and often interacted with other Awa Pit speakers there.

R, the fourth informant, was probably in his 70s or older, and was from outside the region, having grown up in Arrayán, the next settlement to the west from Pueblo Viejo. He had very little social contact with others, and lived with his deaf-mute son. He had a great deal of difficulty expressing himself in Spanish.

The final informant, A, who was in his early 30s, was only consulted with regard to a few points of phonology. Until the age of 5 he lived with his grandmother and spoke only Awa Pit. After this, however, he spoke only Spanish until his mid-20s, when he relearnt Awa Pit in a different area (some distance west). His input was important for aspects of the phonology, as he is literate in Spanish (though not in Awa Pit) and some of his spellings of Awa Pit words provide important data.

It was almost impossible to acquire narrative texts from any of the informants. The reasons for this are unclear, and could be related to any number of phenomena: lack of a story-telling tradition; the informants not especially good story-tellers; story-telling a social activity, and the lack of response on my part leading to stories not being able to be told; and so on. Two stories were recorded from L and one from E, however it was impossible to obtain more than a free translation of these entire narratives; and speakers were unwilling to repeat unclear sentences, leading to only a very rough transcription of these texts. Equally, informants refused to converse in Awa Pit with each other, at least in my presence (two were in fact not on speaking terms, and one was ostracized by everyone), even though they were aware that I was working with all individually. The reasons for this are once again unknown, although they may be similar to those of Mithun's (1989:245) Oklahoma Cayuga speaker, who enjoyed speaking Cayuga but often answered Cayuga questions in English, as she felt the other speaker was more correct, and worried that she might be making mistakes.

For these reasons, then, this thesis is essentially based on elicited material. At times speakers gave spontaneous utterances, and these have been relied on where possible; equally, while sentences in Awa Pit were sometimes offered to a speaker to accept or reject as grammatical utterances (and, indeed, were often rejected), in order to clarify some point, these have been relied on as little as possible to minimize the effect of speakers accepting incorrect utterances to please the researcher.

Chapter 2

Phonetics and phonology

2.1 Introduction

The phonetics and phonology of Awa Pit have been written about in a number of previous studies, either studies of phonetics or phonology per se, or as preparatory work for designing an orthography for the language. These studies include Calvache Dueñas (1989), Henriksen & Henriksen (1979), Montaluisa Chasiquiza (1991) and Obando Ordóñez (1992), as well as the discussion papers from the two binational meetings held to discuss the formation of a unified orthography for Awa Pit (First Binational Meeting 1987, Second Binational Meeting 1988). Reference will be made to the ideas from these works where appropriate throughout this chapter.

This chapter will give an overview of the phonetics and phonology, but clearly relies on the works listed above to some extent. Certain areas will be focussed on in greater depth, where there has been disagreement among the previous studies. These controversial areas are: whether there is a phoneme /r/ or whether it is an allophone of /t/; the number and distribution of fricatives and their allophones; palatal and velar nasals, and nasalized vowels; the sound [e]; and the phonological status of voiceless vowels.

2.2 Consonants

The suggested consonantal and glide phonemes of Awa Pit have been listed in Table 2.1.

2.2.1 Stops

There are three stop phonemes in Awa Pit: /p/, /t/ and /k/. In general terms, each of these phonemes has three allophones within a word (for sandhi phenomena, see section 2.2.1.2). After a voiced consonant and before a voiced phoneme (either a voiced vowel or a glide), the allophone is voiced; between voiced vowels or glides the allophone is voiced and fricativized; and in other positions the allophone used is a voiceless stop. However there is one major irregularity in this

	Labio-labial	Apico-dental	Apico-alveolar	Lamino-alveopalatal	Lamino-palatal	Dorso-velar
Stop	p	t				k
Voiceless fricative			s	ʃ		
Voiced fricative			z	ʒ		
Lateral fricative				ɬ		
Lateral approximant			l			
Nasal	m		n			ŋ
Glide	w				j	

Table 2.1: Consonant and glide phonemes of Awa Pit

pattern, and a number of additional allophones are in free variation with these three under certain circumstances.

Thus the most common allophones are:

$$
/p/ \rightarrow \begin{cases}
[b] & / & \underset{[\text{voiced}]}{C} \underline{\quad} \big[\text{voiced}\big] \\[2ex]
[\beta] & / & \underset{[\text{voiced}]}{V \text{ or } G} \underline{\quad} \underset{[\text{voiced}]}{V \text{ or } G} \\[2ex]
[p^w] & / & \underline{\quad} i \\[2ex]
[p] & & \text{elsewhere}
\end{cases}
$$

$$
/t/ \rightarrow \begin{cases}
[d] & / & \underset{[\text{voiced}]}{C} \underline{\quad} \big[\text{voiced}\big] \\[2ex]
[\mathrm{r}] & / & \underset{[\text{voiced}]}{V \text{ or } G} \underline{\quad} \underset{[\text{voiced}]}{V \text{ or } G} \\[2ex]
[t] & & \text{elsewhere}
\end{cases}
$$

$$/k/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [g] \quad / \quad \begin{matrix} C \\ [\text{voiced}] \end{matrix} \underline{\quad\quad} [\text{voiced}] \\[2em] [\gamma] \quad / \quad \begin{matrix} V \text{ or } G \\ [\text{voiced}] \end{matrix} \underline{\quad\quad} \begin{matrix} V \text{ or } G \\ [\text{voiced}] \end{matrix} \\[2em] [k] \quad\quad \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

It should be noted especially that between two vowels, /t/ is produced as [ɾ], not as [ð].[1] In broad terms, the analysis of the stops presented so far agrees with the four major previous works, except that Calvache Dueñas (1989) states that /t/ and /ɾ/ are separate phonemes, rather than the latter being an intervocalic allophone of the former. Her reasons for claiming this, and arguments against it, will be examined in sections 2.2.1.2 and 2.2.5.3. All four works also claim that between a voiced consonant and any vowel we find the voiced stop allophone; in fact, this only occurs (at least in the dialect represented in my data) before a *voiced* vowel. Before a voiceless vowel, we find the voiceless stop allophone: /kimpu/ is produced as [kɪmpu̥].

At the end of an utterance, there are two possible pronunciations for each stop. Either they are unreleased ([p˺], [t˺] and [k˺]), or else they have a nasal release ([pᵐ], [tⁿ] and [kᵑ]).[2]

The distribution of allophones is not quite so rigid as stated above. After a voiced fricative, there is free variation between a voiced stop and a voiced fricative allophone (in this case, [ð] for /t/) — [ɪʒbʊl]~[ɪʒβʊl] 'soul', [kazdila]~[kazðila] 'day after tomorrow'. Similarly, after a voiceless fricative there is free variation between a voiceless stop and a voiceless fricative allophone ([ɸ], [θ] and [x] respectively) — [ɪʃkamda]~[ɪʃxamda] 'snake sp.', [mayʃti]~[mayʃθi] 'machete'.

In addition there is one situation in which [ð] may appear rather than [ɾ] between two vowels. This occurs optionally if the speaker has produced an alveolar stop or fricative earlier in the word. Thus the sequence /kutnja-ta/ 'three-ACC' is pronounced as either [kutɲaɾa] or [kutɲaða].[3]

The phoneme /p/ also has a labialized allophone [pʷ] which occurs before the vowel /i/. This labialization also occurs with the bilabial nasal /m/.[4]

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[1][ɾ] as a phoneme of a dental stop is found in a variety of nearby Amazonian languages (Aikhenvald forthcoming).

[2]Compare the use of (somewhat different) forms of nasalization to indicate pauses in other South American languages (Aikhenvald 1996b).

[3]There is an additional complication with certain roots and suffixes containing the sequences /ata/ and /ati/. The word /kata-/ 'bring' has a variant /kaa-/; and the root /pjatis/ 'sugar cane' has a variant /pjas/. Other roots with the same sequence have not been found to vary. Likewise, as will be discussed in section 9.2.1, the Past tense marker /ti/ is often elided after the vowel /a/, whether this is part of the suffix or the root: /kata-ti-zi/ or /kata-zi/ and /ku-mtu-ati-zi/ or /ku-mtu-a-zi/.

[4]While phonetically this labialization cannot be distinguished from a phonetic [w] (that is, [pʷi] and [pwi] differ only in vowel quality), a superscript [w] will be used here to indicate it for two reasons: firstly to mark its non-phonemic status, but also because there is some suggestion that this labialization does not occur in all dialects of Awa Pit.

It should be noted that there is a great difference in the frequency of different intervocalic stops, and also an interesting morphophonemic rule. The phoneme /t/ is found intervocalically (as [ɾ]) in many words. The velar stop /k/ is found in intervocalic position in about ten words in the data, but it is not clear for many of these words that this is a historically intervocalic /k/. At least one of the words, *wakata* 'cattle', is a loan from Quechua; another, *piikam-* 'swim', is historically a verb root plus a suffix (*pii-kam-*); three other words (*kuku kizh-* 'bark (of dog)', *mukul* 'tórtula (bird sp.)' and *pwikuku* 'pabau (bird sp.)') are probably onomatopæic; the origins of the other words with intervocalic /k/ are unknown. The status of the intervocalic [β] allophone of /p/ is even less clear. It occurs in only seven words in the data. One of these is an obvious loan from Spanish — *wipu* 'egg', Spanish *huevo* [ueβo]. Four others are clearly or probably compounds in Awa Pit, with the first element ending in a vowel, the second beginning with /p/. This leaves two words with an intervocalic /p/ — *ilapa* 'old' and *tapayl* 'miserly'. In addition, all suffixes which begin with /p/ undergo a morphophonemic change to /w/ when following a vowel. This suggests that historically /p/ had an allophone [w] between vowels, but word-internally this was then synchronically analyzable as the phoneme /w/, leading to a stage where Awa Pit had no intervocalic /p/, with the few words containing an intervocalic /p/ having developed recently (either by the introduction of loans, through compounding, or in the case of *ilapa* and *tapayl* possibly from a "disappearing nasal"; see section 2.2.5.3).

2.2.1.1 Geminate stops

It is important to note that in words of two or more syllables it is possible to obtain a sequence of two stops in intervocalic position, with one stop being the final phoneme of the first syllable, the second stop being the first phoneme of the second syllable. When these two stops are distinct, there is nothing unusual in this sequence. However, when the two stops are identical, they can be pronounced as a geminate (delayed release) stop, or as a single stop sound. Even when pronounced as a single sound, the distinction between one phoneme and two is still maintained, however, as a single stop between vowels is produced as a voiced fricative (or [ɾ]). Thus there are distinctions such as:

(1)	/ittul/	[ɪt:ʊl] ~ [itʊl]	'avocado'
	/kwitu/	[kwiɾu]	'guinea-pig (loan, local Spanish)'
	/ippa/	[ɪp:a] ~ [ipa]	'lightning'
	/kipa-/	[kiβa-]	'swell'
	/kukku/	[kʊk:u] ~ [kuku]	'torch'
	/mukul/	[muɣʊl]	'tórtula (bird sp.)'

There are few words which contain geminate stops (about twelve in the data), and some of these are clearly loans (*shutta* 'hat' from Quechua), while others are probably compounds (for example many fruits end in *tul*; compare *ittul* 'avocado' with *tizhtul* 'lemon', where *tizh* is a word meaning 'sour').

An alternative analysis would consider that the stops found in intervocalic position in these words are allophones of a single stop with optional lengthening (that is, /t/ becomes [t] or [tː]). However this solution has been rejected for a number of reasons.

To begin with, it is clear that sequences of two identical stops can be pronounced either with delayed release as a geminate or else as a single stop. For example, the verb root *pat-* 'wash (clothes)' can be followed by the imperative suffix *ti*, and the resulting word *patti* is produced with either [tː] or [t] intervocalically.

Secondly, this analysis would require the introduction of three new phonemes to account for intervocalic [β], [ɾ] and [ɣ]. Additionally, two new morphophonemic rules would be required to explain the allomorphy of all suffixes beginning with /t/ and /k/, which would have allomorphs beginning with /ɾ/ and /ɣ/ after vowels.[5]

These factors, plus the low frequency of these sounds, the clear origin of some as two-stop sequences, and the necessity of two-stop sequences between vowels in any case (to account for non-homorganic stop clusters) lead to the analysis given here, that these intervocalic [p]~[pː], [t]~[tː] and [k]~[kː] are phonemically /pp/, /tt/ and /kk/ respectively.[6]

2.2.1.2 Stops and sandhi phenomena

Previous works (Calvache Dueñas 1989, Obando Ordóñez 1992, Henriksen & Henriksen 1979, Montaluisa Chasiquiza 1991) have only examined the phonology at the level of words, without examination of inter-word phonology. But the interactions which take place at word boundaries are of vital importance to the understanding of Awa Pit phonology, particularly stop and fricative phonemes, and can be used to resolve a number of issues, such as the existence or otherwise of the phoneme /r/.

The biggest difference between intra-word and inter-word allophony is that the former (discussed above) is obligatory, while the latter is always *optional* — speakers can pronounce words as they would in isolation, although in connected speech they usually do not. It might be thought that the allophony associated with connected speech would be similar to word-internal allophony, and in some cases it is, but in others it is not. That is, there are significant boundary phenomena in Awa Pit or, in somewhat outdated structuralist terms, the word break ('juncture') is an important "phoneme" in Awa Pit.

At the end of a phonological word, before a following vowel-initial word,

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[5]Although, of course, such a morphophonemic rule is necessary to explain the change of /p/ to /w/ in similar circumstances.

[6]It is perhaps worth noting that single intervocalic stops never occur adjacent to voiceless vowels. That is, while a word such as /attiʃ/ [atːɪ̥ʃ]~[atɪ̥ʃ] occurs, a word such as /atiʃ/ does not, in the analysis chosen here. It is clear that voicing and fricativizing of stops does not occur next to voiceless vowels in any case — /kimpɨ/ contains a [p] rather than the "expected" [b]. Thus [atɪ̥ʃ] could be analyzed as /atiʃ/. However the alternation between [t] and [tː] in words such as these leads to their analysis as containing a sequence /tt/.

a voiceless stop always remains as such. Sometimes the stop is geminated, as though the second word began with a homorganic stop:

(2)   /ap ajmpɪʃ/   [apajmpɪʃ] ~ [apːajmpɪʃ] 'my brother'
       /wat ampu/   [watambu] ~ [watːambu] 'good man'

At the beginning of a phonological word, after a word ending in a voiced consonant, a voiceless stop can be voiced, as occurs in the same environment word-internally:

(3)   /akkwan pija/   [akwanbija] 'much corn'
       /sun tɨm/   [tsʊndɨm]   'that basket'

The most interesting changes are those which occur word-initially after a voiced vowel. In this position a voiceless stop is voiced and fricativized, as occurs word-internally — however in the case of /t/, the result is [ð] rather than [ɾ], which occurs word-internally:

(4)   /maza tɨm/   [mazaðɨm]   'one basket'
       /maza kuʒu/   [mazaɣuʒu] 'one pig'

All other occurrences of voiceless stops at phonological word boundaries have the same form in isolation and in the same context within a phonological word, and no sandhi phenomena occur.

As mentioned earlier, one of the most serious disagreements in previous studies of Awa Pit phonology regards the status of [ɾ], as either an allophone of /t/, or as a separate phoneme /r/. Calvache Dueñas (1989) has taken the second analysis; the other authors (Henriksen & Henriksen 1979, Obando Ordóñez 1992, Montaluisa Chasiquiza 1991) have taken the former analysis. Calvache Dueñas introduces /r/ because of the contrast she observes between intervocalic [ð] (/t/ in her analysis) and [ɾ] (/r/ in her analysis) — her examples of intervocalic [ð] are [kwaðam] 'red' and [swaðaɾe] 'put over there'. The first example will be dealt with in section 2.2.5.3; however the second "word" is now explainable. The form given by Calvache Dueñas for 'put over there' is not, in fact, a single word, but two separate words:

(5)   *su=wa*   *ta-ti*
       there=in(approx)   put-IMP.SG
       'Put [it] over there.'

The [ð] is now expected, having been formed as a result of the application of sandhi rules.

Given this analysis, plus the account of [kwaðam] in section 2.2.5.3, [ɾ] can be considered simply as the allophone of /t/ found in intervocalic position.[7]

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[7]There is additional evidence that /t/ does not have a (general) intervocalic allophone [ð], which comes from the Spanish spoken by Awa Pit speakers who are imperfect bilinguals. While those who are fluently bilingual have no trouble with the sound system of Spanish, second-language speakers of Spanish have problems with a number of sounds in Spanish, and one of these is intervocalic /d/, pronounced [ð]. Words or names which contain an intervocalic /d/ in Spanish, such as /la planada/ [laplanaða], are produced by Awa Pit speakers as [lapɨlanaɾa]. If [ð] were an intervocalic allophone of /t/, as Calvache Dueñas claims, we might expect Awa Pit speakers to produce this sound correctly.

	[s]	[ts]	[ʃ]	[tʃ]	[z]	[dz]	[ʒ]	[dʒ]
initial	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-
final	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-
between vowels	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-
before voiceless C	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-
before voiced C	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-
after voiceless C	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-
after voiced C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓

Table 2.2: Environments of fricative and affricate allophones

2.2.2 Fricatives (and affricates)

There are a wide variety of fricative and affricate allophones in Awa Pit: [s] and [ts], [s̺] and [ts̺] (in some dialects), [ʃ] and [tʃ], [z] and (only in sandhi cases) [dz], [ʒ] and [dʒ]. These fricatives and affricates have been combined into phonemes in a number of ways.

Calvache Dueñas (1989) considers that there are six phonemes — /s/, /ts/, /z/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/ and /ʒ/[8] — with [dʒ] an allophone of /tʃ/, and all other allophones in contrastive distribution. More commonly there are four phonemes in the analysis — /s/, /z/, /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ — as in Henriksen & Henriksen (1979), Montaluisa Chasiquiza (1991) and Obando Ordóñez (1992), with /dʒ/ an allophone of /tʃ/, and [ʒ] divided up by different authors into /ʃ/, /tʃ/ and /z/ in different ways. The analysis suggested here is different again, although it relies on the above allophones being divided between four phonemes. Some of the variation in analyses may be dialect variation, but I believe that the majority of variation at least can be accounted for in one analysis. The allophonic data on which the analysis is based is given in Table 2.2.

To begin with, it is necessary to account for the distinction between [s] and [ts]. In my data, [ts] is found initially, between vowels (apparently), and after a voiceless consonant; [s] is found elsewhere, but also between vowels. While both [s] and [ts] are found intervocalically, a sequence [VtsV] can, of course, be treated as consisting of two syllables (the basic syllable structure of Awa Pit being (C)(G)V(G)(C), see section 2.5.1), with a syllable break between the [t] and the [s]. Then [ts] (realizing a single phoneme) is only used word-initially and after voiceless consonants, [s] elsewhere.

This analysis is given additional support from informant A, who reads and writes Spanish. At one point I wrote down matsuh for 'face'. With no comment from me, A stated that the word was [mat.tsɨ], separating out syllables, and claimed that there were "two ts" in the word.

This analysis of [s] and [ts] accords with Henriksen & Henriksen (1979:56), although they state that [ts] and [s] are in free variation initially (which may be

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[8]In fact, in all the works in question, the symbols š, č, ž and ǰ are used.

related to sandhi rules — see below). Obando Ordóñez (1992) makes no mention of [ts], but does note a retroflex allophone of /s/, [ʂ], in initial position, and this would appear to be dialectal. The pattern of [s] and [ts] allophony is also found in other South American languages — Wari' has [ts] and [s] (and [ʃ] and [ʧ]) as allophones of one phoneme (MacEachern, Kern & Ladefoged 1997:22), and some dialects of Barasano have an affricate [ts] rather than a fricative [s] (Jones & Jones 1991:10), for example.

However the analysis conflicts with Calvache Dueñas (1989). She states that there are two phonemes /s/ and /ts/ in contrastive distribution, giving examples /tsula/ [tsula] 'tooth' and /sun/ [sun] 'that', which begin with an identical sound in the data used here. It is of course possible that there is a dialect difference here — this would make Awa Pit similar to the Yanomami language Sanuma, where in Brazilian Sanuma /s/ and /ts/ are distinct phonemes, though hard to distinguish and carrying little functional load, while in Venezuelan Sanuma there is no distinction (Borgman 1990:220–221). An alternative possibility is related to sandhi phenomena discussed below, where after a word ending in a vowel, a word beginning with /s/ is pronounced with [s] rather than the [ts] it would have in isolation. Calvache Dueñas's data appears to be largely based on connected speech, and as such those words beginning with /s/ pronounced after a vowel would begin with [s], while others would begin with [ts]. Certainly in the dialect studied here speakers make no distinction in initial consonant between those words which Calvache Dueñas considers to begin with /ts/ and those which she claims begin with /s/.

Thus an analysis of intervocalic [ts] as a sequence /ts/ rather than a unit phoneme is supported by the data, and allows a collapsing of [s] and initial and post-consonantal [ts] into one phoneme; it additionally removes the necessity for very strong distributional restrictions on phonemes [s] and [ts].[9]

While all previous work has established a distinction between /ʃ/ and /ʧ/ (represented as /š/ and /č/), the parallelism between [s]–[ts] and [ʃ]–[ʧ] seen in Table 2.2 suggests treating [ʧ] as an allophone of [ʃ], with the same distributional conditions as [ts]. This analysis is supported once again by informant A, who when asked the word for 'white', wrote *putcha* and syllabified it as [put.ʧa]. As [pu.ʧa] would be an acceptable Spanish word, but [put.ʧa] is not, it would seem that what has previously been considered a single intervocalic phoneme /ʧ/ should in fact be considered as two. Once this is done, [ʃ] and [ʧ] are in complementary distribution.

Obando Ordóñez (1992) established /ʃ/ and /ʧ/ as separate phonemes, but gave no examples of an opposition between them; he also notes that /ʃ/ does not occur initially, and elsewhere that /ʧ/ does not occur finally. Calvache Dueñas (1989) does give initial contrasts for these phonemes, but once again all words

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[9] While the phoneme in question will be considered to be the fricative [s], it would be possible to consider that underlyingly it was an affricate /ts/, and likewise /ʧ/ rather than /ʃ/. This would create interesting parallels and differences between the stops (which fricativize and voice between vowels but remain stops word-finally) and the affricates (which fricativize between vowels and word-finally). It would, however, leave Awa Pit with at most one voiceless fricative (/ɬ/) but two voiced fricatives (/z/ and /ʒ/) and will not be followed here.

given are pronounced with [ʧ] in isolation and [ʃ] after a previous vowel-final word by speakers consulted, as was the case for [s] and [ts].

From Table 2.2, it can be seen that two more phonemes must be established, /z/ and /ʒ/, and these have limited distributions, never occurring initially or after a consonant.[10]

This leaves one allophone, [ʤ], unaccounted for — and this occurs in a position unique to it, after a voiced consonant and before a voiced vowel.[11] While it is perhaps most similar phonetically to /ʒ/, it will be treated here as an allophone of /ʃ/, for two reasons: the phoneme /ʃ/ does occur after another consonant (as [tʃ]), while there is little evidence of /z/ or /ʒ/ occurring in this position; and the phoneme /ʃ/ has an allophone [ʤ] in any case, as a result of sandhi.

Thus the word-internal distribution of the fricatives and affricates is:

$$
/s/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [ts] & / \quad \# \underline{\quad}, \quad \underset{\text{[voiceless]}}{C} \underline{\quad}, \quad \underset{\text{[voiced]}}{C} \underline{\quad} \underset{\text{[voiceless]}}{V} \\[2ex] [s] & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}
$$

$$
/ʃ/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [ʧ] & / \quad \# \underline{\quad}, \quad \underset{\text{[voiceless]}}{C} \underline{\quad}, \quad \underset{\text{[voiced]}}{C} \underline{\quad} \underset{\text{[voiceless]}}{V} \\[2ex] [ʤ] & / \quad \underset{\text{[voiced]}}{C} \underline{\quad} \underset{\text{[voiced]}}{V} \\[2ex] [ʃ] & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}
$$

$$/z/ \rightarrow [z]$$

$$/ʒ/ \rightarrow [ʒ]$$

As with the voiceless stops, the voiceless fricatives can demonstrate sandhi when they occur word-initially. Following a word ending in a voiced stop, /s/ and /ʃ/ can be produced as [dz] and [ʤ] respectively. Following a vowel-final word, there are three possibilities, aside from the usual word-initial affricates [ts] and [ʧ]: they may be simple voiceless fricatives [s] and [ʃ]; voiced fricatives [z] and [ʒ]; or voiced affricates [dz] and [ʤ]. While the voiced fricative realizations are those of other phonemes, /z/ and /ʒ/, it is worth noting that there is no possibility of ambiguity, at least in one sense, as no words begin with voiced fricatives.

Indeed the distribution of all of the fricatives is slightly unusual. The system itself is clearly odd — a voicing distinction in fricatives would normally be accompanied by a voicing distinction in the stops, which are all voiceless in Awa Pit. Equally, Lass (1984:154) states that the number of fricatives in a language is unlikely to be greater than the number of stops. In Awa Pit the

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[10]Except in the imperative verb suffix *zha*.

[11]It might be expected that there would be a corresponding allophone [dz] occurring in the same environment. However this allophone was not found (except in sandhi cases).

number of fricative *places* is less than the number of stop places, but because of
the voicing contrast there are more fricatives in total.[12]

The phonemes /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ have an "affinity" for /i/, /ɨ/ and /j/ — they
are found in other environments, but there is often one of these vowels or glides
around, and indeed some words seem to have introduced (or possibly lost) a
glide adjacent to one of these fricatives; for example, [paʃpa] and [pajʃpa] are
both possible pronunciations for 'child'. In the reverse situation, /z/ is never
found near high vowels, and /s/ appears next to /i/ in only a few suffixes. This
suggests that /ʒ/, at least, may have developed from /z/, as there are only
about ten words with /ʒ/ not accompanied by a high vowel or palatal glide —
at least one of those words is a loan from Quechua (/kuʒu/ 'pig'), and, given
the lack of mirrors in traditional Awa society, /maʒa/ 'mirror' is also possibly
a loan. It is also interesting to note the informal term for a woman's sister,
/aʒa/, compared with the formal term, [ajʃ-pɨʃ]: there is normally a fairly direct
relationship between the initial segment of the formal term and the informal
term.

2.2.3   Voiceless lateral fricative

The dialect of Awa Pit examined in this study has a voiceless lateral fricative
/ɬ/, with allophones [h] and [ɬ], the former being used before /u/ and /ʉ/, and
also sometimes adjacent to other voiceless vowels, the latter used elsewhere:

$$
/ɬ/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{[h]} & / \quad \underline{\quad} \text{u, ʉ} \\[2ex] \text{[ɬ] } \sim \text{ [h]} & / \quad \text{i̥, ɨ̥} \underline{\quad} , \quad \underline{\quad} \text{i̥, ɨ̥} \\[2ex] \text{[ɬ]} & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}
$$

This phoneme corresponds to the phoneme /h/ or /x/ in previous works.
The allophones of this phoneme appear to be strongly variable across dialects:
Calvache Dueñas (1989:45–46) lists [x], [ç] and [h] as allophones of /h/; while
Obando Ordóñez (1992:77–78) has [ç] and [x] as allophones of /x/; Montalu-
isa Chasiquiza (1991:29) has [h] as the only allophone of /h/; and Henriksen
& Henriksen (1979:57) have [x] and [ɬ] as allophones of /x/, while a separate
phoneme /h/ has an allophone of [h]. In the dialect studied here it makes most
sense to consider the phoneme as /ɬ/, as the allophone with the least restricted
distribution, but it would appear that for most dialects of Awa Pit the phoneme
would be better considered as /x/, or perhaps /h/, as [ɬ] is not even an allophone
in those dialects. However if /ɬ/ is considered as the basic allophone, the dis-
tribution of the allophone [h] in this dialect is phonetically plausible — before a
back vowel, the fricative assimilates backness; associated with a voiceless vowel,
the fricative varies with one requiring the least articulatory effort.

---

[12]This is at least true in those dialects with an additional velar/glottal fricative, where there
are three stops versus five fricatives. In the dialect studied here, the velar/glottal fricative is
better analyzed as a lateral fricative — and Lass (1984:156) considers this a stop. However
distributionally it appears to pattern with the lateral approximant or the fricatives.

The correct phonemic grouping of /ɬ/ is somewhat difficult. Distribution-ally, /ɬ/ has exactly the same possibilities as the lateral /l/ and could perhaps be considered as its voiceless counterpart: it does not occur initially, nor after a consonant. This is also the distribution of the voiced fricatives. If /ɬ/ is grouped with the (voiceless) fricatives instead, it is possible to predict a higher number of occurrences of voiceless vowels (see below); however /ɬ/ does have a greatly restricted distribution compared with /s/ and /ʃ/.[13]

There also appears to be some sort of relationship (probably dialectal) between [ɬ] and [t] after a voiceless vowel in a few words. There are three words where one of my informants, R, has [ɬ] while the others have [t] (recalling that [tː] is /tt/):

(6)   [kɪ̥tːʊs] ~ [kɪ̥ɬtʊs]   'making (a bed)'
      [pʷɪ̥tːʊs] ~ [pʷɪ̥ɬtʊs]   'plucking'
      [tʃɪ̥t] ~ [tʃɪ̥ɬ]   '(noise made by a) grasshopper'

In the first two words it appears that it would be possible to claim assimilation of the /ɬ/ to a following /t/. That this is not the case can be seen by the third word, and by using the first verbs in different aspects, for example [pʷɪ̥tnɪmaro]~[pʷɪ̥ɬnɪmaro] 'going to pluck', where there is no /t/ to trigger the assimilation. It seems necessary to consider that for speakers who say the second option, the verb root is /kɪɬ-/, while for speakers who use the first it is /kɪt-/, and similarly for the other words. This result will become extremely important in the discussion of voiceless vowels in section 2.4.2.

2.2.4   Lateral approximant

The lateral approximant /l/ has a number of allophones, many in free variation. After /i/ and /j/ the lateral is palatalized to [ʎ], although for some speakers this is in free variation with [ᵈl]; before consonants and word-finally it is often prestopped or even produced as the stop [d]; and after a non-front vowel it is often produced as prestopped, occasionally as [d]. Thus:

$$
/l/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [\Lambda] \sim [^{d}l] & / \quad \begin{Bmatrix} i \\ j \end{Bmatrix} \underline{\quad} \\ [l] \sim [^{d}l] \sim [d] & / \quad \underline{\quad} C, \underline{\quad} \# \\ [l] \sim [^{d}l] & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}
$$

The precise frequency of the various allophones in free variation depends very much upon the speaker — some of my informants almost never used [l], while others used [l] almost exclusively in word-lists (although they also used [ᵈl] in connected speech).

---

[13]Unless of course the analysis separates /s/ and /ts/ as distinct phonemes, and also separates /ʃ/ and /tʃ/, in which case the distributions of /s/, /ʃ/ and /ɬ/ are identical.

2.2.5 Nasals

Certain aspects of the nasals of Awa Pit are relatively uncontroversial. However the analysis presented here departs from previous studies in several important ways.

Awa Pit has a variety of allophones involving nasality: [m], [mʷ], [n], [ɲ], [ŋ], [j], and nasalized vowels, as well as a series of "disappearing nasals". In this analysis, [m] and [mʷ] are allophones of /m/; [n], [ɲ], [j] and possibly some examples of [ŋ] are allophones of /n/; while nasalized vowels and disappearing nasals are related to /ŋ/.

It is important to point out that non-homorganic nasal–stop clusters are possible in Awa Pit, although in rapid speech the nasal tends to assimilate to the place of the stop. Especially frequent is the sequence /mt/, found in several roots and also in one of the allomorphs of the Imperfective suffix.

2.2.5.1 The phoneme /m/

All studies have taken /m/ to be realized basically by [m], although in some varieties of Awa Pit, such as the one examined here, both /m/ and /p/ have an off-glide before /i/:

$$/m/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [mʷ] & / \quad \underline{\hphantom{xx}} \, i \\ [m] & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

2.2.5.2 The phoneme /n/

The basic allophonic variation of /n/ is relatively uncontroversial:

$$/n/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [ŋ] & / \quad \underline{\hphantom{xx}} \, \underset{[\text{velar}]}{C} \\ [n] \sim [ɲ] & / \quad \underset{[\text{high}]}{V} \, \underline{\hphantom{xx}} \, \underset{[\text{high}]}{V} \\ [n] & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

However /n/ is involved in a further allophonic variation, giving rise to [ɲ]. This allophonic rule is:

$$/nj/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [ɲ] \sim [j] & / \quad V \underline{\hphantom{xx}} a \\ [ɲ] & / \quad \underline{\hphantom{xx}} a \end{cases}$$

This is indeed controversial. The existence of [ɲ] has been dealt with previously in two separate ways. Obando Ordóñez (1992), Montaluisa Chasiquiza (1991) and Henriksen & Henriksen (1979) all establish a phoneme /ɲ/; in the last of these it is noted that /ɲ/ has free variation between [ɲ] and [j] in intervocalic

environments, with the latter copying nasalization onto the surrounding vowels. Calvache Dueñas (1989) treats this differently. She claims that a word such as [tuɲã] ~ [tujã] 'mouse' is phonemically /tujã/, with nasalization being copied from the following vowel onto the glide, and then this nasalized glide [j̃] sometimes strengthening to a nasal [ɲ].

I would claim that there is in fact no separate phoneme /ɲ/, in part because of distributional criteria. The [ɲ] ~ [j̃] only occurs preceding /a/: it thus occurs syllable-initially only, and only when the vowel is /a/. My reason for rejecting Calvache Dueñas's (1989) analysis has to do with citation examples and dialect variations. In citations, rather than in text, [ɲ] is much more frequent than [j̃], suggesting that [ɲ] may be the more basic form. Also, in the dialect studied for this work, the phoneme /ã/ (actually analyzed here as /aŋ/) has been lost, being replaced by an unnasalized /a/. It is thus not possible in this dialect to consider that phonologically the word for 'mouse' is /tujã/, with the final nasalized vowel triggering nasalization of the glide, as /ã/ has been lost everywhere. Thus the nasalization must proceed from the glide. The sequence /CjV/ has to be established for Awa Pit (for /pj/, /kj/ and /ɬj/ sequences), and hence it seems most sensible to use this already established sequence to explain the phone [ɲ]. Thus in my analysis,

(7)
/tunja/	[tuɲa] ~ [tuja]	'mouse'
/njan/	[ɲɛn]	'other'
/pjan/	[pjɛn]	'bridge'

There is some supporting evidence (although limited) from local Spanish. Spanish has a number of names which have the sequence /nja/, such as *Lisenia* /lisenja/. In standard Spanish these should be pronounced [lisenja], however in local Spanish they are produced with an [ɲ], [liseɲa]. It must be noted, however, that this evidence is weak, as Spanish also has a phoneme /ɲ/.

There is an additional concern with the pre-velar [ŋ] allophone of /n/. Within a root the sequence [ng] is never found, but this sequence has been found in a suffix. The Polite Imperative has two allomorphs, *naka* and *nka*, and the latter is most commonly [nga] rather than [ŋga] (although this does occur). While this suffix is hypothesized as originating as two separate suffixes, *n(a)* and *ka* (see section 9.4.5.1), this does not explain the presence of [n] rather than [ŋ] synchronically. Consequently while words such as [kwaŋgwa] 'grandmother' will be analyzed here as /kwankwa/, it is possible that an analysis as /kwaŋkwa/ would be more appropriate; the rules given below for loss of /ŋ/ would become more complex, however, as it is never lost in these words.

2.2.5.3 The phoneme /ŋ/

Languages in the south of Colombia and nearby areas of Ecuador and Brazil are known for their unusual nasalization phenomena. Probably best known are the Tucanoan languages like Barasano in the Amazon to the east of Awa Pit, which have no nasal consonants, only nasalized vowels, but where the nasalization feature "spreads" across syllables affecting consonants also, until reaching a

consonant which "blocks" nasalization; thus [m] is an allophone of /b/, and so on (Jones & Jones 1991:13–16). An identical process occurs in Chocó languages on the coast to the west of Awa Pit, in languages such as Epena Pedee (Harms 1985).

The other members of the Barbacoan family also have unusual nasalization patterns, although little is known about them. Cha'palaachi has been analyzed as containing no nasalized vowels, but containing a phoneme /ŋ/, traditionally only in syllable-final position, which can be actualized as nasalization of the preceding vowel in utterance-final position (Lindskoog & Brend 1962:35-37). In contrast, the closely related language Tsafiqui is analyzed as having phonological nasalization (Moore 1962:271). Guambiano is usually not considered to have nasalized vowels (Vásquez de Ruíz 1988); and while Huber & Reed (1992) (using information from Branks & Branks (1973)) give no indication of nasalization in the introductory remarks about Guambiano, a footnote to aní 'blood' notes that "morpheme final nasals are realized as nasal consonants homorganic with the following obstruent; preceding non-obstruents, it is unrealized" (Huber & Reed 1992:33).

Awa Pit also has two instances of unusual nasalization — the "nasalized vowels" and the "disappearing nasals".

Nasalized vowels   Nasalized vowels definitely exist, as phones, in Awa Pit (see, for example, the spectrograms in Obando Ordóñez 1992:157–158). Henriksen & Henriksen (1979), Obando Ordóñez (1992) and Calvache Dueñas (1989) all recognize the existence of phonological nasalized vowels, although all their examples use the nasalized vowel word-finally.[14] Montaluisa Chasiquiza (1991:9–10) also considers that nasalized vowels exist phonologically, although he does note that the frequency of occurrence of the nasalized vowels is very low, and that there are a number of words where the vowel may be produced as nasal or as oral (his examples are, once again, all word-final).

As was mentioned above, in the dialect studied here all instances of [ã] have been lost.[15] Words which other authors have transcribed containing [ã], such as [kup:ã] 'squirrel', are found with a simple oral vowel, [kup:a]. All other words which can be produced with a word-final nasalized vowel have occasionally been found with a simple oral vowel, or more commonly with a nasalized vowel followed by a nasal consonant [ŋ].

The phonetically nasalized vowels have strong distributional restrictions placed on them. They are normally found word-finally, although some examples have been found in final position of verb roots. Nasalized vowel plus glide sequences have also been found: [mũj]~[mũjŋ] 'expensive, worth'. With the exception of these glides, no syllable-final consonant is possible after a nasalized vowel.

---

[14]With the exception of Calvache Dueñas (1989), who also has a number of non–word-final nasalized vowels, in contexts where for her the nasalized vowel is essential to cause nasalization of a preceding /j/ — in these contexts other analyses, including my analysis, consider that the word contains a nasal consonant and following oral vowels; see the preceding section.

[15]If these are indeed nasalized vowels, this goes against the typological pattern discussed in Ruhlen (1978:228–229), that the first vowels to be denasalized are high vowels.

This suggests that, in fact, the nasalized vowels are better treated as vowel (plus glide) plus consonant sequences, as this would then explain the lack of a final consonant without recourse to extra rules — as there is already a consonant present, /ŋ/, no other consonant can occur here.

The analysis of nasalized vowels as vowels followed by /ŋ/ gains force from allophonic considerations. After a nasalized vowel, consonants take the allophone appropriate for following a nasal. For example, the locative suffix /ta/ has the form [da] after a nasalized vowel, whereas after an oral vowel it is [ɾa]: [ĩda]~[ĩŋda] 'in the flame'; the Imperfective aspect suffix, /mtu/ after a vowel, has the form /du/, normally only found after a voiced consonant: [ĩdus]~[ĩŋdus] 'I am carrying'.

The nasalized vowels of other analyses thus correspond here either to an oral vowel (in the case of /ã/) or to a vowel followed by the velar nasal /ŋ/.

"Disappearing nasals" There is one very odd phenomenon which occurs with a few words in Awa Pit — they have "disappearing nasals". This has not been discussed in previous works, although Montaluisa Chasiquiza (1991:9) has noted its existence, and it clearly operates also in the dialect studied in Calvache Dueñas (1989), as while she does not mention it, Calvache Dueñas's examples contain the word 'woman' transcribed in different places as either [aʃamba] or [aʃaβa].

The phenomenon in question operates on a few words containing an /a/ (in one case an /u/), a nasal, and a (homorganic) stop. These are words such as 'woman', which in word-lists is usually pronounced with a nasal, as [aʃamba]. However in connected speech this word can be pronounced as [aʃamba], [aʃabba] or [aʃaβa]. In fact, in one word-list recording session informant T self-corrected: he began by saying "[aʃaβa]", realized he had said it in a way which he considered incorrect, said "aaah [aʃabba]", realized it still wasn't right and said "aaah [aʃamba]". However, this phenomenon is word-specific, and so while the nasal in [aʃamba] 'woman' can "disappear", the nasal in [ambu] 'man' is always present; there does not appear to be a correlation with anything else, such as stress.

As well as being word-specific, the phenomenon appears to depend somewhat on dialects also. My informant from Arrayán always pronounced the nasal in the word [aʃamba], while informants from Pueblo Viejo and Pialapí often did not. While the phenomenon clearly operates in other regions also, some dialects appear to "go the opposite way" for some words, losing the stop rather than the nasal — the reader *Zhitzhu* (Henriksen & Henriksen 1978) contains the word *kuanam* 'red', which in Pialapí is produced [kwandam] in word-lists.

With "disappearing nasals" before /p/ and /k/ there are relatively few difficulties. It would be possible to claim that a word such as 'woman' has two phonological representations, /aʃampa/ and /aʃapa/; while this would not cover the pronunciation [aʃabba], it would cover the two more common pronunciations. However this analysis does not work for those clusters involving /t/, such as in [kwandam]. If the /n/ were optionally deleted at the phonological level, we would obtain:

(8)   /kwantam/   [kwandam]
         /kwatam/   [kwaram]

In fact, much more common for all except one of my informants is the pronunci-
ation [kwaðam]. Thus this appears to be a phonetic, rather than a phonological,
process: the nasal causes the stop to be voiced; the nasal is converted to a stop;
the two identical stops become reduced to one; and the single stop is fricativ-
ized between vowels. For informant L, this process is still possible, and so he
sometimes produces [kwaðam] as well as [kwandam]; in addition, however, he
sometimes produces [kwaram], so it would appear that he has variation in the
phonological representation of the word as well as the phonetic production. How-
ever all other speakers produce only [kwandam] and [kwaðam], never [kwaram].

It is interesting to note that these words all contain /a/ followed by a nasal,
with the exception of [un-da] 'there' which is possibly being analogized with [an-
da] 'here', which does contain an /a/. After an /a/ is precisely the environment
in which /ŋ/ has been lost in this dialect, leading to oral rather than nasalized
vowels. If words with "disappearing nasals" are analyzed as containing /ŋ/, it
would then be possible to claim that before a stop within a root either /ŋ/ is
obligatorily assimilated to the following stop, or else it is lost, but affects the
production of the following stop ([ð] rather than [r]).

At this point it should be noted that Calvache Dueñas's (1989) second
example showing the necessity of a phoneme /r/ has now been discounted. She
had two examples of intervocalic [ð], which she stated realized /t/, requiring a
phoneme /r/ to account for intervocalic [r]. Her first example was dealt with
by stop sandhi patterns in section 2.2.1.2; the other example was [kwaðam],
which as shown above contains a phonological /ŋ/ before the stop, leading to its
pronunciation as [ð] rather than [r].

Throughout this work, then, a root-final /ŋ/ represents optional nasaliza-
tion of the preceding vowel, while a root-internal /ŋ/ represents a "disappearing
nasal". These are, perhaps, not the most appropriate analyses of these phenom-
ena, and more work needs to be done, particularly on the latter. However the
use of an /ŋ/ to represent nasals which are sometimes there and sometimes not
at least signals those nasals to which this process applies.

2.3   Glides or semivowels

As in many languages, the relationship between the semivowels /w/ and /j/ and
the vowels /u/ and /i/ is complex in Awa Pit, and has been analyzed in a variety
of manners. The most appropriate analysis appears to be that there are indeed
glides separate from the vowels, but that under certain circumstances the vowels
can be pronounced as a glide in diphthongs. For the semivowels we obtain the
following:

/w/ → [w]

$$/j/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [j] \sim [\textturnj] & / \quad V \underline{\quad\quad} V \\ [j] & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

First it is necessary to establish the existence of the semivowels as separate from the vowels, that is, find a contrast between the two. In the case of /w/ and /u/ there are a number of words where this distinction can be seen. For example, there are words:

(9)   [kwaŋgwa]   'grandmother'
        [kuwa]   'sister'
        [pwii]   'owing'

Several problems arise if it is assumed that /w/ does not exist, and that in these words there is a vowel /u/ which is produced as a glide. Firstly, because of [kwaŋgwa] the word for 'sister' cannot be phonologically /kua/, since then there is no explanation for /kuankua/ having the /u/ as [w], while /kua/ has the vowel /u/ pronounced in full. Therefore, it is necessary to assume that there are four segments in 'sister'. One possibility is to assume that 'sister' is in fact /kuua/ (and indeed this seems to have been the idea of Calvache Dueñas in a preliminary work, Calvache Dueñas (1988)). However then there is a conflict between 'sister' [kuua] and 'owing' [puii], as it is unclear which vowel should be transformed into a glide; in the first word it is the second vowel, in the second word the first vowel. Therefore it seems that a phoneme /w/ must be established to account for this.

The phoneme /w/ is also needed to account for those [wV] which are always [wV] versus those which alternate between [wV] and [uV]. For example, there is a contrast:

(10)   [kwaŋgwa]   'grandmother'
        [kuamduaze] ~ [kwamdwaze]   'they were eating'

One way of distinguishing these involves morphology — the first word is a single morpheme, while the second consists of five morphemes [ku-a-mdu-a-ze]. It would be possible to say that where a morpheme boundary intervenes between a /u/ and an /a/, the two can be pronounced as separate vowels, while if there is no morpheme boundary the two must be pronounced as a diphthong. But given the necessity for a /w/ presented above, it seems better to consider that the distinction is:

(11)   /kwankwa/   'grandmother'
        /kuamtuazi/ 'they were eating'

and then the difference can be shown purely on the level of the phonology, without resort to morphology.

There is an additional contrast between /u/ and /w/, found in one word. The sequence [aw] is found in many words, and it varies with [o]: [tsaw]~[tso] 'field'. This can be analyzed as /aw/. This contrasts with the word [au] 'we', which is always pronounced as two separate vowels, and is analyzed as /au/.

Indeed, for some speakers such as L, this word often has an epenthetic [ɣ]: [au]~[aɣu]. This appears to be the same process as occurs in Inga Quechua to the east, where [ɣu] is analyzed as an allophone of /u/ found syllable-initially after a syllable-final vowel (Levinsohn 1976:26).

There is also evidence for the existence of a glide /j/, although less than for /w/. This relies on the allomorphy of the person-marking suffixes on stative verbs. After a vowel /i/, the Locutor marking is /s/ and the Non-locutor is /∅/: [i-s] 'I am', [i] 'she is'. However a verb root ending in [j] has different allomorphs, those of consonant-final roots: [waj-is] 'I am lacking', [waj-i] 'it is lacking'.

The phoneme /j/ has variation in intervocalic position in this dialect. In previous works intervocalic /j/ (or /i/) is always [j]. However in intervocalic position in this dialect it is sometimes found "strengthened" to a palatal stop, as indicated above.

Having established the existence of phonemes /w/ and /j/ as distinct from /u/ and /i/, we can then assume that in words containing [w] and [j] where there is no possibility of contrast, we in fact have the phonemes /w/ and /j/ rather than /u/ and /i/ used as glides. For example, we can assume that words such as [wat] 'good' and [jal] 'house' contain the semivowels /w/ and /j/ in initial position rather than /u/ and /i/.

2.4   Vowels

Awa Pit has both voiced and voiceless vowels, although the latter are controversial. There are clearly three voiceless vowel phonemes, if there are any, /i̥/, /ɨ̥/ and /u̥/; and the present analysis has four voiced vowels, /i/, /ɨ/, /u/ and /a/, although a fifth, /e/, has previously been considered phonemic. The nasalized vowels have been considered as allophones of vowels with a following /ŋ/ here — see section 2.2.5.3. There are also "long" vowels, a series of two identical vowels.

In general terms, there is a distinction between allophones of vowels in open and closed syllables: vowels in closed syllables tend to be more open or lax, while vowels in open syllables tend to be more close or tense. Thus [ɪ], [ɨ], [ʊ] and [ɛ] tend to appear in closed syllables, while [i], [ɨ], [u] and [a] appear in open syllables; but these are tendencies rather than absolute rules.

2.4.1   Voiced vowels

There are four voiced oral vowel phonemes in Awa Pit:

	Front	Central	Back
High	/i/	/ɨ/	/u/
Low		/a/	

This analysis assumes only four voiced oral vowels, in contrast to Obando Ordóñez (1992), Calvache Dueñas (1989) and Henriksen & Henriksen (1979), where five distinct voiced oral vowels are considered. Montaluisa Chasiquiza (1991:5) also

considers that there are five voiced oral vowels, although he does note that /e/ "parece hallarse en estado de conformación como fonema",[16] thereby giving it somewhat less status as a clearly distinct phoneme. Because of the contrasts between analyses with five voiced oral vowels and this one with four, a separate subsection below is dedicated to an examination of the phone [e].

The phoneme /i/ has the following allophones:

$$/i/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [i] \sim [e] \quad / \quad \underline{\quad} \# \\ [\mathrm{ɪ}] \sim [i] \qquad \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

For some speakers, the allophone [e] also appears (in free variation with [i]) in words borrowed from Spanish which contain [e] in Spanish, such as /wipu/ [weβu] ~ [wiβu] 'egg'.

The phoneme /ɨ/ has three allophones:

$$/ɨ/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [i] \sim [e] \quad / \quad \underline{\quad} \# \text{ (words of more than one syllable)} \\ [ɨ] \sim [ɨ] \qquad \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

The phoneme /ɨ/ also causes a preceding labial consonant (/p/ or /m/) to be labialized ([pʷɨ] or [mʷɨ]).

There are three major allophones of /u/:

$$/u/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [u] \sim [o] \quad / \quad \underline{\quad} \#, \text{ and a few other words} \\ [ʊ] \sim [u] \qquad \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

Of all the vowels in Awa Pit, /a/ has the widest allophonic variation, with many of the allophones being in free variation.

$$/a/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [ɔ] \qquad\qquad\qquad / \quad w \underline{\quad} \underset{[\text{velar}]}{C} \\ [æ] \sim [ɛ] \sim [ə] \quad / \quad \underset{[\text{palatal}]}{C} \underline{\quad}, \text{ in a closed syllable} \\ [aj] \sim [a] \qquad / \quad \underline{\quad} \underset{\left[\begin{smallmatrix}\text{fricative}\\ \text{alveopalatal}\end{smallmatrix}\right]}{C} \\ [ɐ] \sim [a] \qquad\qquad \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

As well as these allophones, there is an optional "reduction" of [aj] to [e] or [ɛ], especially (though not only) before a nasal. This appears to be determined by the speaker, with variation between informants: for example, R uses only the form [aj]; E uses [ɛ] before a syllable-final nasal, but otherwise [aj]; while L nearly always uses [ɛ] or [e] before a nasal.

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[16]"seems to be in the process of becoming a phoneme"

2.4.1.1   The allophone [e]

From the preceding sections it can be seen that there are many possible sources for the sounds [e] and [ɛ]. Both /i/ and /ɨ/ have [e] as a word-final allophone; some words with /i/ have free variation between [i] and [e]; /a/ has an allophone [ɛ]; and the combination /aj/ can, under certain circumstances, be pronounced as [e] or [ɛ].

There is also a dialect variation in the topic marker, with some dialects using only [na], others using [na] and [ne] in free variation. However, once again, it seems that phonologically this marker is /na/.

Thus while there are many different sources from which [e] and [ɛ] may arise, there does not seem to be a separate phoneme /e/, as no words have been found containing [e] or [ɛ] which cannot be accounted for in terms of other phonemes.

The only word which possibly contradicts this statement is the Serial Perfective aspect marker, which is transcribed here as /kwaj-/. While it has been heard on a very few occasions as [kwaj-], it is overwhelmingly pronounced [kwe-], even when it is not followed by a nasal.

2.4.1.2   "Long" vowels

Awa Pit does not have phonologically long vowels; but it does have the possibility of "double" vowels, or two identical vowels occurring together. When articulated carefully, such as in word-lists, each of the vowels is given its own pronunciation, and a word such as /pii/ 'river' is produced as [pii], appearing to have two vowel peaks, though no consonant intervenes. In rapid speech, the occurrence of two identical vowels adjacent to one another is much more difficult to perceive, although there are cases where there is a distinction in sound between a "double" vowel and a short vowel. In the case of /ii/ and /uu/, these could be analyzed as /iji/ and /uwu/. However this would leave /aa/ and /ɨɨ/ unaccounted for.

These "double" vowels appear to have a very limited distribution — they occur only in roots which would be monosyllabic if it were not for the presence of the two identical vowels. However monosyllabic roots are also possible in Awa Pit, so it is not the case that there is an automatic rule doubling the vowel of a monosyllable. For example there is a distinction:

(12)   /ki-/   'do'
        /kii-/   'marry'

If suffixes are added to a root with a double vowel, the two vowels are maintained:

(13)   /ki-mtu/   [kɪmdu]   'doing'
        /kii-mtu/   [kiɪmdu]   'marrying'

It should be noted in the last example that the two vowels can take different allophones, depending on the allophone appropriate for their position — here the first /i/ is in an open syllable, and therefore has the allophone [i], while the second

/i/ is in a closed syllable, and has the allophone [ɪ]. In rapid speech there is only one vowel peak for the two vowels, however it is the second vowel which is elided, and the presence of two vowels can often be determined from the difference in vowel quality:

(14) /pastu/ [pɐstu]   'Pasto'
      /paas/   [pɐɛs] ~ [pas] 'two'

2.4.2 Voiceless vowels

Listening to Awa Pit spoken, one of the more unusual phenomena which is noted quite quickly is the existence of voiceless high vowels in the language, in words such as:

(15) [ajmpɪ̥ʃ]   'male's brother'
      [tʃɪ̥tːi]   'hand'
      [kɪ̥su]   'sand'
      [tʃi̥]   'bone'
      [tu̥]   'higra (a shoulder bag)'

Voiceless vowels, while unusual cross-linguistically, are not unknown, being found in languages such as Japanese (Hinds 1986:400–401), Numic languages such as Tümpisa Shoshone (Dayley 1989:400–401),[17] and Amazonian languages like Cofán, spoken to the east of Awa Pit, where there is free variation word-finally between voiced and voiceless vowels (Borman 1962:54), and Baniwa of Içana, where they are allophones of (voiced) vowels next to voiceless liquids and glides, and aspirated stops (Sasha Aikhenvald, p.c.). Voiceless vowels are also found in the Andean Spanish of Tuquerres, quite close to the Awa region, where for example pues is [pwi̥s] and papitos is [papito̥s] (personal observation).

There has been a great deal of debate over the phonological status of voiceless vowels in another Numic language, Comanche. Canonge (1957) claimed that these vowels are voiceless, while in Armagost (1986) and Armagost (1988) it is maintained that a devoicing rule will account for at least the majority of voiceless vowels as allophones of the voiced vowels. At a more theoretical level Cho (1993) has claimed that there are no phonemic voiceless vowels in the world's languages, although there are two different processes by which vowels are devoiced (these processes will not be discussed here, as they are not strictly relevant to the discussion).

The presence of voiceless vowel sounds is indisputable in Awa Pit, with confirmation from spectrographic analysis (Calderón Rivera, Trillos Amaya, Reina & R. de Montes 1987). However there is dispute over the phonological status

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[17]The association between voiceless vowels and preaspirated stops in Shoshoni, where these stops developed from geminated consonants following voiceless vowels (Miller 1980:153) is interesting; while Awa Pit appears to be the only Barbacoan language with voiceless vowels, based on current descriptions, Tsafiqui does have preaspirated stops (Moore 1966). Unfortunately, almost no cognates have been found between the two languages which involve Awa Pit voiceless vowels (Curnow & Liddicoat forthcoming).

of these vowels. Calvache Dueñas (1989) and Henriksen & Henriksen (1979) claim they are allophones of the voiced vowels; Henriksen & Obando Ordóñez (1985) and Obando Ordóñez (1992) claim they are separate phonemes; while Montaluisa Chasiquiza (1991) attempts to walk a middle line, claiming that they are not phonemes, but rather they are caused by a following /h/ which has since been lost (this is also the essence of the argument in Henriksen & Henriksen (1979)).

The analysis of voiceless vowels as caused by a following /h/ cannot be maintained as a unitary explanation without destroying the simple syllable structure of Awa Pit. In the word for 'male's brother' given above, there would be a word-final /hʃ/ sequence, but only one consonant is permitted word-finally in Awa Pit.[18]

Turning to Calvache Dueñas's (1989) rules, she claims that /i/, /ɨ/ and /u/ are devoiced between two voiceless consonants, and also before a word-final voiceless consonant. These rules are obviously not correct, and easily falsified using data provided by Calvache Dueñas herself. Words such as /pit/ 'mouth' and /up/ 'your' would have to be produced with voiceless vowels according to these rules, and Calvache Dueñas gives them with voiced vowels.

Calvache Dueñas (personal communication) has suggested a modification of these rules: vowels are devoiced between two voiceless consonants, where at least one of these is a voiceless fricative (or affricate). Leaving aside those words which end in a voiceless vowel (which will be discussed shortly), almost all words containing voiceless vowels conform to this pattern.

There are, however, a number of words, at least in the dialect studied here, which break these rules. For example, there are words which should contain a voiceless vowel according to the rules and do not:

(16)   [tsɨptu]   'sewing'
        [tʃutːa]   'hat'
        [pɨɬtʉm]   'green/blue'
        [tiʃnʊl]   'lemon'
        [pɪtːʊs]   'I am sleeping'

(The final example here, and many others like it, contain the imperfective marker /-(m)tu/ and the locutor marker /s/.) There are also a few words which contain voiceless vowels without a fricative; these words are those discussed in section 2.2.3, where there is dialect variation between a root in /ɬ/ and /t/:

(17)   [kɨ̥tːʊs] ~ [kɨ̥ɬtʊs]   'making (a bed)'
        [pʷɨ̥tːʊs] ~ [pʷɨ̥ɬtʊs]   'plucking'
        [tʃɪt] ~ [tʃɪ̥ɬ]   '(noise made by a) grasshopper'

Thus the rules are starting to look doubtful, although they do cover the majority of words with non-final voiceless vowels.

When we look at words with final voiceless vowels, the distinction between voiced and voiceless vowels becomes even more apparent. Calvache Dueñas (1989)

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[18]As Sasha Aikhenvald (p.c.) points out, this could be avoided by treating /h/ as a glide. This solution does not, however, account for following issues.

claims that words do not end in voiceless vowels, that in fact there is a fricative /h/, corresponding to /ɬ/ here, following the vowel. However this is clearly not the case in the dialect being studied here — while there could be some doubt as to whether there is a final [h] after a voiceless vowel or not, in this dialect the final fricative would be produced as [ɬ], and it is quite easy to hear its presence or absence. In fact, there are several words which *do* end with a voiceless vowel followed by /ɬ/, such as [ʧɨ̥ɬ] 'grasshopper'; however there are many more words which end with a voiceless vowel, such as [ʧ̥ɨ̥] 'bone'. There is also spectrographic evidence that words such as [kɨ̥] 'leaf' do not end in a final consonant (Calderón Rivera, Trillos Amaya, Reina & R. de Montes 1987).

Additional evidence that these words end in a final vowel phonologically, as well as phonetically, is available from the morphology. When the locative post-position /ta/ is cliticized onto a noun, the /t/ is produced as [d] after a voiced consonant, as [t] after a voiceless consonant, and as [ɾ] after a vowel. When it is added to the word [tɨ̥] 'higra (shoulder bag)', the allophone appropriate for a vowel-final root occurs, [tɨ-ɾa] 'in the higra'. This means that Calvache Dueñas's (1989) /h/ and Montaluisa Chasiquiza's (1991) "underlying" /h/ cannot be maintained.

Thus, faced with contrasts such as

(18) [ʧ̥ɨ̥tːi]   'hand'
      [ʧ̥utːa]   'hat'
      [tɨ̥]   'higra (shoulder bag)'
      [tu]   'be in a place'

it must be concluded that Awa Pit has voiceless vowels in its phonological system, as well as phonetically. Clearly this issue must be examined in greater depth, given Cho's (1993) claims that voiceless vowels do not have phonemic status in the world's languages.

Of course, it must be kept in mind that the distribution of voiceless vowels is quite limited. They can only occur between two (phonologically) voiceless consonants, or word-finally after a voiceless consonant. It appears likely that the development of voiceless vowel phonemes is a relatively recent phenomenon, and they have developed historically from an allophonic rule such as that suggested by Calvache Dueñas — however with the apparent loss of some final voiceless fricative, and the development of a few words where the voicing of an internal vowel is not predictable, the voiceless vowels have achieved phonological status.[19]

Thus the voiceless vowels are synchronically phonemes, with the allophones:

$$/i̥/ \rightarrow [i̥] \sim [i̥]$$

$$/ɨ̥/ \rightarrow [ɨ̥] \sim [ɨ̥]$$

$$/u̥/ \rightarrow [u̥] \sim [u̥]$$

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[19]As noted before, however, there could be a connection between Awa Pit's voiceless vowels and Tsafiqui's preaspirated stops.

2.5 Phonotactics

2.5.1 Syllable structure

The syllable in Awa Pit has the following form:

$$\sigma = (C)(G)V(G)(C)$$

where C is any consonant; G is one of the glides /w/ or /j/; and V is any of the vowels. A single syllable can contain a segment in all five positions: [kwajʌ] 'bad'.

There are a number of restrictions on the occurrence of phonemes, in terms of position in the word. The phonemes /z/, /ʒ/, /l/ and /ɬ/ never occur at the beginning of a word, nor do they occur after another consonant. The velar nasal /ŋ/ is only found in syllable codas (either word-finally or before a consonant). The voiceless vowels only occur between two voiceless consonants or finally after a voiceless consonant. The phoneme /i/ never occurs adjacent to the semi-vowels /j/ or /w/.

2.5.2 Stress

Stress is not phonologically distinctive in Awa Pit. There are no words which are distinguished by stress, and while speakers seem to have a preferred stress for each word, for some words different speakers stress the word differently (in isolation); sometimes the same speaker will stress the word differently on different occasions. The morphology and syntax also interact with the stress: words normally stressed on one syllable may be stressed on a different syllable depending on the morphemes or words surrounding it. It should be noted that while the stress may shift, each phonological word does receive a stress somewhere, at least in slow speech.

As stress is not distinctive (and indeed my informants would never correct me if I repeated a word after them with a different stress pattern), it will not be dealt with here any further. It is, clearly, an area which requires a great deal of further work to establish regularities. In particular, the effects of clitics must be examined, and the possibility of phenomena such as extraprosodic morphology, known to occur in South America (cf. Aikhenvald 1996b), where certain morphological elements "don't count" for stress rules, while others do.

2.6 Orthography

In the remainder of this thesis, a practical orthography will be adopted to avoid the necessity of unusual IPA symbols. The following symbols will be used (other phonemes will be represented by their IPA symbol):

Phoneme	Letter
/j/	y
/ɟ/	j
/ʃ/	sh
/ʒ/	zh
/ḭ/	ih
/ɨ̤/	ih
/ṵ/	uh

These symbols have been chosen as being in common use, either in the various orthographies devised for Awa Pit (in the case of the vowel symbols), or also more generally. This is not, of course, a proposal for a practical alphabet, which should be decided by speakers themselves.

Chapter 3

Basic clause structure

3.1   Introduction

This chapter begins the description of the syntax of Awa Pit, and provides an overview and the theoretical preliminaries on which the remainder of the description is based.

With the exception of a few interjections, described in section 4.12, every utterance in Awa Pit consists of a series of one or more clauses. While there are a variety of different clause types, all have the same basic structure, although in different clauses different elements may be present or absent. This basic clause structure is described in section 3.2.

Following this there is a discussion of the various clause types (section 3.3). There are two major overlapping divisions here: one divides clauses into main clauses and subordinate clauses, while the other separates the finite clauses from the non-finite clauses. While most main clauses are finite and most subordinate clauses are non-finite, the divisions are not quite that simple, and there are small classes of non-finite main and finite subordinate clauses.

One important theoretical distinction made in elements associated with the predicate is the distinction between complements, those elements which are (semantically) required by a predicate, and adjuncts, those elements which may be added to a clause but are not required by the predicate. This distinction is important in a range of circumstances in Awa Pit, much more so than the distinction between core and oblique arguments, and is taken up in section 3.4.

Also important in the analysis of Awa Pit is the concept of syntactic functions and their language-internal codification as grammatical relations, such as Subject, Object and Second Object. These are introduced and justified in section 3.5.

Finally the different classes of predicate are introduced and discussed in section 3.6. Predicates are, of course, vital in the formation of clauses in Awa Pit. Every clause must contain an overt predicate (either a verb or Copula Complement), while all other elements may be absent, either ellipsed or unnecessary.

All the elements of the syntax of Awa Pit form a tightly integrated network, and each part relies on the other parts. A discussion of clause types, for example,

Subject	Temporal Adjuncts	Locational Adjuncts	Circumstantial Adjuncts	Non-Subject Complements	Manner Adverbials	Verb

Table 3.1: The order of basic clause constituents

relies on knowledge of predicate types; but to explain predicate types, clause types must be invoked. Thus throughout the following analysis of the syntax of Awa Pit, and in this chapter especially, there is great deal of necessary reliance on concepts which are not introduced until later. This has been kept to a minimum, as far as possible, and many cross-references have been given to sections where the concepts are exemplified and justified. Unfortunately, the analysis of a language's syntactic system must start somewhere, and must be given a linear structure, which does not always reflect the network of the syntax itself.

3.2 Constituent order

Awa Pit is an AOV/SV language, with the basic order of constituents in all clause types shown in Table 3.1. This constituent order is found quite commonly in South America, especially in the region near where Awa Pit is spoken, although in Awa Pit the order appears much more fixed than in many languages. Unlike languages such as Epena Pedee (Harms 1994:10–12) and Retuará (Strom 1992:3), both AOV/SV languages where some peripheral elements follow the verb, the normal position for adjuncts in Awa Pit is between the Subject and complements, with no elements occurring after the verb at all, unless phonetically set off with a pause.

The order given in Table 3.1 is not a completely exhaustive list of clause possibilities. Various minor adverb-like words may appear, for example, between the manner adverbial slot and the verb itself; the verb may be simple, a compound verb, a main–auxiliary construction, or a Serial Verb construction. Equally clearly, not every constituent is present in every clause: indeed, unsurprisingly, no clause has been found which contains all constituents. Adjuncts are, by definition (see section 3.4), optional; and complements (section 3.4) may undergo both definite ellipsis (ellipsis of a known participant) as in example (19), and indefinite ellipsis (ellipsis of an unknown or unimportant participant) as in example (20).[1]

(19) *kwizha   pay-t   kway-ta-w.*
      dog   buy-SV   DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      [kwizha] corral=*mal* *tu*
      [dog]   yard=LOC   be:in:place.(IMPFPART)
      'I bought a dog. [The dog] lived in the yard.'

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[1]For glosses, see the List of Abbreviations. Perhaps the major non-self-explanatory gloss is Locut(or): essentially Locutor is first person in statements, second person in questions (see chapter 8 for details).

(20)   *[X] na-wa   pyan-ti-t   ma-s*
       [X] 1SG-ACC   hit-TERM-PFPART   ANTER-LOCUT:UNDER
       '[X=they/someone] had hit me.'

In addition, clauses used in particular constructions may have certain obligatorily missing elements. Consequently, the majority of clauses contain only one or two elements, apart from the predicate.

The complement slots — both the slot for the Subject complement and the slot for the non-Subject complements (filled with Object, Second Object and various oblique complements, which appear in that order, and the Copula Complement) — are usually filled by noun phrases, postpositional phrases or adjectival phrases, although some verbs allow subordinate clauses in some of these positions. Complements and their grammatical relations are discussed in greater detail in section 3.5 below.

The various adjunct positions — temporal, locational and circumstantial adjuncts and manner adverbials — may be filled by a variety of word and phrase types, as will be discussed in chapter 13. In addition, some adverbial subordinate clauses may fill these positions, although others necessarily either precede or follow the matrix clause: same-Subject (section 10.3.1) and different-Subject (section 10.3.2) purposives, and same-Subject absolute (section 10.3.7) subordinate clauses may appear in the circumstantial adjunct slot; the two types of purposive (10.3.1 and 10.3.2) may also occur after the matrix clause; and the purposives (10.3.1 and 10.3.2), After (10.3.3), simultaneity (10.3.4), concessive (10.3.5), counterfactual (10.3.6) and absolute (10.3.7) subordinate clauses can appear before the matrix clause.

In addition to the above order of clause constituents, there are two other positions which are, in a sense, outside the clause. These are the initial position, which may or may not be set off from the remainder of the clause by a pause, and the final post-clausal position, which is obligatorily set off from the clause by a pause, suggesting under Ziv's (1994) analysis that it is an afterthought position rather than a right dislocation position. Any of the adjuncts or complements may occur in the initial position, with the exception of the Copula Complements and the manner adverbials, which are tightly linked to the verb. In addition, an 'external' topic may appear in the initial position (see section 14.2). The final position may be filled with any adjunct or complement; and one part of two NPs or PPs in apposition may occur in the final position (see section 5.5). Any complement which occurs in final position is necessarily accompanied by its postposition, if it would have one appearing in the usual position.

It appears that at most one element may occur in the initial or final position in any clause. The discourse function of these positions is unclear, although the initial position appears linked to some form of topicalization; further text studies are required to establish the functions of these positions. It would be interesting to then compare the functions of these positions with the functions of clause-external elements in other languages, such as the clause-external initial topic and final antitopic in French discussed by Lambrecht (1984).

It also appears that the initial and final positions, especially the latter,

are used for 'heavy', that is lengthy or complex, constituents. In particular, while sentence-like Object complements to verbs such as speech verbs (see section 10.2.1) and clausal Object complements to indirect question words (see section 10.2.2) may occur in the standard Object position, they are more commonly found clause-finally, separated from the matrix clause by a pause.

3.3   Clause types

The basic clause structure was discussed in the previous section. This structure is the foundation of all clauses in Awa Pit, although certain elements are missing from certain clauses — for example, some subordinate clauses are obligatorily without Subjects; however the rest of the clause follows the usual structure expressed in section 3.2, complete with the usual case marking, modification, adverbs, and so on, although clause-external initial and final elements may not be permitted. There are a variety of clause types, in the sense meant here: finite main clauses; non-finite main clauses; conjoined main clauses; finite subordinate clauses; and non-finite subordinate clauses, including adjectivizations.

3.3.1   Main and subordinate clauses

The major division of clauses is into main clauses and subordinate clauses. Main clauses are, unsurprisingly, those clauses which can stand alone and express a full proposition; subordinate clauses, on the other hand, necessarily form only a part of a proposition, and are always associated with or form part of a main clause, on which they are dependent.

There are two types of main clause. The most common is the normal, finite (see below) main clause, with a single verb stem (which may be complex — see chapter 6) inflected with some finite inflection. The non-finite main clause construction is much more interesting. It contains a predicate which, if it is a verb, is not inflected in the usual way, but rather in a fashion more usually appropriate to a subordinate clause; and the predicate may be marked with the Topic marker. The existence of this clause type will be justified in the following section. Unlike finite clauses, which obligatorily contain a verb stem, non-finite main clauses may be verbless.

There is also a Conjoined Clause structure. This construction allows clause chaining of a series of clauses with the same Subject. One of the verb stems (usually the final one) is inflected in the same way as any other verb stem in a main clause; all other verb stems are given a special inflection, indicating that they are in a conjoined structure and equivalent to giving them all the same inflectional ending placed on the fully inflected verb. See section 11.7 for a full discussion of this construction; here it is sufficient to note that the fully inflected verb stem has precisely the same inflectional possibilities as any other verb stem in a main clause, and may be finite or non-finite.

Just like the non-finite main clause, the fully finite subordinate clause is something of an anomaly, and used in few constructions. A restricted number

of finite subordinate clauses is common in areal terms: while some Amazonian languages, such as Macushi (Abbott 1991:67–68) have a few finite subordinate clauses, many have none at all (Derbyshire & Pullum 1986b:19); and Imbabura Quechua also lacks these clauses (Cole 1985:33–34). As will be discussed in section 10.2.1, these clauses are used in Awa Pit to show direct speech, and also to encode the clausal complements of some verbs of cognition and all verbs of perception. While a finite subordinate clause is, formally, identical to a (finite) main clause, it is embedded within another clause, often even placed between other clausal elements, and in some cases depends on that main clause for its time reference (see section 10.2.1 for details).

Non-finite subordinate clauses are much more common. They are used as clausal complements to a variety of verbs (see section 10.2), either with or without a complementizer. Non-finite subordinate clauses are also used as clausal complements to postpositions (section 10.2.3.2); in a wide variety of adverbial clauses (section 10.3); they may form "clausal adjectives" (section 10.4); and are used in a nominalization process (see section 10.5).

3.3.2 Finite and non-finite clauses

In the division of clause types above, much mention was made of finite and non-finite clauses, however the distinction was not made clear, and no defining features were given. This section deals with this distinction, and a few other related issues.

Clearly, whether one wishes to consider finiteness as a binary category, as it is traditionally considered and as is done here, or as a scalar category as is done by, for example, Givón (1990:852), in general terms most main clauses should be (more) finite, while most subordinate clauses should be (more) non-finite. In addition to this high-level distinction there is a low-level distinction: finiteness is associated with tense and person, while non-finiteness is not, both in terms of more traditional definitions and more scalar definitions.

The vast majority of subordinate clauses in Awa Pit have neither tense nor person marking. The only exceptions are a small class of subordinate clauses which are used for direct speech and for clausal complements of some verbs of cognition and all verbs of perception; these clausal complements are all identical to main clauses.[2] As these clausal complements are identical to main clauses in Awa Pit, they clearly cannot be distinguished in terms of finiteness; rather these subordinate clauses are considered fully finite.

With the exception of these finite complement clauses, all other subordinate clauses lack tense and person suffixes. It could then be suggested that for Awa Pit the finite/non-finite distinction is shown by the presence versus absence of tense and person marking.

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[2]Cross-linguistically these clausal complements are precisely those which are most commonly similar to main clauses (Noonan 1985), being the "least bound" variety of complement (Givón 1980).

This distinction is not fully adequate, however. Consider the following clauses:

(21)   na=na   kwa-ti-ta-w
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   eat-TERM-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I had eaten.'

(22)   na=na   kwa-ti-ni-s
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   eat-TERM-FUT-LOCUT
       'I will have eaten.'

(23)   na=na   kwa-ti
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   eat-TERM
       'I have eaten.'

The first two clauses are finite by the above definition, having tense and person marking suffixes. The third clause has no (overt) tense marking, and no person marking, suggesting that it is non-finite. However this third clause is directly parallel to the preceding two, and can only be used as a main clause, never as a subordinate clause, suggesting that it is finite. In fact in this case, the lack of tense marking indicates Present tense.[3] The lack of person marking is simply a feature of the Terminative aspect suffix — it can never be followed directly by person marking. Thus despite the absence of (overt) tense marking and the absence of person marking in the third example above, it is considered finite.

The Terminative and Completive aspect markers (see section 9.3) are somewhat unusual, in that unlike most other Awa Pit verb morphology they may be used in either finite or non-finite clauses.[4] In finite clauses they are followed by tense and person (except for the Terminative in the Present); in non-finite clauses, they are followed by a subordinating inflection (section 7.2.7) or one of the other non-finite inflections (section 7.2.8). The Imperfective is much more complex, and is discussed below.

In the above case of the Terminative, of course, it is possible to consider that the third clause does contain tense marking, it is simply that it is marked by an absence, rather than a presence, which is quite usual with the Present tense in Awa Pit. More complex cases arise with mood marking and evaluating the finiteness of clauses containing mood marking.

Consider the directives (see section 9.4.5), such as the various imperative forms. Clearly we would wish to classify an Imperative such as kwa-t 'eat!' as finite, despite the lack of tense or person marking suffixes. The notions usually expressed through tense and person marking are, of course, inherent in directives: the action is always in the future, and either second person (for imperatives) or first person (for hortatives). But subordinate, non-finite clauses often have 'inherent' tense or person, though it is usually acquired from the construction in

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[3]Through the contrast of this form with either the Past or the Future inflections; see section 7.2.1.

[4]And consequently aspect has not been used in defining the concept of finiteness.

which the clause appears. Hence it is best not to consider 'inherent or overt' tense and person marking as the criterion for finite clauses. Nevertheless, directives, which never appear in subordinate clauses, are considered finite.

Of the other mood inflections (section 7.2.3), only the Necessitive can combine with tense marking, and even then there is only a two-way contrast between Past (marked) and Present (unmarked). The Necessitive is always accompanied by person marking, as is the Negative Potential *satshi*. These markers, with person, occur in finite clauses. A form identical to the Necessitive, with identical allomorphy, does occur in subordinate clauses; however there (except in the few finite subordinate clauses) it is never associated with tense or person. This formally identical marker, in non-finite clauses, is historically related to the Necessitive, but synchronically distinct in meaning and distribution.[5]

The two remaining mood markers, the Obligative and the Potential, can never combine with overt tense marking, and they are seldom associated with person marking. However this appears to be semantically determined rather than being a grammatical rule. Both inflections are most commonly used with no Subject (and are then unmarked for person), being 'universal' in scope: '[one/someone] must cook', '[one/someone] can see the school from here'. They are accompanied by person marking when a particular Subject is present:

(24) *tilawa=na*   *a-tpa-y*
      tomorrow=TOP   come-OBLIG-NONLOCUT
      'You must come tomorrow.'

(25) *nyampi=kasa pishkatu ki-sina-y*
      hook=with   fish(1)   fish(2)-POT-NONLOCUT
      'You (the addressee) can fish with a hook (since the river is up).'

Thus these other two mood markers occur in finite clauses, although they are seldom used with person marking because of their function, and they cannot be used with tense inflections.

The Obligative *tpa/tawa* is distinguished from a formally identical subordinating inflection, just like the Necessitive. As a subordinating marker, *tpa/tawa* means 'after', quite distinct from its meaning as an Obligative; and while the subordinate verb inflected with *tpa/tawa* has a Subject, this subordinate verb cannot be inflected for person, in contrast to its main clause behaviour.

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[5]This is perhaps the most appropriate point to bring up a methodological issue in this thesis, which applies largely to inflections, although it is also relevant to other grammatical morphemes. The defining criterion for considering two identical forms as separate morphemes has been taken to be, apart from semantics, their possibilities of combination with different inflections and hence their use in different constructions. Thus, for example, the Necessitive morpheme occurs in main clauses, where it combines with tense and person marking, and indicates that someone had a personal need to do something or gives a predictive future reading, while the different-Subject purposive morpheme occurs in subordinate clauses and cannot combine with tense or person marking; hence these are considered to be separate morphemes, despite their formal identity as *npa/napa*. Different theoretical approaches would wish to treat these as separate morphemes or as the same morpheme in distinct constructions. These (and others) have been treated as distinct here, on the criterion given above, although where morphemes are clearly diachronically related, this is mentioned.

The mood inflections are thus all used in finite main clauses, although many are often not accompanied by tense and person inflection. While two of the mood markers are identical in form to two subordinating markers, semantic and morphological criteria show that they are distinct: the mood inflections are used in finite main clauses, the subordinating inflections in non-finite subordinate clauses.

In the preceding discussion, almost all the clausal inflectional possibilities have been divided into finite or non-finite. However three groups of inflections remain to be examined: the Serial Verb inflection (section 7.2.5), the Clause Conjoining morphology (section 11.7) and the other non-finite inflections (section 7.2.8).

The Serial Verb inflection is outside the finite/non-finite distinction. It is used to combine two verb stems into a single predicate, then this predicate itself is either finite or non-finite, depending on the inflections on the fully inflected verb stem.

The Clause Conjoiner is quite similar in behaviour. It combines two clauses, the effect being that both share the inflectional meaning of the fully inflected verb. The two clauses then share their finiteness, both finite or both non-finite. The two clauses are, however, always main clauses — they cannot be subordinate.

This then leaves the other non-finite inflections to be discussed, and the verbless copula constructions. The Infinitive inflection is clearly non-finite, being used only in subordinate clauses and never being associated with tense or person; the other cases are more complex.

Awa Pit forms copula constructions in two ways: with or without the copula verb *i* (see section 3.6.2); thus the structures for copula constructions using adjective Copula Complements, for example, are:[6]

Noun Adjective *i*-...

Noun Adjective

If the copula *i* appears in a main clause, tense and person marking are obligatory; if it is absent, tense and person cannot be expressed, and are semantically "free", being fixed by context. It could be hypothesized that these two constructions are identical, and it is simply the case that the copula is optional. The two constructions do, however, have different distributions, even in main clauses. The form with tense and person marking can, unsurprisingly, only be used in cases where a finite clause would be expected, and it is clearly finite. However there are also main copula clauses which do not have a copula verb.

Two of the other non-finite inflections, the two adjectivizers, pattern in precisely the same fashion. They can occur accompanied by the copula verb, or without it:

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[6]Both of these constructions will be referred to as 'copula clauses', despite the absence of copula verbs from the latter construction, because of the parallelism in their semantics. 'Copula clause' is thus a cover term for equative clauses, identity clauses, ascriptive clauses, and so on, all of these functions being carried out by clauses with or without *i*.

(26) *ampatinkwa amta   shaa-m   (i)*
      Vieja   at:night walk-ADJZR   (be.(NONLOCUT))
      'La Vieja (Old Woman) walks at night (is at-night-walking).'

The distribution of these clauses is the same as that of the simple copula construction with or without a copula verb. The adjectivizers essentially form an "adjective" from a clause, and this can then be used as the predicate in a copula construction, in the same fashion as any other adjective (or, indeed, noun).

The extended Perfective Participle (see section 7.2.8.3) is quite similar. In the Resultative and Past Anterior constructions, the extended Perfective Participle is used in what is almost a copula construction, although there are greater restrictions placed on it so that, for example, the copula is necessarily non-plural.[7] Despite these differences from the copula construction, these two constructions can appear with or without a copula verb.

(27) *Demetrio a-ka=na,*   *piya pak-ma-t*
      Demetrio come-WHEN=TOP   corn harvest-COMP-PFPART
      (a-ti-zi)
      (be-PAST-NONLOCUT)
      'When Demetrio arrived, the corn was (in a state of having been) harvested.'

So far there is, perhaps, little need to establish a separate clause type to deal with these cases. It could still be maintained that there is simply an optional copula, with different distributions on the construction with and without an (overt) copula. However the Imperfective Participle construction is distinct.

The Imperfective Participle (see section 7.2.8.2) can be used in a construction apparently parallel to that of the extended Perfective Participle, without a copula verb:

(28) *na=na*   *ku-mtu*
      1SG.(NOM)=TOP   eat-IMPFPART
      'I am/was/will be eating.'

This Imperfective Participle can also be used with other stative verbs acting as an auxiliary (see section 11.2.1 for details):

(29) *ku-mtu*   *uz-is*
      eat-IMPFPART   be:sitting-LOCUT
      'I am (sitting) eating.'

However it can never be used together with the copula verb *i*, unlike other non-finite forms such as the extended Perfective Participle:

(30) **ku-mtu*   *i-s*
      eat-IMPFPART   be-LOCUT

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[7]See sections 11.2.2.2 and 11.2.2.1 for details.

	Copula	Active verb	*pana*	*uz*
Locutor Present	*i-s*	*-(m)tu-s*	*pana-s*	*uz-is*
Non-locutor Present	*i*	*-(m)tu-y*	*pana-y*	*uz-i*
Locutor Subject Past	*a-ta-w*	*-(m)tu-ata-w*	*pana-ta-w*	*uz-ata-w*
Locutor Undergoer Past	*a-ti-s*	*-(m)tu-ati-s*	*pana-ti-s*	*uz-ati-s*
Non-locutor Past	*a-ti-zi*	*-(m)tu-ati-zi*	*pana-ti-zi*	*uz-ati-zi*
Locutor Future	*a-ni-s*	*-(m)tu-ani-s*	*pana-ni-s*	*uz-ani-s*
Non-locutor Future	*a-ni-zi*	*-(m)tu-ani-zi*	*pana-ni-zi*	*uz-ani-zi*

Table 3.2: Tense and person forms of the copula, Imperfective active verbs, and the stative verbs *pana* 'be standing' and *uz* 'be sitting'.

Instead, corresponding to the Imperfective Participle without a copula are the fully finite Imperfective aspect forms:

(31)   *ku-mtu-s*
        eat-IMPF-LOCUT
        'I am eating.'

It is very clear that, historically the forms of the finite Imperfective have developed from the Imperfective Participle followed by the copula verb. This can be seen firstly from the very lack of this possibility: the Imperfective Participle can be used with any of the other stative verbs as an auxiliary, including the "pseudo-copula" *ka*, almost indistinguishable from the copula in meaning. This relationship between the (non-occurring) Participle plus copula and the finite Imperfective is also suggested by the use of the constructions: the fully finite Imperfective forms correspond in range precisely to the copula construction with an overt copula, and also to the Resultative and Past Anterior constructions with a copula; while the Imperfective Participle forms have the range of the copula, Resultative and Past Anterior constructions without a copula. But the correspondence can be seen even more clearly in the forms of the finite Imperfective of both active and stative verbs given in Table 3.2. The historical origin of the finite Imperfective forms explains the "epenthetic" *a* or *i* which appears in many of these forms. While originally the stem of the copula, it is now simply part of the allomorph of the person or tense marking.

Imperfective forms developing from a participle plus a copula are not unknown in the languages of the world. Imperfective constructions often appear to have developed from earlier progressive constructions (Bybee & Pagliuca 1985), and Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:130–131) list six cases of progressives consisting of copula auxiliaries plus a non-finite verb form.

Synchronically the form *(m)tu* cannot be treated as only an Imperfective Participle occurring in some sort of arrangement with a "fused" copula. It occurs, for example, before the subordinating suffix *ka*, where the (other) two inflectional aspect suffixes are also possible. Thus there are two separate imperfective forms, historically only one and having identical allomorphy. One is an aspect inflection,

and patterns with the other two inflectional aspect markers; the other forms a (non-finite) Imperfective Participle.

However this then creates a problem for clause types. A main clause, under certain conditions, can consist simply of a clause with an Imperfective Participle, a non-finite form, as in sentence (28) above. This main clause cannot be analyzed as a copula construction with an ellipsed copula, as the "corresponding" clause with an overt copula, sentence (30), does not exist, as noted above. It is necessary to introduce a separate clause type, a non-finite main clause, which of course has restrictions on when it may appear, as all clause types do.

Once a special non-finite main clause with particular restrictions on its occurrence has been established, it seems counter-intuitive not to consider that other main clauses, apparently non-finite and with exactly the same set of restrictions on them, also belong to this clause type. Rather than considering that there are only finite copula clauses, finite clauses involving adjectivizers, and finite clauses involving the extended Perfective Participle, and particular restrictions on the ellipsis of the full copula or auxiliary copula, it seems far more logical to analyze these forms into two clause types: a fully finite clause, where an explicit copula or auxiliary copula is present, and which corresponds to a finite Imperfective clause: and a non-finite clause type, where there is no copula verb, which corresponds to a non-finite Imperfective Participle clause.

The exact range of uses of non-finite main clauses is unclear at this stage, and requires examination of contextualized uses. It is possible that these clauses, while not *syntactically* dependent on others, are *discourse* dependent; this would then be similar to the use of non-finite main clauses in Witoto to show the 'setting' (Petersen de Piñeros 1992:111).

It would also be instructive to compare the use and frequency of finite and non-finite main clauses in Awa Pit with those in Damana, spoken in the north of Colombia. While Trillos Amaya's (1989) analysis of Damana discusses "aspectual" versus "mood" forms, it is clear that the "aspectual" forms are, in fact, non-finite — they have no person marking, and may even be followed by suffixes identical to noun suffixes, and they may also precede auxiliaries. In addition, however, similarly to the Awa Pit Imperfective, the "aspectual" forms can be followed by a suffix *ka* and are then marked for person. It is possible that this "suffix" *ka* is, historically at least, a copula form.[8]

3.3.3 Summary of clause types

From the above discussion, four major clause types can be established, as mentioned earlier. The most common main clauses are the finite main clauses, including finite conjoined clauses. There are also non-finite main clauses, including non-finite conjoined clauses. While the non-finite main clauses are syntactically independent units, they may be highly dependent on preceding discourse. Parallel to the two main clause types are the two subordinate clause types: the

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[8]Compare the "pseudo-copula" *ka* in Awa Pit, and the widespread occurrence of an auxiliary/copula similar to *ka* in South America (David Payne 1990).

highly restricted finite subordinate clause, and the much more common non-finite subordinate clause.

3.4   Complements and adjuncts

With the exception of predicates and modifiers of predicates (for example the Manner adverbials), all clausal elements in Awa Pit fall into two classes: complements and adjuncts. The distinction between these two types was defined in the following fashion by Andrews:

> The distribution of complements is governed by potentially idiosyncratic specifications on verbs (or other predicators). Adjuncts on the other hand appear whenever they would be semantically appropriate. ... it is reasonable to think of the complement/adjunct distinction as overlapping the core/oblique distinction, with the class of complements comprising all core NPs and some obliques. Adjuncts, on the other hand, always seem to be oblique.
>
> (Andrews 1985:89)

Complements are, then, those arguments which are called for by the predicate; adjuncts are those items which can be added to any sentence (if they would make sense), but are not tied to the subcategorization frame of the predicate.

In Awa Pit, the vast majority of complements are core grammatical functions (see section 3.5) — nearly all verbs are only subcategorized for some subset of Subject, Object, Second Object and Copula Complement. However there are a few verbs which require some oblique argument (see section 4.5.5.2). Some of these verbs require a particular oblique argument, for example the verb *mazh-* 'change/trade' requires a Subject (the person doing the trading), an Object (the thing traded) and an oblique marked with the postposition =*kasa* 'with' (the thing the Object was traded for).

(32)   na=na   [maza   atal=na   ]   [paas
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   [one   chicken=TOP   ]   [two
       A   O   with.complement

       pollo   pashpa=kasa] mazh-ta-w
       chicken DIM=with   ] change-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
                             V

'I traded one chicken for two little chicks.'

Other verbs in this group require an oblique argument, but are not particular about which oblique, as long as it is semantically coherent. Thus the verb *win-* 'put in a place' requires a Subject (the person doing the putting), an Object (the thing put) and some oblique locational phrase (the place where the thing is put). This locational phrase may be one of a number of locational postpositional phrases; for example:

(33) *na*   Ø *tim=ta*   *win-ta-w*
      1SG.(NOM) Ø basket=in   put-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      A   O location.complement V
      'I put [the plantains] into the basket.'

(34) *na=na*   Ø *su=wa*   *win-ta-w*
      1SG.(NOM)=TOP Ø there=in(approx) put-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      A   O location.complement V
      'I put [the plate] over there.'

In morphological terms, these oblique complements are identical to oblique adjuncts. Thus the *kasa*-complement in sentence (32) above appears morphologically identical to the *kasa*-adjunct in sentence (35) below; and the *ta*-complement in sentence (33) above has the same form as the *ta*-adjunct in sentence (36) below:

(35) *awa=na*   *ti=kasa*   *piya* *waa-mtu*
      person=TOP   stick=with   corn   sow-IMPFPART
      A   with.adjunct   O   V
      'The Awa sow corn with a stick.'

(36) Ø *fiesta=ta*   *ashaŋpa* *tita-ni-ma-tu*
      Ø festival=in   woman   search-PROSP-COMP-HORT.1SG
      A location.adjunct   O   V
      'I'm going off to find a wife at the festival.'

As morphologically there is no distinction between the complements and adjuncts, and semantically they are almost identical, there seems to be no reason to claim that there are different syntactic functions involved in the two pairs of sentences. However there are syntactic differences between the two usages.

There is a difference in position between the complements and the adjuncts. As was seen in section 3.2, in the most basic clause structure the adjuncts occur *before* the Object, while oblique complements occur *after* the Object; and this can be seen in the sentences above, with the adjuncts in sentences (35) and (36) occurring before the Objects, while in sentence (32) the oblique complement occurs after the Object. In either case the postpositional phrase could be moved to initial position in the clause; but the adjunct PPs could not be placed after the Objects, and the complement PPs could not be placed between the Subject and the Object.

A more subtle, but still syntactic, difference also exists between morphologically identical complements and adjuncts. The Serial Verb construction (see section 11.5) combines two verbs into a single entity. The verbs in question, however, must have identical complement structures. Thus two intransitive verbs can be combined, or two transitive verbs, but not an intransitive and a transitive verb. While the verbs must have identical complements, one or the other verb may have additional adjuncts, which need not be shared by the other verb; for example, in the following sentence, the adjunct *iyaŋpa=kasa* 'with a shotgun' belongs to the first verb, *pyaŋta-* 'kill', but not to the second, *ku-* 'eat':

(37)   Juan=na   iyaŋpa=kasa   kukum   pyaŋta-t   ku-mtu
        Juan=TOP   shotgun=with possum kill-SV   eat-IMPFPART
        A₁/A₂   adjunct   O₁/O₂   V₁   V₂
        'Juan killed the possum with a shotgun and ate it.'

The *kasa*-adjunct in the above sentence is "outside" the complement structure, and can be used applying to only one of the verbs in a Serial Verb construction. However a *kasa*-complement is not "outside" the complement structure, and consequently a Serial Verb cannot be formed by, for example, combining *pun-* 'fill' — which takes a Subject (the person filling), an Object (the thing filled) and a *kasa*-complement (the substance used to fill) — with *kway-* 'drop' — which takes a Subject and an Object — even if the two Subjects and the two Objects are the same, as they would be in "I filled the bowl with soup and dropped it". While the Subjects and Objects of the two verbs here are identical, the first verb also has an oblique complement, and as this is not mirrored in the second verb, they cannot be joined in the Serial Verb construction.

The complement/adjunct distinction thus plays an important role in the syntax of Awa Pit, much more so than the distinction between core and oblique constituents (see section 3.5.5). Verbs specify complements, whereas adjuncts may appear wherever they are semantically appropriate; adjuncts precede complements (except the Subject) in the basic clause structure; and the operation of syntactic processes may depend on the number and type of complements, while the presence or absence of adjuncts has no effect on these processes.

3.5   Syntactic functions and grammatical relations

This section establishes the basic grammatical relations and other syntactic functions of Awa Pit. While the basic syntactic functions of A, S and O are universal, and can be easily established, they are not necessarily the most useful tools for language description. It is often easier to work in terms of grammatical relations such as Subject and Object, where a grammatical relation is:

> a [syntactic] function that is generally significant for the workings
> of the grammatical principles of [the] language, and which it would
> therefore be reasonable (although not necessarily correct) to posit
> as a primitive element in the sentence structures of the language.

(Andrews 1985:66)

In particular, the grammatical relations of Subject, Object, Second Object and Copula Complement will be useful in describing many constructions of Awa Pit, once they have been introduced and justified.

3.5.1   A, S and O syntactic functions

The basic syntactic functions of A, S and O used in this work are defined according to Andrews (1985). If an NP argument of a verb with two or more NP arguments

is acting morphologically and syntactically identically to the Agent argument of a Primary Transitive Verb (such as 'kill'), it is considered to have the syntactic function A. If it is acting morphologically and syntactically identically to the Patient of such a verb, it is said to have the syntactic function O. If an NP in an intransitive sentence is being accorded the morphological and syntactic treatment normally given to the single argument of a one-argument predicate, it is considered to have the syntactic function S.

The somewhat more restrictive definitions of A, S and O given by Andrews (1985) are being adopted, rather than those of Dixon (1994), to avoid some serious theoretical concerns. Dixon considers that the single argument of any intransitive verb is an S, and the two arguments of any transitive verb are A and O. However there are languages which have a very small number of verbs requiring their arguments to take unusual case marking. For example, in Modern Icelandic there are a few intransitive verbs which have their single argument case-marked in the same way as transitive objects are normally marked (Andrews 1985:102). In Dixon's system, we would then be required to consider Modern Icelandic to be a split-S language, as the single argument of an intransitive verb (always an S following Dixon's definition) can be marked in more than one way; in fact, it would be a four-way split-S language, as there are also a few verbs which require their single argument to be in dative or genitive case. Clearly, however, we wish to consider Icelandic a nominative–accusative language, with a very few verbs with unusual case-marking requirements, quite different from a split-S language such as Dakota, where it is not possible to make a generalization over the entire system of intransitive verbs, but rather there are two different systems operating. If we establish definitions whereby a language such as Icelandic is a split-S language, it then becomes necessary to consider further splits such as the 'split-O' system of German, where a few transitive verbs (such as *helpen* 'help') have their non-A argument marked in the dative rather than the accusative, and so on.

Equally, there are problems with considering A and O to be defined as the two arguments of any transitive verb — it is unclear what exactly is a transitive verb. Dixon (1994:6) simply says that clauses involving "a verb and two or more core NPs" is a transitive clause. If a core NP is defined as A, S or O, we have a circular definition. If a core NP is not defined this way, it is unclear whether, across languages, there is an appropriate definition of core NPs. Following Andrews's (1985) definition, it will be suggested that Copula Complements in Awa Pit are core arguments, and in this case copula clauses contain two core arguments — but we would not wish to consider these clauses as transitive in many languages, including Awa Pit. To avoid these problems, Andrews's (1985) more restrictive definitions of A, S and O will be used here.

3.5.2 Subject

Awa Pit is a nominative–accusative language, both morphologically and syntactically: as will be shown in this section, NPs in A function and those in S function act in the same way, both morphologically and syntactically, and dif-

fer from NPs in O function.[9] It is thus possible to establish the grammatical relation of Subject, which covers all NPs in A and S function and a number of others, since A and S have been defined restrictively. With the exception of zero-argument verbs, every verb in Awa Pit is subcategorized for a Subject.

The morphological and syntactic tests given below are applicable to all NPs in A function, and all NPs in S function which are arguments of active verbs.[10] Unfortunately, while the morphological tests used to show the identity of S and A all work for active verbs (though with minor differences in the case of number marking), the majority of syntactic tests are not applicable for clauses involving stative verbs — the stative verbs simply cannot be used in these constructions.

The evidence for considering that arguments of stative verbs are Subjects comes from three sources. The majority of stative verbs have, in fact, only one argument, by definition S, and thus this argument is a Subject. This is not, however, particularly convincing. Morphologically and syntactically, one of the arguments of a stative verb acts in precisely the same fashion as an A or S of an active verb — in terms of constituent order, case marking, controlling number marking (with differences) and person marking. There is one syntactic test for Subject which can be used with stative verbs, the same-Subject purposive.

The grammatical relation of Subject covers a variety of semantic roles, such as volitional agent (*ayna-* 'cook'), non-volitional agent (*kwata-* 'vomit'), patient (*kwaa-* 'drown', *iiŋ-* 'ripen'), experiencer (*izh-* 'see') and possessor (*mij* 'have').

3.5.2.1   Constituent order

The first piece of evidence for a Subject grammatical relation comes from constituent order. In the most basic clause ordering (discussed in section 3.2), only one constituent occurs before any adjuncts. This constituent is A or S, when one of these is present in a clause, and hence any constituent which occurs within a clause before adjuncts is the Subject.

3.5.2.2   Case marking

The system of case marking used in Awa Pit is relatively transparent. It is 'analytic' rather than 'synthetic' (Blake 1994:10), as the relationship between dependent arguments and their verbal heads is expressed through cliticized postpositions rather than case inflections; however the same information is being offered as is offered through case inflection, and the use of particles or adpositions to express the syntactic function of arguments is well known (Dixon 1994:41–42).

In Awa Pit, the case-marking system is nominative–accusative, with A and S being marked in the same fashion, distinctly from O. NPs which are in A

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[9]In the following discussion, "NPs in O function" will often be referred to. In fact, in the analysis given here, many of these "NPs" are actually PPs, as the Accusative marker *ta* is considered to be a postposition. However the somewhat sloppy wording is used to avoid a constant use of "NPs or PPs".

[10]See section 4.5 for the important active/stative distinction in Awa Pit verbs.

or S function are unmarked, while NPs in O function are marked as Accusative if they refer to referential humans, although they remain unmarked if referring to entities which are not referential and human.[11] The personal pronouns have special Accusative suffixes or clitics, while all other NPs are made Accusative by the addition of a clitic postposition *ta* (see section 5.4.2). The following examples contain a variety of NPs in A, S and O functions, and clearly show the unmarked nature of S and A, and the division of O between referential human (Accusative) and other (unmarked).[12]

(38) *Demetrio=na   tilawa   a-mtu-y*
      Demetrio=TOP   tomorrow   come-IMPF-NONLOCUT
      S   V
      'Demetrio is coming tomorrow.'

(39) *Demetrio   na-wa   pyan-ti-ti-s*
      Demetrio   1SG-ACC   hit-TERM-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
      A   O (ref. human)   V
      'Demetrio hit me.'

(40) *Demetrio   kuzhu   pay-t   kway-zi*
      Demetrio   pig   buy-SV   DROP-NONLOCUT
      A   O (not ref. human)   V
      'Demetrio bought a pig.'

(41) *na=na   Demetrio=ta   pyan-tu*
      1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Demetrio=ACC   hit-IMPFPART
      A   O (ref. human) V
      'I hit Demetrio.'

(42) *na=na   nayŋ-ma-ti-s*
      1SG.(NOM)=TOP   fall-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
      S   V
      'I fell.'

(43) *nu=na   Juan=ta   pyan-ti-zi*
      2SG.(NOM)=TOP   Juan=ACC   hit-PAST-NONLOCUT
      A   O (ref. human) V
      'You hit Juan.'

(44) *nu=na   pala   ku-mtu-y*
      2SG.(NOM)=TOP   plantain   eat-IMPF-NONLOCUT
      A   O (not ref. human)   V
      'You are eating plantains.'

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[11]In fact, O can sometimes be marked by other cases, if the sentence is not highly transitive — see discussion below, in section 3.5.3.1.

[12]It is perhaps worth noting that the clitic *na*, used in many of these examples, is not a case-marking clitic, but rather a topic marker, and may occur on a wide variety of elements, although it is most commonly found on Subjects (see section 14.2).

Many more examples could be given, of course, of different types of nominals, different verbs, different tenses, aspects and moods, and subordinate rather than main clauses. However in all cases, A and S are treated in the same way, and O is treated distinctly, when it refers to a referential human entity. Subjects, then, are always unmarked NPs, rather than case-marked PPs.

3.5.2.3 Number marking

As will be discussed in section 7.3, speakers of Awa Pit seldom use any number marking. However sometimes number marking is used, with special verbal suffixes used to indicate the plurality of one of the verbal arguments. For active verbs there are two different suffixes, a and *na*. If a plural S or A is to be indicated, a is used; a plural O can be shown by *na*:

(45)   *kayl-a-ni-zi*
        return-PL:SUBJ-FUT-NONLOCUT
        'They will come back.'

(46)   *uspa=na*   *Santos=ta*   *tit-shi-a-mtu-y*
        3PL.(NOM)=TOP   Santos=ACC   cut-DESID-PL:SUBJ-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'They want to stab Santos.'

(47)   *na=na*   *uspa=tuza*   *tit*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   3PL=(3PL.)ACC   cut
        kyan-na-ta-w
        THROW-PL:OBJ-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I stabbed them.'

Thus marking the plurality of an argument of an active verb by using the verb suffixes a and *na* does not distinguish between S and A, with both being marked as plural through a, but does differentiate these from O, which is indicated as plural through the use of the suffix *na*. The possibility of cross-referencing the number of a human argument of an active verb with a can thus be used as a test for Subject.

Number marking of stative verbs is done in a distinct fashion, through the use of different, suppletive, affixes (see section 7.3.2), and only occurs in the Present tense. Only one of the arguments of a stative verb can trigger number agreement, and for stative intransitives this is the S argument. Thus while number marking is of a distinct form, it can be used to establish Subjects of stative verbs, as well as active verbs.

3.5.2.4 Person marking

Awa Pit has a morphological marking system which corresponds in many ways to a person cross-referencing system in other languages. It is not truly a cross-referencing system, however, and only partially relies on grammatical relations,

with semantic roles and the involvement of participants in an action also being important factors (see chapter 8 for details).

However this system of marking can contribute to identifying the grammatical relation of Subject. If a verb of any type, active or stative, is in the Past tense, and has a final w, then the S or A argument (if that verb has one) is necessarily first person in a statement, second person in a question.[13] Thus if a first-person referent in a statement or a second-person referent in a question causes a Past tense verb to appear with the suffix w, the NP referring to that referent is in Subject relation in the clause.

3.5.2.5 The Conjoined Clause construction

The above tests have shown that, morphologically, S and A are identified in Awa Pit, and the language can be established as morphologically accusative. Awa Pit is also syntactically accusative, having an S/A pivot (to use the terminology introduced in Dixon (1979)) for those syntactic constructions requiring a pivot.[14] Given the morphological accusativity of the language, it is not surprising that it should also be syntactically accusative — as has often been observed, "any language that is syntactically ergative will also have some ergative characteristics at the morphological level" (Dixon 1994:177).

The first construction showing the S/A pivot of Awa Pit is the Conjoined Clause construction, which is approximately equivalent to the conjunction of two propositions.[15] The important point here is that with this construction, which can only be used with active verbs, the two propositions involved must share the same Subject — and the two verbs may be both transitive, both intransitive, or one transitive and one intransitive. Thus this construction treats S and A in the same fashion, quite distinct from O. This can be seen clearly in the following sentences:[16]

(48) | *Marcos=na* | *a-t* | *kit* | *$\emptyset$* | *pala* | *kwa-ma-ti* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marcos=TOP | come-SV | AND | $\emptyset$ | plantain | eat-COMP-TERM |
| S_1 | V_1 | | $(A_2=S_1)$ | O_2 | V_2 |

'Marcos came and [Marcos] ate a plantain.'

(49) | *Santos=na* | *Laureano=ta* | *pyan* | *kit* | *$\emptyset$* | *ii-ma-ti* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Santos=TOP | Laureano=ACC | hit | AND | $\emptyset$ | die-COMP-TERM |
| A_1 | O_1 | V_1 | | $(S_2=A_1)$ | V_2 |

'Santos hit Laureano and [Santos] died.'

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[13]The reverse is not necessarily true, however: a first person S in a statement does not always imply a final w in the Past tense.

[14]For the one minor exception, see section 3.5.2.10.

[15]See section 11.7 for full details of this construction.

[16]It is important to note, here and in the following few sections, that the use of a zero in these sentences does *not* imply that there was an underlying sentence with a full NP argument which was later deleted. The zero is simply indicating that the following verb has a subcategorization frame expecting an argument of this type, and assigns it as coreferential to another referent in the sentence.

(50)   *Telésforo=na*   *Abelardo=ta*   *pyan* *kit*   Ø
        Telésforo=TOP   Abelardo=ACC   hit   AND   Ø
        A_1 O_1 V_1 (S_2=A_1)
        shaa-mtu
        walk-IMPFPART
        V_2

'Telésforo hit Abelardo and [Telésforo] walked off.'

In example (48), the first clause contains an intransitive verb, and an S. The second clause is (obligatorily) without an expressed A, and the construction requires that the non-expressed A of the second verb be coreferential to the S of the first clause of the sentence. Similarly, in both the second and third example sentences, (49) and (50), the second verb in each sentence has no expressed S argument. There are two potential referents in each case, semantically speaking — either the A or the O of the previous verb. However in both cases, because of the syntax of this construction, the non-expressed S must be coreferential with the A of the previous verb, not the O.

The Conjoined Clause construction thus obligatorily identifies S and A, and differentiates them from O — it works on an S/A pivot: it is syntactically accusative, and operates on the basis of the grammatical relation of Subject.

3.5.2.6   The same-Subject purposive

Awa Pit has a same-Subject purposive construction.[17] Just as with the Conjoined Clause construction above, the same-Subject purposive requires that a (non-expressed) A or S of the purposive clause be coreferential with an A or S in the matrix clause. Thus corresponding to sentence (51), where the (obligatorily non-expressed) subordinate A corresponds to the matrix A, there is sentence (52), where the (obligatorily unexpressed) subordinate A corresponds to the matrix S.

(51)   *Carmen* *piya* *kii-t*   *kway-zi,*   Ø   *atal*   *pashpa*
        Carmen   corn   mill-SV DROP-NONLOCUT Ø   chicken   DIM
        A_1 O_1 V_1 (A_2=A_1) O_2
        kwin-na
        give-INF
        V_2

'Carmen ground corn to give to the baby chickens.'

(52)   *Demetrio=na*   *tilawa*   *a-mtu-y,*
        Demetrio=TOP   tomorrow   come-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        S_1 V_1
        Ø   *si*   *pyan-na*
        Ø   firewood   cut-INF
        (A_2=S_1) O_2 V_2

'Demetrio is coming tomorrow to cut firewood.'

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[17]See section 10.3.1 for details.

The same-Subject purposive construction thus operates on an S/A pivot, identifying S and A, and distinguishing them from O; the Subjects of the two clauses must be coreferential.

While the subordinate verb must be active, the matrix verb in a same-Subject purposive may be stative. This construction is the only one which shows that the argument of stative verbs which is morphologically similar to S is, syntactically, a Subject. Thus in the following sentence, the S of the first, stative, verb is necessarily coreferential with the non-expressed A of the second verb.

(53) *na=na*   *akki* *tansha-s,*
      1SG.(NOM)=TOP   here   sit-LOCUT
      S_1 V_1
      $\emptyset$ *Laureano=ta*   *titizh-na*
      $\emptyset$ Laureano=ACC   wait:for-INF
      $(A_2{=}S_1)$ O_2 V_2

'I am sitting here, to wait for Laureano.'

The same-Subject purposive can consequently be used to show the grammatical relation of Subject, operating as it does across both active and stative verbs.

3.5.2.7 Complements of intention

There is a construction used in Awa Pit for complements of intention.[18] This construction involves an active subordinate clause which necessarily does not have an expressed S or A. The S or A of the subordinate verb is understood to be coreferential with the A of the matrix clause; for example:

(54) *Santos=na*   [$\emptyset$ *a-n*   ] *kizh-ti-zi*
      Santos=TOP   [$\emptyset$ come-INF   ] say-PAST-NONLOCUT
      A_1 $(S_2{=}A_1)$ V_2 V_1

'Santos said that he would come.'

(55) *Ángel=na*   [$\emptyset$ *tilawa*   *shappi*   *kii-na*   ] *kizh-ti*
      Ángel=TOP   [$\emptyset$ tomorrow   cane:juice   mill-INF   ] say-TERM
      A_1 $(A_2{=}A_1)$ O_2 V_2 V_1

'Ángel said that he would mill cane juice tomorrow.'

While the matrix clause necessarily has an A in this construction, this A is always coreferential with the Subject of the subordinate clause; and S and A in the subordinate clause are thus identified.

3.5.2.8 Agentive adjectivizations

As will be discussed in section 10.4, there is a construction in Awa Pit — the agentive adjectivization construction — which involves the addition of the verb-suffix *mu* (or its allomorph *m*) to a clause to form an "adjective". This "adjective" (which

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[18]For full details, see section 10.2.4.1.

is actually a subordinate clause) states that its referent habitually performs the action of the subordinate clause, and may be formed from intransitive, transitive or ditransitive active clauses, retaining all the complements and adjuncts of a full clause, with one exception. The subordinate clause cannot contain a Subject, with the notional Subject being coreferential with the noun being modified by the "adjective". For example:

(56)   na=na   [$\emptyset$ kwisha   attihsh=ta   shaa-m   ]
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP [$\emptyset$ very   far=in   walk-ADJZR]
       S_1 (S_2=HEAD) V_2
       awa   i-s
       person   be-LOCUT
       HEAD (CopComp) V_1
       'I am a person who habitually walks to very far (I'm used to walking a long way).'

(57)   [$\emptyset$ kal   ki-m=ta   ta-mu   ]
       [$\emptyset$ work(1)   work(2)-ADJZR=ACC   pay-ADJZR]
       (A_2=HEAD) O_2 V_2
       awa   pyal   kaa-ma-ti-zi
       person   money   lose-COMP-TERM-NONLOCUT
       HEAD (A_1) O_1 V_1
       'The person who pays the workers [money] lost the money.'

The head of the NP containing the agentive adjectivization is always coreferential with either a notional A or S of the subordinate clause — once again, Awa Pit has an S/A pivot, and is operating on the basis of a Subject.

3.5.2.9 Agentive nominalizations

The final construction showing the existence of a clear S/A pivot in Awa Pit is the agentive nominalization construction, discussed in section 10.5, which produces a nominalized active clause with the meaning "the one who/which carries/carried out the action in the subordinate clause". The subordinate clause lacks either an S or an A, depending on its transitivity, and the understood S or A of the subordinate clause is coreferential to the referent of the nominalization itself:

(58)   [$\emptyset$ anshik   a-t   ]=mika=na   wiya
       [$\emptyset$ yesterday   come-PFPART   ]=NMLZR.SG=TOP   fight(1)
       (S_2=HEAD) V_2 HEAD (S_1)
       ki-ma-t   ma-ti-zi
       fight(2)-COMP-PFPART   ANTER-TERM-NONLOCUT
       V_1
       'The one who came yesterday had fought.'

(59) [$\emptyset$ *Juan=ta*   *pyan-ta*   ]=*mika=na*   *katsa*
      [$\emptyset$ Juan=ACC   hit-PFPART   ]=NMLZR.SG=TOP   big
      (A$_2$=HEAD) O$_2$ V$_2$ HEAD (S$_1$)

      'The one who hit Juan is big.

3.5.2.10   Deverbal adjectives and resultatives

There are two constructions in Awa Pit which operate on an S/O syntactic pivot, rather than an S/A pivot. These are the deverbal adjectives (section 5.2.3.1) and the Resultative construction (section 11.2.2.2). However, there are reasons for discounting these constructions from the overall analysis of pivots in Awa Pit.

Both of these constructions are examples of resultative constructions, showing that a certain entity has undergone a change of state. As Comrie (1981:113) notes, "languages will tend to show a bias towards ergative–absolutive syntax in resultative constructions" regardless of their base type, because of pragmatic factors associated with the resultative construction — with an intransitive verb, any change of state is necessarily assigned to the S; with prototypically transitive verbs, the entity which undergoes a change of state is the O. Thus any change of state will most naturally be assigned to S for an intransitive verb, and O for a transitive verb.

In addition, of course, the deverbal adjectives and the Resultative construction do not apply across all verbs. They are restricted to a semantic grouping of verbs, those which imply a change of state within their lexical meaning.

3.5.3   Object and Second Object

As well as the grammatical relation of Subject, two grammatical relations have to be established to cover the syntactic function O and related functions: these are the grammatical relations of Object and of Second Object. Once again, to establish these grammatical relations it would be better to rely on syntactic rather than morphological criteria. Indeed, of the two morphological processes involving O, case marking gives very unclear results about a grammatical relation of Object, while number marking is slightly better.

Unfortunately, there is relatively little syntactic evidence for Object and Second Object in Awa Pit. Given the lack of a passive construction in Awa Pit, there are only three syntactic constructions which clearly involve O: the Serial Verb construction, the Resultative, and the use of *zha*, the First Person Object Imperative form. The first two of these cannot be used to establish which of the non-Subject arguments of ditransitive verbs should be considered O, for different reasons. The Serial Verb construction (see section 11.5) requires that both verbs in the construction have the same referents for all grammatical relations, but unfortunately also requires the verbs involved to have the same transitivity — hence it is impossible to combine a transitive and a ditransitive verb to discover which argument of the ditransitive verb corresponds to the O of the transitive verb. The Resultative construction (section 11.2.2.2) with transitive verbs has an S which corresponds to an O of a verb in a non-Resultative form; however the

Resultative construction is only possible with verbs expressing a change of state, and there are no ditransitive verbs which fall in this semantic class. Hence the only syntactic construction which can be used to examine which of the two non-Subject arguments of a ditransitive verb is in O function is the *zha* construction, and this will be discussed following the morphological evidence.

3.5.3.1 Case marking

The case-marking system of Awa Pit is nominative–accusative, as was shown in section 3.5.2. The Subject of a sentence is always unmarked for case, while an O may be marked. In general, as was shown in the examples in that section, a referential human NP is marked as Accusative in O function while other NPs in this function are unmarked.

Marking only referential human NPs in O function with Accusative marking, while leaving others unmarked, is not uncommon in the languages of the world.[19] It could, in theory, lead to confusion about whether a particular unmarked non-human NP is in O function or not. In fact, it is usually clear from context or semantics that a particular non-human referent is, or is not, in O function. If ambiguity remains, it is always possible to use explicit NPs for both participants, and rely on the usual constituent order, with A preceding O, to disambiguate the syntactic functions:

(60)   *ishu=na*   *pitikku*   *ku-m*
        tiger=TOP   sloth   eat-ADJZR
        A   O (not ref. human)   V
        'Tigers eat sloths.'

It is not just important that the referent of the O be human; to be case-marked Accusative it must also be referential, in Givón's (1982) terms — it must not simply refer to some generic type, but rather the referent of the NP must have a specific identity. When an NP with a human referent is used in O function, but as a generic type NP, rather than referring to a specific referent, the NP is unmarked:

(61)   *ashaŋpa*   *tita-mtu-s*
        woman   search-IMPF-LOCUT
        O (human, not ref.)   V
        'I am looking for a woman [to marry].'

In fact, it is not quite correct to claim that referential human Os have to be followed by *ta*. In the vast majority of circumstances they must be, and in all circumstances they may be, but in fact in certain restricted circumstances a referential human O may be marked with the locative postpositions *mal* or *pa* (or its allomorph *wa*). This distinct marking occurs only when (because of modifiers) a clause containing a transitive verb is very low in transitivity, in Hopper &

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[19]Spanish and Hindi, for example, also employ this differential marking; see Moravcsik (1978:272–281) for further discussion of this phenomenon.

Thompson's (1980) terms; for example, there is no transfer of action. Thus beside sentence (62) using the usual marker of O, *ta*, despite the low transitivity of the clause, there are sentences (63) and (64) using *pa* and *mal* respectively.

(62) *Santos=ta=na*   *miza*   *pyan-a-ma-t*
       Santos=ACC=TOP   almost   hit-PL:SUBJ-COMP-PFPART
       'They almost beat up Santos.'

(63) *Demetrio=wa=na*   *miza*   *pyan-ma-t*
       Demetrio=in(approx)=TOP   almost   hit-COMP-PFPART
       '[They] almost beat up Demetrio.'

(64) *na=na*   *pueblo=mal*   *shaa-ta-w,*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   town=LOC   walk-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       Libardo=mal   *miza*   *pyan-ma-t*
       Libardo=LOC   almost   hit-COMP-PFPART
       'When I was in town, [they] almost beat up Libardo.'

This usage of postpositions other than *ta* to mark the O is, however, very uncommon, and any meaning difference signalled by the choice of postposition remains to be examined.

In general, then, an NP in O function in a transitive clause is marked with *ta* if its referent is human and referential, and is otherwise unmarked. In developing the grammatical relation of Object, however, it is necessary to take into account ditransitive clauses also, and here there are two NPs which could, potentially, be Objects. That is, given a verb such as *kwin-* 'give', the donor is clearly Subject, but either the gift or the recipient could be an Object. Because of their semantics — related to the concepts of giving, taking away from, or asking — the ditransitive verbs almost always have a human followed by a non-human NP. The first is always marked with *ta*, the second always unmarked:

(65) *Camilo=na*   *Santos=ta*   *pala*   *kwin-ti-zi*
       Camilo=TOP   Santos=ACC   plantain   give-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'Camilo gave Santos a plantain.'

From the point of view of case marking, it remains unclear which of these two NPs is an Object. If a non-human recipient is selected, this is always marked with the Accusative *ta*:

(66) *na=na*   *kwizha=ta=na*   comida   *kwin-ta-w*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   dog=ACC=TOP   food   give-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I gave food to the dog.'

This suggests, perhaps, that the first of the two NPs is not being treated like O, as it is always marked with *ta*, even when it is not human. However, given the semantics of the verbs involved, it is also possible that this first NP is an Object, and it is simply "humanized" for the purposes of this sentence — as it is only

possible in general to give something to a human, the dog in this sentence is being treated like a human. This analysis gains support from the treatment of non-humans as humans in possession under certain conditions (see section 5.2.4).

Equally, the second NP in these constructions is always unmarked, even when it is human:

(67)   *na=na*   *Santos=ta*   *pashu*   *mila-ta-w*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP Santos=ACC daughter give-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I gave my daughter to Santos.'

While at first glance this then suggests that the second NP is not being treated like O either, once again the unusual semantics of such a sentence could be overriding natural assignments — in this sentence, the daughter is really not being treated as human, but rather as a non-human,[20] and consequently the lack of Accusative marking could be explained by this.

Thus it is not clear from case marking in clauses involving inherently ditransitive verbs which of the two non-Subject arguments should be considered to be an Object, as the inherent semantics of ditransitive verbs assign a human status to the first non-Subject argument, and a non-human status to the second. However there is additional evidence from causative-like constructions (see section 6.4.1) which can be used to examine this issue.

The causative of a transitive verb has three arguments — the causer is assigned to Subject, and the agent and patient of the transitive verb are assigned to the first and second non-Subject positions respectively:

(68)   *na=na*   *Marcos=ta=na*   *anya=ta*   *payn-nin*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP Marcos=ACC=TOP brother=ACC hit-CAUS
       kway-ta-w
       DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I made Marcos hit [my] brother.'

With a causative construction, which does not necessarily assign human status to the first non-Subject argument and non-human status to the second non-Subject argument, *both* non-Subject arguments are followed by the postposition *ta* when human and referential, as in the previous sentence, or are left unmarked if they are non-human or non-referential:

(69)   *na=na*   *kuzhu* *piya* *kwa-nin-ta-w*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP pig   corn   eat-CAUS-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I let the pig eat corn.'

Consequently, case marking cannot determine which of the two non-Subject arguments of a ditransitive verb is the Object: both are marked identically to O, with *ta* (normally) if the referent is a referential human, or unmarked otherwise.[21]

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[20]Among the Awa, there is no tradition of children being "married off" to someone. A couple decide to live together in consultation with their parents and siblings (Osborn 1991b:167–168).

[21]An additional issue with establishing the Object relation on the basis of case marking

3.5.3.2 Number marking

The other morphological characteristic of Os is the use of the verb suffix *na* to indicate plurality of the NP in O function (as opposed to *a*, showing the plurality of the NP in A function). This plural marking is once again sensitive to the status of the NP referents — it can only be used if the NP in question is human.[22] For ditransitive verbs and transitive verbs in causative-like valency-increasing constructions, the *na* plural marking has only been found referring to the first of the two non-Subject arguments:

(70) *pashpa=ta pan   kwin-na-ta-w*
      child=ACC bread give-PL:OBJ-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      'I gave bread to the children.'

(71) *Demetrio maza kuzhu pyaŋta-wayn-na-zi*
      Demetrio one   pig   kill-HELP-PL:OBJ-NONLOCUT
      'Demetrio helped them kill one pig.'

From this, it would appear that the first non-Subject argument is more likely to be treated like O, and consequently the Object. Just like case marking, however, number marking is morphological, and syntactic tests would be much more convincing in the establishment of the Object grammatical relation.

3.5.3.3 The First Person Object Imperative

As was discussed in section 3.5.3, there are very few syntactic constructions in Awa Pit which involve O; and of those which do, only one can be used as a test for Object status: the First Person Object Imperative. This is a special form of the verb used in an imperative construction when the inherent or derived O is first person:[23]

(72) Ø   Ø   *titizh-zha!*
      Ø   Ø   wait:for-IMP.1OBJ
      A=2nd O=1st
      'Wait for me!'

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arises from polysemy. As well as being used to mark Os, there is a form *ta* which is used to mark location or direction (see section 5.4.3). While these forms have presumably developed historically from one source, they are synchronically two separate functions, as can be seen by the differences in constraints on their use — for Os, *ta* only appears when the referent is human and referential; the locational *ta*, on the other hand, appears on any type of NP, provided that it can be understood as a reference to location. This difference can be used to clearly distinguish the two functions, and consequently there is no confusion.

It is interesting to compare here the Spanish equivalents of the accusative and locative/direction markers. Spanish has a preposition *a* which is used for marking direction towards; it also has a "preposition" (its exact status is somewhat controversial) *a* which occurs before specific human Object NPs. Both of these prepositions (which have a number of other uses) have developed from the Latin preposition *ad*, used for marking direction towards.

[22] And it is not usually used even then; see section 7.3.
[23] See section 9.4.5.1 for details.

(73)   0   na-wa=na   pit-nin-zha!
        0   1SG-ACC=TOP   sleep-CAUS-IMP.1OBJ
        A=2nd   O=1st
        'Let me sleep!'

When used with a ditransitive verb, whether inherently or derived ditransitive, it is the first of the two non-Subject arguments (that is, the recipient in the case of *kwin-* 'give', the agent of the underived verb in the case of a causative) which has to be first person:

(74)   0   0   an   kwin-zha!
        0   0   more   give-IMP.1OBJ
        A=2nd   arg.1=1st arg.2
        'Give me more!'

(75)   0   0   pan   pay-nin-zha!
        0   0   bread   buy-CAUS-IMP.1OBJ
        A=2nd   arg.1=1st arg.2
        'Sell me bread!'

The First Person Object Imperative, then, singles out either the O of a transitive verb or the first of the two non-Subject arguments of a ditransitive verb.

The first non-Subject argument of a ditransitive verb is thus morphologically and syntactically equivalent to the O of a transitive verb; the second non-Subject argument of a ditransitive verb is very similar to the O of a transitive verb, in terms of its morphology, but there are some morphological and syntactic differences. The first non-Subject argument of ditransitives will thus be considered to form, together with the transitive O, the grammatical relation of Object; the second non-Subject argument also requires a grammatical relation rather than just a syntactic function, as it is required for the process of causativization of a transitive verb (see section 6.4.1) — as this relation is very similar to the Object relation, it will be called Second Object.

Typologically speaking, it is not unusual that, for example with the verb *kwin-* 'give', the semantic role of recipient is coded by the Object, while the gift is a Second Object. As Andrews (1985:125–126) points out, "it is a striking typological generalization that if the [two object] NPs behave differently, it is the one with the Recipient-like semantic role that behaves like a direct object [ie. in the same way as O]".

In summary, then, Awa Pit has two object-like grammatical relations: Object, which has Accusative case marking if it is referential and human, controls the use of the *na* number marking morphology on the verb, and can be referred to with the special First Person Object Imperative form; and Second Object, which has Accusative case marking if it is referential and human, but cannot control number marking on the verb, nor be referred to through the First Person Object Imperative form.

3.5.4 Copula Complement

In addition to the grammatical relations of Subject, Object and Second Object, one further grammatical relation needs to be established for Awa Pit, the Copula Complement. This relation is always unmarked, but has a number of features which distinguish it from the Subject grammatical relation.

The majority of two-argument verbs (see section 4.5.4) clearly have a Subject and an Object argument, according to the tests developed in the previous sections. However there are stative verbs such as the copula *i* and *mij* 'have' and two active verbs, *nam-* 'become (change into)' and *paa-* 'become (develop into)', which also take two arguments, but do not have an Object as their second argument. The first argument of these verbs is a Subject, being unmarked and controlling number marking, but the second argument can be distinguished from an Object, as it is never case marked, even when a referential human (see example (76)), cannot control *na* number marking (in the case of the active verbs), and cannot be used in the First Person Object Imperative construction;[24] and this second argument must also be distinguished from a Subject, as it cannot control number marking on the verb (see sentence (77)).

(76) *Ricardo=na   ap   aympihsh   i*
      Ricardo=TOP   my   brother   be.(NONLOCUT)
      S   CopComp   V
      'Ricardo is my brother.'

(77) *ap   tío=na   paas   paynkul   mij-i*
      my   uncle=TOP   two   son   have-NONLOCUT
      S   CopComp   V
      'My uncle has two sons.'

This second argument of these verbs is unusual in a number of other ways also. Other verbal arguments are NPs, PPs, or subordinate clauses; this argument may also consist of an adjective, with or without degree adverbs.[25]

(78) *si=na   pina   pul   i*
      firewood=TOP   very   dry   be.(NONLOCUT)
      S   CopComp   V
      'The firewood is very dry.'

Other verbal arguments may, in particular sentences, not appear, even when they are "semantically present", being ellipsed either through definite or indefinite ellipsis (see section 3.2). This second argument of these verbs, in contrast, cannot be ellipsed. In addition, other verbal arguments can be moved to initial position in the clause, while this argument necessarily appears in the position just

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[24]In fact no imperatives can be formed on stative verbs, so this is not, perhaps, clear evidence for the statives; but it is for *nam-* and *paa-*.

[25]See section 5.3 for details of the internal structure of Copula Complements.

before the verb.[26] Indeed, it is possible to have a sentence with a Subject and a Copula Complement but no verb at all, corresponding to a sentence with Subject, Copula Complement and the verb *i* 'be' (see section 3.6). These peculiarities of this verbal "argument" show that, in fact, rather than being strictly an argument, the words appearing in this position are forming a part of the predicate, which is the only obligatorily expressed part of an Awa Pit sentence.

For these reasons, a grammatical relation of Copula Complement is established. Elements in this grammatical relation can be recognized as they are unmarked, and cannot be ellipsed. They express meanings such as equation, identity and quality (with, for example, the verb *i* 'be'), value (*mwiŋ* 'be worth') and possession (*mij* 'have').

3.5.5 Core, oblique and external functions

Andrews (1985:80–82) establishes three distinct types of syntactic functions. He first distinguishes between external and internal functions, with the former not actually forming a part of the basic clause structure and never bearing any specific semantic role. The internal functions in turn can be divided into two types, core and oblique. The distinction between core and oblique functions is a little less distinct, being very much language-dependent. Core functions always include A, S and O, and any other syntactic functions which are similar in behaviour to these. The core functions commonly correspond to 'syntactic cases' (that is, those cases which express a wide variety of semantic roles), while oblique functions correspond to 'semantic cases' (those cases which tend to have a more or less one-to-one correspondence with semantic roles).

In Awa Pit, there is a clearly identifiable external function — the external topic. Those NPs which fill this position do not form a part of the basic clause on phonological grounds, nor are they specifically related to any semantic role in the clause with which they appear.[27]

Subject, Object and Second Object quite clearly cover syntactic functions which are core, and can be considered core grammatical relations. Subject and Object are used to code A, S and O, and consequently are core by definition. The Second Object grammatical relation is very similar to the Object grammatical relation, suggesting that it is probably core, and there is supporting evidence for this. The Second Object is involved in a minor way in syntactic processes, being necessary for causativization, where the Second Object of a causativized transitive or ditransitive corresponds to the Object of the non-causativized verb.

The Copula Complement should also be considered a core grammatical relation. While there is less evidence for this, the Copula Complement does have distinctive syntactic properties — it cannot be ellipsed and appears to form part of the predicate, and may consist of an adjective phrase as well as noun phrases, postpositional phrases and subordinate clauses — and it codes a variety

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[26]Neither of these conditions actually holds for the second argument of the stative two-argument verb *pyan* 'know'.

[27]For further details on the external topic, see section 14.2.

of semantic roles.

All other syntactic functions in Awa Pit appear to be oblique. They are not involved in any grammatical processes, and correspond relatively closely with semantic roles. The various oblique syntactic functions will not be discussed here, because they are necessarily coded in Awa Pit through the use of postpositions, and the close correspondence with semantic roles means that it is simplest to discuss the oblique functions together with the various postpositions, which will be done in section 5.4.

In Awa Pit, then, there is an external function, the external topic, discussed in section 14.2. There are four core grammatical relations, the Subject, Object, Second Object and Copula Complement, which were discussed in the previous sections. There are a variety of oblique syntactic functions, which correspond to the semantic roles taken by these functions, and these will be discussed in section 5.4 together with the postpositions which encode these functions.

3.6 Predicate types

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, all clauses in Awa Pit have an explicit, overt predicate. However this predicate may be one of a number of types. The major division is between those predicates which are purely verbal, and those which involve a Copula Complement.

3.6.1 Purely verbal predicates

Most commonly predicates are purely verbal, and consist of single verb roots or verb stems,[28] or a construction with a non-finite verb stem followed by an auxiliary verb (see section 11.2). In either case, the verb stem may in fact be a Serial Verb, compounded of more than one verb stem (see section 11.5). The verb stems involved may be active or stative, simple or compound, impersonal, intransitive, transitive or ditransitive (see section 4.5 for exemplification of all these distinctions). Purely verbal predicates may be inflected as finite, non-finite, or with the Conjoined Clause inflection (see section 7.2 for inflectional possibilities), and may occur as main clauses or subordinate clauses.

3.6.2 Copula Complement predicates

Much more complex than the purely verbal predicates are those predicates which involve a Copula Complement. There are a variety of stative verbs and two active verbs which combine with a Copula Complement to form a predicate (see section 4.5.4), and these may be finite or non-finite, depending on the inflection on the verb (see section 7.2).

In addition to these partially verbal predicates, a Copula Complement on its own may form a predicate. The existence of this clause type was justified in

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[28]Where verb stems are verb roots plus derivational affixes; see chapter 6.

section 3.3.2 above; examples of adjective, noun phrase and subordinate clause
Copula Complements acting as predicates are:

(79)   ap   kwizha=na   til
       my   dog=TOP   black
       'My dog was black.'

(80)   na=na   putsha   awa
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   white   person
       'I am a white person.'

(81)   awa   pala   ku-m
       person plantain   eat-ADJZR
       'The Awa are plantain-eaters.'

Unlike purely verbal predicates, which have a wide variety of subcategorization options, predicates involving Copula Complements have only one complement, a Subject. Of course, such predicates themselves involve a Copula Complement as well, either as the entire predicate, or as a "complement" to the verbal part of the predicate.

Chapter 4

Word classes

4.1 Introduction

As in all languages, there are a variety of different types of words — word classes — in Awa Pit. While many of the word classes will be discussed in more detail in other sections of this thesis, this chapter contains a summary of the word classes which have been found, and the differences between them.

There are three large open classes of words in Awa Pit — nominals, adjectives and verbs — and a string of minor closed classes — time adverbs, place adverbs, manner adverbs, other adverbs, postpositions, discourse particles and interjections. These classes can be distinguished on the formal grounds of morphology and distribution, both at the sentence level and at the level of discourse. Nominals and adjectives, and adjectives and some adverb types are the most difficult to distinguish, but there are grounds for claiming them to be separate classes, as will be shown below.

After a brief examination of the concept of 'word', the various word classes of Awa Pit will be discussed, together with their subclasses. Where particular word classes are discussed in more detail in later sections of the thesis, a short discussion only will be given, with references to the fuller account.

4.2 Phonological words and grammatical words

As has often been shown in the literature, the term 'word' is ambiguous, and may refer either to a phonological or to a grammatical item (see, for example, Anderson 1985, Dixon 1988). In any discussion of word classes, it is necessary to focus on the concept of the grammatical word only, and in Awa Pit this does not necessarily align with the phonological word.

A phonological word in Awa Pit can be recognized by a variety of means, as was shown in chapter 2. Each phonological word carries a main stress; there are possibilities of pausing before and after a phonological word; and there are several phonemes whose pronunciation varies depending upon whether they begin a phonological word or form part of the same phonological word as the preceding phoneme (see especially section 2.2.1.2).

Grammatical words, on the other hand, can be found by examining distribution and cooccurrence phenomena. For example, the sequence of phonemes /na/, the Topic marker, never occurs as a phonological word — it is always found as the final sequence on a larger phonological word. However, its status as a grammatical word, not an affix, can be easily recognized, as it may occur following almost any (grammatical) word from the other word classes. As a grammatical word which phonologically attaches to the previous word, it will be considered a clitic. There are a number of clitics in Awa Pit — in particular, the postpositions and the discourse particles all cliticize onto the previous element in a sentence. The reasons for considering these as separate grammatical words, rather than as suffixes, will be discussed individually for the two word classes.

Thus grammatical word boundaries in Awa Pit do not necessarily coincide with phonological word boundaries. One phonological word may consist of more than one grammatical word. The boundary between two grammatical words in one phonological word will be indicated with the equals sign (=), contrasting with the hyphen (-) indicating a morpheme boundary within one grammatical word.

It appears that one grammatical word in Awa Pit cannot be expressed by more than one phonological word. The compound verbs would seem to be a candidate for this, but the two parts of the "one grammatical word", while normally collocated, can be separated by the negative marker, and these verbs will thus be treated as one lexical item represented by two (phonological and grammatical) words — for further details, see section 4.5.6.

In the remainder of this chapter (and, indeed, this thesis) the term 'word' will be used to refer to grammatical words, with 'phonological word' being stated in full otherwise.

4.3   Nominals

The first of the three open classes to be discussed is the class of nominals. The major use of nominals is as the head of an NP, although many of them may also be used as modifiers of an NP head, or as predicates. Some of the subclasses may be used as adjuncts.

There are six subclasses of nominals, and all but one of these, the class of nouns, appear to be closed classes, although the cross-classification of words as both nouns and relational nouns suggests that the subclass of relational nouns may in fact also be open (see section 4.3.5).

4.3.1   Nouns

The largest subclass of nominals are the nouns. These form an open subclass, with many nouns having entered from Spanish, particularly nouns referring to cultural objects previously not found in the Awa region. There is no specific defining characteristic of all nouns to distinguish them from other nominals — they are simply those nominals not categorized in any other subclass. They are discussed

at greater length in section 5.2. As in Imbabura Quechua (Cole 1985:129), but unlike many South American languages, there are no noun classes and no nominal classification system in Awa Pit; nor is there a mass/count noun distinction.

The semantic core of the nouns is, of course, concrete objects, whether human (such as *ampu* 'man' and *ashaɲpa* 'woman'), animate (such as *ulam* 'armadillo' and *kuzhu* 'pig') or inanimate (such as *uk* 'stone' and *uskulam* 'blowpipe'). Awa Pit, like Epena Pedee (Harms 1994:19), appears to have no abstract nouns. Human nouns may be distinguished from the others by the presence of Accusative marking with Object NPs containing human nouns (see section 5.4.2), and their ability to take the suffix *tuzpa* as a marker of Collective action (see section 5.2.6).

Perhaps one section of the noun subclass which needs further discussion is the area of kinship. Kinship relations between people are encoded via nouns in Awa Pit, and the relation is shown in same way as possession (see section 5.2.4).

The traditional kinship system of the Awa, based largely on sibling groups (Osborn 1974), appears to be breaking down in the region of the Resguardo de Pialapí; and the traditional terminology would seem to be the first thing to go. Several speakers had trouble recalling the traditional terms for various kinship relations, and many Spanish terms are used, either to cover kinship relations which perhaps did not exist for the traditional Awa (such as *pitimu* 'male cousin' from Spanish *primo*), or as one term to cover a Spanish concept which was previously divided into several different categories (*kunyata* 'sister-in-law' from Spanish *cuñada* to cover both *mamsha* 'male's sister-in-law' and *mayŋ* 'female's sister-in-law').[1]

Several of the core kinship relations have two words, a formal and an informal word. The informal word is always used to address one's own kin, and also to talk about one's own kin or the kin of those closely related to oneself, while the formal terms are usually used to refer to someone else's kin. The kinship terms which were collected are listed in Table 4.1; underlined terms may have been borrowed from Spanish. It is also interesting to note that one of the words for father, *taytta*, is similar to words in Quechua, Kamsá and Paez, and is used in the Spanish of southern Colombia to refer to traditional leaders of various indigenous groups. The terms for cousin, *pitimu* and *pitima* are also used to mean 'general relative', that is, to refer to someone who is known to be a relative, but the precise relation is not known or does not have a cover term; the "politically aware" Awa also use this term to refer to any Awa, or sometimes even extend it to any indigenous person.

4.3.2 Time nouns and place nouns

There are many nouns which, through their semantics, indicate places or times, such as *yal* 'house', *Pialapí* 'the settlement of Pialapí' and *anshik* 'yesterday'.

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[1]The system of kinship among the Awa, and its breakdown, appears similar to that of Imbabura Quechua. Like Awa Pit, Imbabura Quechua has separate terms for a male's brother, a male's sister, a female's brother and a female's sister; and like Awa Pit it has also borrowed terms for aunt, uncle, female cousin, male cousin, mother-in-law and father-in-law from Spanish (Cole 1985:219).

Formal	Informal	Gloss	Referent
taytta, pappihsh	*pappa*	father	F
akkwihsh	*akkwa, mama*	mother	M
aympihsh	*anya*	male's brother	♂B
kwampihsh	*kuwa*	male's sister	♂Z
nalpihsh, alpihsh	*ala*	female's brother	♀B
ayshpihsh	*azha*	female's sister	♀Z
paynkul		son	S
pashu		daughter	D
kwankwa		grand-mother/-daughter	FM, MM, SD, DD
pampa		grand-father/-son	FF, MF, SS, DS
tiyu		uncle	FB, MB
tiya		aunt	FZ, MZ
pitimu		male cousin	FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS
pitima		female cousin	FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD
supitinu		nephew	BS, ZS
supitina		niece	BD, ZD
ampu		husband ('man')	H
ashaŋpa		wife ('woman')	W
kunyatu		male's brother-in-law	♂ZH, ♂WZH
mamshappihsh	*mamsha*	male's sister-in-law	♂BW, ♂WBW
mamappihsh	*mama*	female's brother-in-law	♀ZH, ♀HZH
mayŋpihsh	*mayŋ*	female's sister-in-law	♀BW, ♀HBW
swikitu		father-in-law	♂WF, ♀HF
swikita		mother-in-law	♂WM, ♀HM
kwanappihsh	*kwana*	son-in-law	DH
nwita		daughter-in-law	SW

Table 4.1: Awa kinship terms

aŋ=	'here'
uŋ=	'there (in contrast to *aŋ*, a physical place)'
su=	'there (in that place, physical or metaphorical)'
min=	'where, nowhere'
kwizh=	'later'

Table 4.2: Time and place nouns

These may either be used in NPs as arguments of a verb, or together with postpositions in PPs, in structures common to all nouns (see section 5.2). Nouns which refer to time may also be used bare as adjuncts (see section 13.2.2). These words are, formally, identical to nouns.

However there are a very small number of words expressing deictic place and time which can be formally distinguished from nouns, as they cannot be used bare, but are obligatorily followed by a cliticized postposition. These forms are listed in Table 4.2. For further details on the first four words, see section 13.4; for the last word, see section 13.2.4.

It would be possible to consider that the combination of these words with a postposition actually forms a single place or time adverb. However, just as with any other noun, there is a choice of postposition for these time and place nouns. Thus, for example, there is a contrast between *aŋ=ta* 'here' and *aŋ=pa* 'around here', where the contrast is due to the difference in postposition, and parallel to the distinction between *yal=ta* 'in the house' and *yal=pa* 'in the neighbourhood of the house'. Thus analyzing the time and place nouns and the following postposition together as a unit — as time and place adverbs — it would be necessary to enter each time/place noun plus postposition combination into the lexicon as separate items, and lose the generalizations which hold across all uses of the postpositions.

4.3.3 Personal pronouns

The non-interrogative personal pronouns, which necessarily refer to humans only, are differentiated for three persons and two numbers. There are also two interrogative/negative personal pronouns and two indefinite pronouns; these have no number distinctions.[2] (See Table 4.3 for the forms.) The existence of special plural forms for the non-interrogative and non-indefinite pronouns is one of the factors which distinguish personal pronouns from other nominals, which have no number marking.

While other referential human NPs use the postposition *ta* to indicate that they are in Object relation (see section 5.4.2), the personal pronouns have special

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[2]The indefinites are clearly based on the interrogative/negative pronouns, plus a following *waza*, which does not appear to occur elsewhere in the language.

	Singular		Plural	
	Nominative	Accusative	Nominative	Accusative
1st person	*na*	*na-wa*	*au*	*au ... =miza*
2nd person	*nu*	*nu-wa*	*u*	*u ... =miza*
3rd person	*us*	*us-a*	*uspa*	*uspa ... =tuza*
'who, no-one'	*min*	*min-a*		
'someone'	*min-waza*	*min-a-waza*		
'what, nothing'	*shi*			
'something'	*shi-waza*			

Table 4.3: Personal pronouns

Accusative forms. For the singular personal pronouns there are special Accusative suffixes, *wa* for first and second person, *a* for third person and the interrogative person pronoun. As these forms are obligatorily attached to the personal pronouns, and no material may intervene between the pronoun and the Accusative marker, they are considered suffixes rather than clitics. Another possibility would be to consider the combination of pronoun and Accusative marker as a suppletive form, but the repetition of the same forms for more than one personal pronoun (*wa* for two pronouns, *a* for two pronouns), and the fact that the form of the Nominative personal pronouns occurs in the Accusative form, suggest that an analysis of these forms as Accusative suffixes is more appropriate.

The plural personal pronouns have special Accusative clitics, which attach to the final element of an Object NP containing a plural personal pronoun, not necessarily directly to the personal pronouns themselves. Normally the only element in an NP containing a personal pronoun is the personal pronoun itself, as no modifiers except numerals are permitted in such an NP. However, when numerals do cooccur with (plural) personal pronouns, they *follow* the pronoun (as in (83)), whereas numerals precede nouns (as in (82)). Thus if a personal pronoun with a numeral is used in Object relation, the Accusative clitic occurs on the numeral rather than the pronoun itself (as can be seen in (84)).

(82)   *kutnya   ampu*
        three   man
        'three men'

(83)   *au   kutnya*
        we   three
        'we three'

(84)   *au   kutnya=miza*
        we   three=(1/2PL.)ACC
        'us three'

The final difference between personal pronouns and other nominals is that other referential human nominals form a possessive using the postposition *pa* (see section 5.4.8). The human interrogative/negative pronoun *min* 'who' forms a possessive in this usual fashion; however the non-interrogative personal pronouns do not have possessive forms in this sense, but rather uses the suppletive possessive adjectives for the singular pronouns, and either the singular possessive adjective or the bare plural personal pronoun itself for the plural case (see section 4.4.5).

More information on the non-interrogative personal pronouns is found in section 5.2; the interrogative/negative personal pronouns are discussed in sections 12.2.1 and 12.2.2.

4.3.4 Demonstrative pronouns

There are two demonstrative pronouns in Awa Pit, corresponding to the two demonstrative adjectives (see section 4.4.4): *ana* 'this' and *suna* 'that'. These demonstrative pronouns cannot be modified.

The demonstrative pronouns are distinguished from other nominals in that they cannot be followed by the Topic marker *na*. It would appear that, historically, these pronouns may have developed from the demonstrative adjectives *an* 'this' and *sun* 'that' by the affixation of the Topic marker, and this would explain their inability to be used together with the Topic marker. However synchronically they are unitary lexical items, as can be seen from two facts: (1) they have only a single *n*, while a combination of the demonstrative adjective and the Topic marker should have two adjacent *ns* — *ana* 'this (demonstrative pronoun)' versus *an=na* 'this (demonstrative adjective)=Topic marker'; and (2) the Accusative-marking postposition *ta* (and other postpositions) occurs *after* the entire demonstrative pronoun, whereas when other Accusative nominals are topicalized, the Topic marker occurs after the Accusative marking:

(85)   *ana=ta*
        this=ACC
        'this (Object)'

(86)   *kuzhu=ta=na*
        pig=ACC=TOP
        'pig (Object)'

The demonstrative pronouns are also unique in that they may refer either to humans or non-humans. Other nominals are either inherently human or inherently non-human. When in Object position, if the demonstrative pronouns are referring to humans they will take Accusative marking; if referring to non-humans they will appear without Accusative marking.

4.3.5 Relational nouns

Awa Pit has a series of relational nouns (or 'relator nouns' in Blake's (1994:16) terminology), used to indicate complex locational ideas such as 'on top of'. These

ideas are expressed through the combination of a nominal and a relational noun, followed by a locational postposition:

(87)   mesa *isal=ki=na*   libro *tu-y*
        table top (relational noun)=at=TOP book be:in:place-NONLOCUT
        'There is a book on top of the table.'

As in the case of English in the above translation, some of these relational nouns are transparently related to nouns or adjectives. For example, the relational noun used in the above example, *isal*, is cross-classified as a noun meaning 'top', and can be used without a following locative postposition in the same "whole–part" construction:

(88)   mesa *isal=na*   natam   *izh-ma-t=na*
        table top=TOP   yellow   see-COMP-PFPART=TOP
        'The top of the table is yellow (in appearance).'

If all relational nouns were transparently related to nouns or adjectives in this fashion, it would be unnecessary to distinguish them as a separate nominal subclass. However, while all relational nouns presumably developed historically from nouns or adjectives, they are no longer all transparently related to nouns or adjectives. Some relational nouns have diverged in meaning from the associated noun or adjective: *kal*, a noun, means 'fence', while *kal*, a relational noun, means 'inside'. And some relational nouns cannot be used as nouns or adjectives: *ma* is a relational noun meaning 'beside', but there is no noun or adjective *ma*. Thus it is necessary to set up a separate subclass of nominals, the relational nouns. In addition, the relational nouns cannot be modified, unlike other nouns.

All relational nouns which have been found in Awa Pit are listed in Table 4.4, together with the meaning of a homophonous noun or adjective for those relational nouns which have such a correspondence. For more details on relational nouns, see section 5.2.4.3.

4.3.6   Nominal postmodifiers

The final subclass of nominals, the nominal postmodifiers, is a slightly anomalous subclass. It contains only four elements, shown in Table 4.5. The four words in this subclass are all cross-classified as nouns (and one also as a descriptive adjective), but they may also be used in a different construction, placed *after* an NP or adjective to modify it. This contrasts with the standard modifier position, which is before the head. This construction can only be used with an NP or adjective which is filling the Copula Complement relation (see 5.3).

(89)   *katsa*   *ilapa*
        big (Adj)   big (Nominal postmodifier)
        'huge'

Form	As relational noun	As other noun/adjective
ayuk=	'inside of'	
izhkwak=	'face to face with, in front of (person)'	
isal=	'on top of, in the top of'	'top' (N)
kal=	'within, inside of (walls)'	'fence' (N)
kut=	'outside of'	
kwaka=	'on the (other) side of'	'side (of river, road)' (N)
kwash=	'above'	
kwiya=	'to the left of'	'left' (Adj)
ma=	'beside'	
nil=	'in front of'	'correct, straight' (Adj)
nu=	'to the right of'	'right (e.g. hand)' (Adj)
pazhka=	'in the middle of'	
pula/puta=	'below'	
punsih=	'behind'	'back' (N)
su=	'under'	'earth, land, ground' (N)

Table 4.4: Relational nouns

Word	Noun	Nominal postmodifier
ilapa	'old (adjective), old man (noun)'	'big, AUGMENTATIVE'
pashpa	'child'	'small, DIMINUTIVE'
ampu	'man'	'male'
ashaŋpa	'woman'	'female'

Table 4.5: Nominal postmodifiers

(90)   *pii*   *ilapa*
        river/stream big
        'river'

(91)   *kwizha ashaŋpa*
        dog   female
        'bitch'

While these nominal postmodifiers are phonologically identical to nouns, their meanings are different as nouns and nominal postmodifiers. Two of them, *ilapa* 'big' and *pashpa* 'small', are used almost as an augmentative and a diminutive, contrasting with the descriptive adjectives *katsa* 'big' and *aynki* 'small' in that the former often have a clear affective value or emotional tone lacking from the latter. The second pair, *ampu* 'male' and *ashaŋpa* 'female', are used when it is necessary to distinguish the sex of animals, as human nouns are the only ones which make an inherent distinction between sexes.

4.4   Adjectives

The second of the open word classes in Awa Pit is the class of adjectives. The primary function of adjectives is as modifiers, though with the exception of the demonstrative adjectives they may also be used in NPs with an ellipsed head (see section 5.2.5), and as predicates (see section 3.6).

The major subclass of adjectives is that of descriptive adjectives, which is the only open subclass. In addition there are three closed subclasses of adjectives: the quantifiers, the demonstrative adjectives and the possessive adjectives.

Adjectives used in NPs come before the head, with a specific ordering of the subclasses, allowing their separation into these different subclasses on formal grounds (see section 5.2). The only exception are numerals used with plural personal pronouns, where the numeral follows the pronoun (see section 4.3.3).

4.4.1   Distinguishing adjectives from nominals

As in many other languages, such as Imbabura Quechua (Cole 1985:73), nominals and adjectives are morphologically similar in Awa Pit. In addition, both nominals and adjectives can appear as the only element in an NP (with the exception of demonstrative adjectives), as modifiers of an NP head (with the exception of demonstrative pronouns, time and place nouns, relational nouns and some personal pronouns), and as predicates (with the exception of demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative adjectives and some personal pronouns). Despite these similarities in distribution, it is possible to distinguish nominals from adjectives.

To begin with, there are two series of demonstratives. Demonstrative pronouns may only occur as the heads of NPs, while demonstrative adjectives may only modify NP heads. Additionally, there are different interrogatives for questioning nominals and adjectives: *min* 'who' or *shi* 'what' for nominals, versus *min* 'which' for adjectives.

While there is little nominal or adjectival morphology, there is one suffix, the Collective action suffix, used when a group of animate referents are acting together in a task. This suffix has two forms, one for nouns (*tuzpa*), and a separate form (*tuz*) which occurs on adjectives when these are the only element in an NP.[3]

Both adjectives and most nominals may be used as modifiers of a head in an NP, but the distribution is slightly different. When an explicit head is present, either may be used as a modifier:

(92)   *katsa   yal*
        big   house
        Adj   N
        'a large house'

(93)   *uk   yal*
        stone   house
        N   N
        'a stone house'

However once a referent has been introduced into a conversation, it may be referred back to by a modifier only (without an explicit head) if the modifier is an adjective, but not by a modifier nominal:

(94)   *katsa*
        big
        Adj
        'the large [house]'

(95)   **uk*
        stone
        N

        (acceptable as 'the stone', but not as 'the stone [house]')

This difference is, perhaps, unsurprising, as *uk* 'stone' can refer simply to 'the stone', and using it with no explicit head could lead to ambiguity.

Equally, although both nominals and adjectives can be used as the only word in an NP, there is evidence that they have different statuses. A nominal used alone in an NP is truly the head of that NP (which is why a nominal modifier cannot be used without an explicit head); while an adjective used alone in an NP is still modifying a head, it is simply that this head has been ellipsed. Within a connected discourse it is possible to refer to an introduced referent by an NP containing simply an adjective, such as

(96)   *katsa   a-ti-zi*
        big   come-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'The large [person] came.'

---

[3]The latter form is also used on nominalizations.

Semantic type	Word	Meaning
DIMENSION	*katsa*	'big'
	nas	'thin'
PHYSICAL PROPERTY	*ii*	'hot'
	sam	'hard (solid)'
COLOUR	*kwaŋtam*	'red'
	til	'black'
HUMAN PROPENSITY	*ak*	'shy'
	timpa	'stupid'
AGE	*ilapa*	'old'
	maas	'new'
VALUE	*wat*	'good'
	kwayl	'bad'
DIFFICULTY	*kal*	'difficult'
QUALIFICATION	*nil*	'correct'

Table 4.6: Examples of descriptive adjectives in adjective types

However a sentence containing an NP with only an adjective cannot be used to introduce a new participant, while an NP with a head noun can be used as the first reference to a participant; thus while the previous sentence could be said after a sentence such as 'Two people said they were coming today', it could not be used without some prior sentence. Thus rather than the adjective being the head of the NP, the adjective is modifying an ellipsed head, coreferential to a previously mentioned nominal; Imbabura Quechua allows precisely the same use of an adjective with an "absent" head (Cole 1985:76).

Nominals and adjectives, then, are similar in many ways in Awa Pit, but they can be distinguished — there are two sets of demonstratives and interrogatives, depending on whether a nominal or adjective is required; nominals can only be used as modifiers with an explicit head, while adjectives can be used as modifiers with or without an explicit head; and nominals can be used to introduce new participants, while adjectives can only be used alone in an NP (with an ellipsed head) if the referent is already established.

4.4.2   Descriptive adjectives

The only open subclass of adjectives are the descriptive adjectives, of which there are a wide variety in Awa Pit. In a string of adjectives, the descriptive adjectives follow all other adjective subclasses. Of Dixon's (1991:78) ten semantic types of adjectives, Awa Pit has adjectives belonging to eight types — DIMENSION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, COLOUR, HUMAN PROPENSITY, AGE, VALUE, DIFFICULTY and QUALIFICATION (see Table 4.6 for examples). While there are examples of these eight types, there are few examples of the DIFFICULTY or QUALIFICATION types.

maza	'one'
paas	'two'
kutnya	'three'
ampata	'four'
akkwan	'much/many'
pitshiŋ	'a little/few'
mamaz	'other'
maza maza	'some (distinct objects)'
yawa	'how much/many?'
wan	'all'

Table 4.7: Quantifiers

The two missing types are encoded in other word classes — SPEED concepts through manner adverbs (see section 4.9), and SIMILARITY through the use of the postposition kana 'like' (see section 5.4.12).

There is one interrogative descriptive adjective, min 'which'. This is used to ask for a differentiation of items through their description, and is discussed further in section 12.2.4. There is also an indefinite descriptive adjective minat 'some (don't know which)'.[4]

4.4.3 Quantifiers

In Awa Pit there are four "traditional" numerals (see Table 4.7), with numerals greater than four being generally borrowed directly from Spanish.[5] Aside from the numerals, there are six other quantifiers, including an interrogative quantifier (see Table 4.7). Quantifiers precede any descriptive adjectives in a string of adjectives, and are incompatible with each other, as well as being incompatible with the comparative adverb an 'more'.

The numeral maza 'one' has occasionally been found in contexts in which a numeral was not appropriate, but an indefinite article would be appropriate:

(97)　maza　awa　　a-ti-zi
　　　　one　person　come-PAST-NONLOCUT
　　　'Someone came (while I was away).'

---

[4]This indefinite clearly consists at least historically of the interrogative min 'which' plus a suffix at; but this suffix is not found elsewhere.

[5]In those cases where a Spanish numeral contains within its expression another numeral less than or equal to four, speakers will sometimes use the Awa Pit word for that numeral within a Spanish frame, but more often simply use the entire Spanish numeral. For example, as with the corresponding English expression four hundred, the Spanish equivalent cuatrocientos contains within it the numeral cuatro 'four', and some speakers will sometimes say ampata cientos; but more commonly all numerals above four are fully expressed in Spanish.

Because of the common shift from the numeral 'one' to an indefinite article, it is unclear whether this is a result of language interference (Spanish has an indefinite article *un(a)* identical to its quantifier 'one'); whether Awa Pit is developing an indefinite article under the influence of Spanish, as has occurred in Pipil (Campbell 1987:272); or whether it is an entirely separate development.

4.4.4   Demonstrative adjectives

The subclass of demonstrative adjectives is very small, containing only two words, *an* 'this' and *sun* 'that'. In a string of adjectives, these words may only appear before all other adjectives (see section 5.2).

Positionally, the demonstrative adjectives and the possessive adjectives (see section 4.4.5) form a single subclass, and it is impossible to combine words from the two subclasses. However there are some distributional differences. The possessive adjectives may be used as Copula Complements or predicates, while the demonstrative adjectives cannot; and the possessive adjectives can also be used in an NP with an ellipsed head, while under these circumstances the demonstrative pronouns rather than the demonstrative adjectives are used, although it is possible that historically the demonstrative pronouns have developed from the demonstrative adjectives.[6]

4.4.5   Possessive adjectives

The subclass of possessive adjectives is quite closely associated with the demonstrative adjectives, although there are differences (see section 4.4.4), with only one word from the two subclasses permitted in any string of adjectives.

There are only three possessive adjectives in Awa Pit, corresponding to the three singular personal pronouns (see section 4.3.3): *ap* 'my', *up* 'your' and *paynya* 'his/her'. There are no special plural possessive adjectives — to indicate something which belongs to more than one person, either the singular possessive adjective of the appropriate person may be used, or else the plural personal pronoun is placed before the noun which is possessed.[7]

4.5   Verbs

Like many South American languages, Awa Pit is a strongly verb-marking language, with a great deal of information being packed into the verb. Verbs are easily recognizable, being the only words which can be marked with many affixes, showing such things as aspect, tense and mood (see chapter 9) as well as a number of derivational affixes (see section 6.4). With the exception of a few equative, identity and description sentences (see section 3.6), all sentences in Awa Pit must contain a verb; even minimal responses in answer to polar or content questions contain a verb — in response to the equivalent of "Who went?" a speaker must

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[6]See section 4.3.4 for details on the demonstrative pronouns.

[7]See section 5.2.4 for many more details on possession and related phenomena.

reply "Remigio went" not just "Remigio", or replying to "Did you go?" a speaker will say the equivalent of either "I went" or "I did not go".

There are three cross-cutting classifications of verb roots which must be taken into account in establishing the verbal subclasses. These are the distinctions between active and stative verb roots, between simple and compound verb roots, and between verb roots of various argument frames (valence and transitivity). In addition there are a small number of irregular verb roots. Aside from the copula, which has a stem *i* in the Present and *a* otherwise, the irregular verbs all consist of roots with an alternation in their ending between *ku*, which occurs before a suffix beginning with a bilabial or velar consonant or a vowel, and *kwa*, which is the form they take otherwise. The most common of these is *ku/kwa*- 'eat'; others are *ishku*- 'scare', *kutku*- 'tell a lie' and *walku*- 'steal'.

The major classification of Awa Pit verb roots is into two groups, the stative verbs and the active verbs. This distinction is a semantic distinction between those verbs describing predicates which are inherently imperfective — such as *i* 'be', *mij* 'have' and *pana* 'be standing' — versus those which are not inherently imperfective — such as *i* 'go', *pak* 'harvest' and *pyan* 'hit'. This semantic distinction corresponds to a morphological distinction: active verbs may be suffixed by the Imperfective aspect marker, while stative verbs cannot take this suffix, being inherently imperfective. This distinction is important in a number of cases; for example, the present tense is unmarked, with just the stem form for stative verbs, but the stem plus Imperfective for active verbs (followed potentially by person marking). Only two verbs have been found which apparently can be either active or stative, but in fact there are meaning distinctions between the two formally identical verb roots: *shaa* 'walk' is an active verb, while *shaa* 'be around' is a stative verb; *tu* 'lie down' is an active verb, but *tu* 'be permanently, be lying down' is a stative verb. As will be discussed below (section 6.4.2.1), verb roots suffixed with the Desiderative marker may also be either active or stative, although there is no discernable meaning difference in this case.

The vast majority of verbs in Awa Pit are simple verbs — the lexical meaning of the verb is carried by a single phonological and grammatical word. However there are a number of compound verbs in the language, where the lexical meaning is expressed in two phonological words. Sometimes the words in a compound verb are also individually meaningful words in the language, and the combined meaning is related to the meanings of the two individual words, although the precise meaning may be unpredictable. In other cases, one of the two phonological words in a compound verb is not a separate lexical item in the language. Compound verbs are always active, and have a variety of argument structures. As compound verbs can be understood by a slight modification of the framework required for simple verbs, they will be discussed following the simple verbs, in section 4.5.6.

Verbs in Awa Pit may have zero, one, two or three 'obligatory' arguments (complements). The use of the term 'obligatory' is slightly odd here, as these arguments may not necessarily appear in any given sentence, due to the use of both definite and indefinite argument ellipsis in Awa Pit. However there are some

tests which can be used to establish the number of complements of a verb — see section 4.5.1.

Different verbs require their complements to have different sets of grammatical relations.[8] Many verbs require some subset of core grammatical relations — Subject, Object, Second Object, Copula Complement —, but a few verbs require some oblique grammatical relations, such as a locational element.

In the following discussion of verbal subclasses, verbs will be divided up on the basis of their status as simple or compound verbs (with all compound verbs being discussed last, in section 4.5.6), on the basis of their subcategorization frames (both number of arguments and the grammatical relations of those arguments), and on the basis of the active/stative distinction. Prior to the discussion of the individual subclasses, the method for establishing verbal subcategorization frames will be discussed.

4.5.1   Establishing subcategorization frames

As Awa Pit uses both definite ellipsis (ellipsis of an argument if its referent is retrievable from context) and indefinite ellipsis (ellipsis of an argument if its referent is considered irrelevant for the purposes of communication), from any given sentence it is sometimes difficult or impossible to tell the valence of the verb. However some tests can be used to ascertain verb valences and subcategorization frames.

Subject, Object, Second Object and Copula Complement grammatical relations are always complements, never adjuncts. Consequently, if a verb can take an argument in one of these relations, but appears sometimes without it, either the argument is ellipsed in that particular instance, or the verb has more than one subcategorization frame.

The only real difficulty occurs in establishing whether a verb which appears in sentences with only one argument (a Subject) or with two (a Subject and an Object) has two subcategorization frames, or is simply occurring with an ellipsed argument in the first of these cases. For many verbs, however, there is a simple way of testing this, through the Resultative construction (see section 11.2.2.2); unfortunately, only those verbs which involve some sort of transformation can be used in this construction.

Given sentences such as

(98)   na=na   i-ta-w
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I went.'

(99)   na=na   kwa-ta-w
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   eat-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I ate.'

---

[8]See section 3.5 for an explanation and justification of the grammatical relations in Awa Pit.

(100) na=na   pyan-ta-w
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP hit-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I hit [someone].'

it appears at first that all three verbs *i-* 'go', *ku-* 'eat' and *pyan-* 'hit' might have only one argument, a Subject. However *ku-* 'eat' and *pyan-* 'hit' can also occur with both a Subject and an Object, while *i-* 'go' cannot:[9]

(101) na=na   pala   kwa-ta-w
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP plantain eat-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I ate a plantain.'

(102) na=na   Juan=ta   pyan-ta-w
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP Juan=ACC hit-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I hit Juan.'

With this evidence, it appears that *i-* 'go' is intransitive, while *ku-* 'eat' and *pyan-* 'hit' are transitive, but have ellipsed Objects in sentences (99) and (100). However applying the Resultative construction to the above three verbs gives different results. The intransitive *i-* 'go' can be put in the Resultative, with the Subject of the Resultative corresponding to the Subject of the non-Resultative:

(103) na=na   i-ma-t   i-s
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP go-COMP-PFPART be-LOCUT
       'I am in a state of having gone.'

The transitive *pyan-* 'hit' in the Resultative has a Subject which necessarily corresponds to the Object in the non-Resultative:

(104) Juan=na   pyan-ma-t   i
       Juan=TOP hit-COMP-PFPART be.(NONLOCUT)
       'Juan is in a state of having been hit.'

(105) *na=na   pyan-ma-t   i-s
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP hit-COMP-PFPART be-LOCUT
       (Can't mean 'I am in a state of having hit'; fine as 'I am in a state of having been hit'.)

With *ku-* 'eat', two sentences are possible, with the Subject of the Resultative corresponding to either the Subject of the non-Resultative in (99) or the Object of the non-Resultative in (101):

(106) na=na   ku-ma-t   i-s
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP eat-COMP-PFPART be-LOCUT
       'I am in a state of having eaten.'

---

[9]The difference between the marking of the Objects in the following sentences relates to the first being non-human, and consequently unmarked, while the second is human, and consequently marked as Accusative.

(107) *pala*   *ku-ma-t*   *i*
       plantain   eat-COMP-PFPART   be.(NONLOCUT)
       'The plantain is in a state of having been eaten.'

Thus the use of the Resultative construction shows that, while *i-* 'go' is clearly intransitive and *pyan-* 'hit' is clearly transitive, *ku-* 'eat' has two frames, and may be intransitive or transitive, with the two Resultative sentences (106) and (107) corresponding to the intransitive sentence (99) and the transitive sentence (101) respectively.

Thus while ellipsis can cause some problems for resolving the number of arguments of verbs, the Resultative construction can be used to establish the valence of many of these verbs, and whether they have a single subcategorization frame or multiple frames. Verbs with multiple frames, ambitransitive verbs, will be discussed in section 6.2.

4.5.2 Zero-argument (impersonal) verbs

There is a very small closed subclass of impersonal verbs in Awa Pit. These verbs refer to time, and have no arguments at all. The verbs are *kin-* 'dawn' and *nash-* 'afternoon, get late', and are both active.

(108) *nash-miz-i*
       be:afternoon-INCEP-NONLOCUT
       V
       'It is getting late.'

4.5.3 One-argument (intransitive) verbs

There are a wide variety of single-argument verbs in Awa Pit. All of these verbs behave identically, in that their one argument is the Subject of the verb. The verbs may be either active or stative.

4.5.3.1 Active intransitive verbs

The active intransitive verbs form an open subclass. These verbs cover meanings such as movement (*i-* 'go', *pil-* 'fly'), bodily processes (*az-* 'cry', *kwata-* 'vomit'), physical processes (*iiŋ-* 'ripen', *pit-* 'rot'), mental or emotional processes (*kazhpa-* 'dream'), social activities (*sal-* 'play', *put-* 'fish'), and ways of speaking (*kwiyan-* 'yell', *kutku-* 'tell a lie').

(109) *iiŋ=na*   *kwi-ti-zi*
       flame=TOP   go:out-PAST-NONLOCUT
       Subj   V
       'The flame went out.'

kun	be standing (cf. kun- 'stand up')
pana	be standing
pila	be hanging
sum	be crouching/sitting (cf. sum- 'crouch')
shaa	be around (cf. shaa- 'walk')
tala	be lying
tansha	be sitting
tu	be somewhere (cf. tu- 'lie down')
uz	be sitting, be in a place permanently, live (cf. uz- 'sit down')

Table 4.8: Postural/locational verbs in Awa Pit

4.5.3.2 Stative intransitive verbs

There are a small number of stative intransitive verbs in Awa Pit, the majority of them postural/locational. There are a number of different postural/locational verbs (see Table 4.8), a few of which are related, formally and semantically, to active intransitive verbs. It is unclear what the meaning difference between some of these verbs is (for example, between kun 'be standing' and pana 'be standing').

The postural/locational verbs can be used with only a Subject argument, in which case they indicate the posture of someone or something:

(110) Santos=na   pana-y.
       Santos=TOP   be:standing-NONLOCUT

       na=na   tala-s
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   be:lying-LOCUT

       'Santos is standing. I am lying down.'

In addition to their use as postural verbs, these stative intransitives can also be used to indicate the location of something, with the item in question being the Subject, and the location indicated through the use of a locational adjunct phrase:

(111) Demetrio=na   banca=ta   tansha-y
       Demetrio=TOP   bench=in   be:sitting-NONLOCUT
       Subj   Loc   V

       'Demetrio is (sitting) on the bench.'

The postural verbs may also be used as auxiliary verbs, as in many other languages, and this will be discussed in section 11.2.

It is worth pointing out that while nearly all of the postural verbs clearly have only one obligatory argument, the status of tu 'be somewhere' is not so clear. It will be treated here as a two-argument stative verb, as while it appears to syntactically parallel the other postural/locational verbs, it never occurs without

some locational phrase. That is, it is perhaps best treated as having not one obligatory argument but two, a Subject and an oblique locational phrase.[10]

In addition to the postural/locational verbs, there are three other intransitive stative verbs: *wat* 'be good', *waa* 'there is' and *way* 'be lacking'.

(112) *pala*   *way-i*
       plantain   lack-NONLOCUT
       Subj   V

'There are no plantains (plantains are lacking).'

4.5.4   Two-argument verbs

Verbs which have two obligatory arguments may be active and transitive, active but not transitive, or stative and not transitive.

4.5.4.1   Transitive verbs

Awa Pit has a large open subclass of transitive verbs. These verbs are all active, and have a Subject and an Object. They cover meanings such as physical impact (*pyan-* 'hit'), transformation (*il-* 'roast', *kit-* 'wash (body)'), construction (*sa-* 'make, construct', *put-* 'plait, weave'), transport (*iŋ-* 'carry', *kwaa-* 'carry, wear'), movement with respect to something (*kwak-* 'cross', *namna-* 'follow, catch up to'), acts of perception or emotion (*izh-* 'see', *isha-* 'hate'), and social acts directed at someone (*mun-* 'baptize', *titizh-* 'wait for').

(113) *na=na*   *Santos=ta*   *namna-mtu-s*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Santos=ACC   follow/catch:up-IMPF-LOCUT
       Subj   Obj   V

'I am following Santos.'

(114) *uspa=na*   *si*   *pak-tu*
       3PL.(NOM)=TOP   bean   harvest-IMPFPART
       Subj   Obj   V

'They are harvesting beans.'

4.5.4.2   Two-argument stative verbs

There is a small closed subclass of stative verbs which take two arguments, a Subject and a Copula Complement, distinguishing them from the transitive verbs, which have an Object rather than a Copula Complement. These verbs are *i* 'be', *ki* '(not) be', *ka* 'be permanently', *mij* 'have', *waj* 'have (body part)', *pyan* 'know (someone or something)' and *mwiŋ* 'be worth'.

(115) *tunya* *nya=na*   *kwashmayŋ*   *i*
       rat   meat=TOP   tasty   be.(NONLOCUT)
                Subj   CopComp   V

       'Rat meat is tasty.'

---

[10]See section 4.5.5.2 for verbs which clearly have obligatory oblique arguments.

(116) us=na   ashaŋpa   mij-i
       3SG.(NOM)=TOP   woman   have-NONLOCUT
       Subj   CopComp   V
       'He has a wife.'

(117) na=na   Gloria   pyan-is
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Gloria   know-LOCUT
       Subj   CopComp   V
       'I know Gloria.'

Many of these verbs can also be used in a number of auxiliary constructions (see section 11.2). Mwiŋ 'be worth' can also be used with no Copula Complement present, in which case it means something closer to 'be expensive'.

4.5.4.3 Two-argument active, non-transitive verbs

There are two very unusual two-argument verbs — nam- 'become (change into)' and paa- 'become (develop into)'. These verbs are active, as they are used with the Imperfective aspect marker. However all other two-argument active verbs have a Subject and an Object, while these have a Subject and a Copula Complement, similar to the two-argument stative verbs. This presumably occurs as while the two verbs are, conceptually, active (in that they are not inherently imperfective, with the possibility of an instantaneous change), they are not at all transitive (in the sense of Hopper & Thompson (1980)), with no transfer of action from one participant to another; indeed, there is really only one participant involved in a sentence involving nam- 'become (change into)' or paa- 'become (develop into)'.

(118) Juan=na   gobernador   nam-ti-zi
       Juan=TOP   governor   become-PAST-NONLOCUT
       Subj   CopComp   V
       '(When his father died,) Juan became governor.'

4.5.5 Three-argument verbs

There are three subclasses of verbs which take three arguments: the ditransitive verbs, the three-argument verbs with an oblique argument, and the three-argument stative verbs.

4.5.5.1 Ditransitive verbs

There is a fairly small, but probably open, subclass of ditransitive verbs in Awa Pit, all of which are active. These verbs have a Subject, an Object, and a Second Object. They cover three areas of meaning: they may be related to the concept of giving (for example, kwin- 'give', an- 'pass'), taking (naka- 'take away', sap- 'receive'), or asking (mima- 'ask'). As well as a Subject, coding the agent (donor,

taker, or asker), these verbs subcategorize for an Object, coding the recipient of the gift or query, or the source, and a Second Object, the theme.

(119)   Camilo=na   na-wa   pala   kwin-ti-s
        Camilo=TOP   1SG-ACC   plantain   give-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        Subj   Obj   Obj2   V
        'Camilo gave me a plantain.'

(120)   na=na   pashpa=ta ti   naka-t
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   child=ACC stick   take:away-SV
        Subj   Obj   Obj2   V
        kway-ta-w
        DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        V
        'I took the stick away from the child.'

4.5.5.2   Three-argument verbs with an oblique argument

There are a small number of active verbs which take a Subject, an Object, and an oblique argument. The status of the oblique argument as an obligatory verb complement rather than an adjunct can be established positionally — adjuncts occur *before* Objects, while oblique complements are placed *after* a verb's Object (see section 3.2).

Two verbs have been found which take an obligatory oblique locational phrase: *win-* 'put (in a place)' and *nuk-* 'put (into something)'. It is important to note that, like *put* and similar verbs in English (Andrews 1985:91), while these two verbs require *some* locational phrase, the precise phrase-type is not determined by the verb — thus the location may be indicated using any semantically appropriate postpositional phrase.

(121)   na=na   pala   tim=ki
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   plantain   basket=at
        Subj   Obj   location.complement
        win-ta-w
        put-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        V
        'I put the plantains in the basket.'

The two other verbs in this subclass require an oblique phrase marked with the postposition *kasa* 'with'. These verbs are *mazh-* 'change/trade [Object] for/with [kasa-Oblique]' and *pun-* 'fill [Object] with [kasa-Oblique]'.

(122)   Santos=na   wakata paas   kuzhu=kasa mazh-ti-zi
        Santos=TOP   cow   two   pig=with   change-PAST-NONLOCUT
        Subj   Obj   oblique   V
        'Santos traded a cow for two pigs.'

4.5.5.3 Three-argument stative verbs

Finally there is one three-argument stative verb, *pwii* 'owe'. This verb clearly has a Subject, the person who owes, but the grammatical relations of the other two arguments are unclear. As this verb is stative, and involves no transformation, it cannot be used in the Resultative construction, and there is no syntactic test for which of its other two arguments, the person to whom something is owed and what is owed, is an Object (if either of them are). Morphology is also not a reliable guide in this case: what is owed is always unmarked, but as it is never human this could either be a Copula Complement or an Object or Second Object. Thus there appear to be two possibilities for the assignment of semantic roles to grammatical relations: Subject (ower), Object (owee) and Second Object (thing owed); or Subject (ower), Object (owee) and Copula Complement (thing owed). While there appears to be no method of deciding between these two options, the first is perhaps most likely, as this assigment of roles is identical to the assignment of the ditransitive (active) verbs, while no verbs have been found with a Copula Complement in addition to an Object relation.

(123) na=na   Santos=ta   dos mil   pwii
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP Santos=ACC   two thousand owe.(IMPFPART)
       Subj   Obj   Obj2   V

       ka-s
       be:permanently-LOCUT
       Aux

       'I owe Santos 2000 pesos.'

4.5.6 Compound verbs

As well as the simple, mono-lexemic, verbs discussed above, Awa Pit also has compound verbs, clearly consisting of two phonological words. The second of these is always formally identical to a simple verb, most commonly *ki-* 'do, happen', while the first may be either formally identical to another word in the language, or not. The two-word status of these compound verbs and many other aspects of their use will be discussed in section 6.3.3.

With the exception of a handful of the compound verbs, they are all formed using *ki*, which as a simple verb means 'do, happen'. While *ki-* 'do' is a transitive verb and *ki-* 'happen' is an intransitive verb, the compound verb may be impersonal (*alu ki-* 'rain'), intransitive (*kal ki-* 'work'), or transitive (*wiya ki-* 'fight'). The first element in the compound may be identical to a noun or adjective in the language, or not a separate lexical item at all, and the relationship between the meaning of the noun or adjective and the compound verb may be clear or more obscure, as can be seen from the examples of compound verbs given in Table 4.9.

In the remainder of this thesis compound verbs will be treated as a single lexical item, consisting of two phonological words and two grammatical words. The second word is a verb, and acts in precisely the same way as any other active

alu	N	'rain'	ki-	'do'	alu ki-	'rain'
ii	Adj	'hot'	ki-	'do'	ii ki-	'be hot'
kal	Adj	'difficult'	ki-	'do'	kal ki-	'work'
yak	N	'envuelto (foodstuff)'	ki-	'do'	yak ki-	'be hungry'
–			ki-	'do'	ku ki-	'dance'
–			ki-	'do'	tihj ki-	'sow'
sula	N	'tooth'	ku-	'eat'	sula ku-	'bite'
pinkih	N	'paper'	paa-	'strike'	pinkih paa-	'write'
(kwinta	V	from Spanish 'tell')	kizh-	'say'	kwinta kizh-	'tell a story'

Table 4.9: Examples of compound verbs

=akwa	'because'
=kana	'like'
=kasa	'with'
=ki	'at'
=kima	'until'
=mal	'LOC'
=pa	'POSS'
=pa	'in(approx)'
=patsa	'like'
=ta	'in'
=ta	'ACC'

Table 4.10: Postpositions

verb. The first word is an unvarying item, occurring in the position between any manner adverbial and the negative marker. Compound verbs will be glossed with two glosses, but only one meaning, as: alu ki- [rain(1) rain(2)] 'rain'.

4.6 Postpositions

Postpositions play a very important role in Awa Pit. As a language without a case-suffix system (except for the pronouns), Awa Pit relies very strongly on its postpositions to indicate the relations which noun phrases may play in a sentence. Many postpositions are also used following non-finite clauses, essentially creating constructions similar to English subordinating conjunctions.

The Awa Pit postpositions are listed in Table 4.10, together with an approximate English gloss. These postpositions are never independent words,[11] but rather cliticize onto the preceding word, which is usually, but not always, the final

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[11]For a possible exception to this statement, see example (133) and associated discussion below.

word of an NP or another postposition. Cliticized postpositions are quite common in Amazonian languages to the east of Awa Pit (Doris Payne 1990b:220); and to the west, Epena Pedee has a system of case marking through postpositions very similar to Awa Pit, with the postpositions attaching to clauses as well as NPs (Harms 1994:65–79). A similar situation holds in Ika, spoken in northern Colombia, where locative postpositions can cliticize onto clauses (Frank 1990:102–103).

The initial phoneme of the postpositions undergo the usual within-word phonetic realizations, with the exception of those beginning with /p/, which becomes /w/ after a vowel — as discussed in section 2.2.1, this is the case for all morpheme-initial /p/ after a vowel. This is clear evidence that the postpositions form one phonological word with the preceding element.

Grammatically, however, there is a different situation. While previous analyses of Awa Pit have considered the postpositions to be nominal suffixes (Calvache Dueñas 1989, Obando Ordóñez 1992), there are clear reasons for analyzing them as separate grammatical words (clitics) rather than parts of the preceding word (suffixes), although not all types of evidence are found with all postpositions.

First, many of the postpositions (all those which have some relation to location) have been found following other postpositions. This is not so unusual in those cases where the first postposition is the genitive postposition *pa* (as in example (124)), as sequences of two noun suffixes have been found in other languages when the first is a genitive; but many also occur with one locational postposition following another, as in example (125):

(124) *Santos=pa=mal*   *nya*   *waa-y*
       Santos=POSS=LOC   meat   there:is-NONLOCUT

       'There is meat at Santos's [place].'

(125) *min=ta=kima=ma*   *i-mtu-s?*
       where=in=until=INTER   go-IMPF-LOCUT

       'Up to where (how far) are you going?'

This suggests that locational postpositions, at least, may not be noun suffixes, although analyses have been given which deal with case-stacking similar to this in Australian languages (see Dench & Evans (1988) for a survey; Andrews (1996) for an analysis of semantic case-stacking in an LFG framework).

Secondly, postpositions are found following an entire (non-finite) clause, as well as following an NP:[12]

(126) *us*   *ii-ta=ki=na,*   *cruz*
       3SG.(NOM)   die-PFPART=at=TOP   cross
       pana=na
       be:standing.(IMPFPART)=TOP

       'At (the place where) he died stands a cross.'

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[12]See section 10.2.3.2 for many more examples.

(127)   *Demetrio kayl-na=kima,   kal   ki-ni-s*
        Demetrio return-INF=until, work(1) work(2)-FUT-LOCUT
        'Until Demetrio returns, I will work.'

Postpositions may follow the Imperfective Participle, the Perfective Participle
and the Infinitive. Clearly, as non-finite verbal forms, these are not nouns, and
hence the postpositions cannot be considered to be noun suffixes.

There is also evidence that the postpositions go on the final element of
an NP, regardless of whether this is a noun or not. This evidence is perhaps less
strong, however it is required for the possessive marker *pa* and *kasa* 'with', as these
have not been found following another postposition, nor following a clause. The
evidence for *pa* being a postposition rather than a suffix is not strong, consisting
simply of sentences such as

(128)   *Carmen=na   paynya nalpihsh=pa=ta*
        Carmen=TOP   her   brother=POSS=in
        ayna-ma-ti-zi
        cook-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Carmen cooked at her brother's [place].'

where the postposition *pa* has scope over the entire preceding NP, *paynya nalpihsh*
'her brother'. The case for *kasa* 'with' being a clitic postposition rather than a
nominal suffix is much stronger. When speakers of Awa Pit include Spanish words
in an Awa Pit sentence, the word order of the phrase containing one or more
Spanish words may either follow Spanish or Awa Pit word order. In particular,
using a Spanish noun or adjective or both within an NP will sometimes cause
the NP word order to be noun–adjective rather than adjective–noun. In this case
the postposition follows the adjective (that is, the entire NP) rather than being
attached to the noun:

(129)   *na=na*   cuchillo *mocho=kasa=yŋ   kuzhu*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   knife   blunt=with=REST pig
        nak-ma-ta-w
        skin-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I skinned the pig with a blunt knife.'

Here it is clear that *kasa* follows the entire NP, and is thus clearly not a nominal
suffix but rather a clitic to the entire NP.

As a noun phrase may have an omitted head in Awa Pit, these post-
positions may also, of course, follow such things as descriptive adjectives and
possessive adjectives:

(130)   *katsa=wa kwizha*
        big=POSS   dog
        'the big [person]'s dog'

(131)   *na=na*   *ap=ta   i-mtu-s*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   my=in   go-IMPF-LOCUT
        'I am going to my [home].'

(132) *paynya=mal i-ti-zi*
      his=LOC   go-PAST-NONLOCUT
      'He went to his [house].'

I have no evidence of the postpositions being used except cliticized to a preceding element. However Obando Ordóñez (1992:112) has a class of "locative deictics", *ta* and *pa*, the proximal and distal respectively.[13] He does not associate these in any way with the "locative suffixes" *ta* and *pa*; and gives only one example of use:[14]

(133) *ta   i-mtu-s*
      over:there go-IMPF-LOCUT
      'I am going over there.'

Similar examples using *ta* and *pa* are found in Henriksen & Obando Ordóñez (1985:91):

(134) *pa   shaa-ni-tu*
      over:there walk-PROSP-HORT.1SG
      'I'm going to walk over there.'

It would seem best to treat these "locative deictics" simply as uses of the locative postpositions *ta* and *pa*, with an ellipsed NP. This analysis would explain the parallelism between the "locative deictics" and the "locative suffixes". Given this analysis, it seems clear that *ta* and *pa*, at least, cannot be treated as noun suffixes, but must be treated as separate words, as they can occur with the NP ellipsed.

The evidence, then, suggests strongly that at least many of the elements in Table 4.10 are separate words rather than noun suffixes. As all words appear to be alike in their behaviour (except for any semantic anomalies), all are treated as separate words. Whether they are classed as 'postpositions' or 'case markers' depends, to some extent, on one's theory of case. Here they will be treated as postpositions — given the possibility of using one followed by another, and the range of meanings expressed, this seems the most sensible analysis.

4.7 Time adverbs

Eleven time adverbs have been found in Awa Pit (see Table 4.11). Time adverbs are only used as temporal adjuncts, which occur in the first adjunct position in a clause, after the Subject (see section 3.2). This distinguishes the time adverbs from place adverbs (see section 4.8), manner adverbs (section 4.9) and other adverb-like elements (section 4.10), which occur in other positions in the sentence; and also from nouns referring to time, which may occur in the temporal adjunct position, but may also be used as complements to a verb (see section 13.2.2).

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[13]This could relate to a dialect difference.

[14]The orthography, morpheme breaks and glosses in this example and the next have been changed to fit my analysis; the Awa Pit words and the translation are from the original sources.

Durative	
kinsih	'until dawn'
mansuh	'all day'
Iterative	
shil	'every day'
Point time	
amta	'at night'
tilawayŋ	'in the early morning'
Relative time	
kayas	'early'
nashka	'late'
anya	'first, before, earlier'
Continuative	
mama	'still'
Interrogative/negative	
mizha(pa)ka	'when?'
mizhuta	'when?, never'

Table 4.11: Time adverbs

The two interrogative/negative time adverbs are discussed in sections 12.2.7; all other time adverbs are discussed and exemplified in section 13.2.1.

There is one word which is analyzed as a time noun rather than a time adverb, even though it may only occur in the temporal adjunct slot: *kwizh=* 'after, later'. See section 13.2.4 for a discussion and justification of this analysis.

4.8   Place adverbs

Locational adjuncts (see section 13.4) in Awa Pit are nearly always postpositional phrases. There are four words which could potentially be analyzed as place adverbs, but have been analyzed here as place nouns — *aŋ=* 'here', *uŋ=* 'there', *su=* 'there' and *min=* 'where, nowhere'. See section 4.3.2 for discussion and justification of this analysis, which parallels the analysis of *kwizh=* 'after, later' as a time noun rather than a time adverb.

However there is one remaining word which can be considered a place adverb: *akki* 'here'. This word is problematic in a number of ways.

The most likely source for *akki* 'here' is the Spanish word *aquí* 'here', pronounced in the same way. However *akki* is not simply a clear loan word, as it is integrated into the structure of Awa Pit. For example, the elative suffix *s* (see section 5.4.3) may be added to *akki* to form *akki-s* 'from here'.

This use of *akki* with the elative suffix is unusual, as other than with this word, *s* is only used following postpositions. This suggests that *akki* should

aynsuh	'quickly'
aza	'quickly'
impata	'slowly'
ka	'like this'
watsha	'for sure, certainly'
manaz	'again'
miza	'almost'
mizha	'how'
shin	'why'
wan	'completely'

Table 4.12: Manner adverbs

be analyzed, not as a unit, but as a place noun *ak=* followed by the locative postposition *ki*. Unfortunately there are two problems with this idea. First, semantically, *akki* is used in cases where the postposition *ki* would not be appropriate, but rather one of the locative postpositions *ta* or *pa* should be used. But more tellingly, if *ak=* were a place noun, it would be possible to combine it with other postpositions to form, for example, *ak=ta* or *ak=pa* (see section 4.3.2). However these words/postpositional phrases simply do not exist.

It seems then that *akki* 'here' must be analyzed as a place adverb in Awa Pit. While it was presumably borrowed from Spanish, it has fully integrated itself into Awa Pit, probably because of the formal similarity of the final segment to the locational postposition *ki*, and also perhaps because of the similarity of the initial segment to the place noun *aŋ=* (see section 4.3.2), which has the same meaning.

4.9 Manner adverbs

There is a small class of manner adverbs in Awa Pit. These words, listed in Table 4.12, may only occur in the manner adverbial position, between verbal complements and the verb (see section 3.2). These words will be discussed in greater detail in section 13.5; the only comment which will be made here is to note that *wan* 'completely' is formally identical to the adjective *wan* 'all', but semantically slightly different, as will be discussed in section 13.5.

4.10 Other adverb-like words

There are a number of other words which are in some ways similar to the manner adverbs. Many of these are often found in almost the same position as the manner adverbs, but there are differences.

=na	'Topic marker'
=miŋ	'Restrictive marker'
=kas	'Additive marker'
=ma	'Interrogative marker'
=ma	'Temporal marker'
=ka	'Emphasis marker'

Table 4.13: Discourse particles

4.10.1 The negative marker

The negative marker *shi* 'not' is one of the few elements which may appear between the manner adverbs and the verb (the others are *pina* 'very' and the first part of a compound verb). In addition to this position, however, the negative marker may appear after verbs, adjectives, noun phrases and postpositional phrases. When used sentence-finally, the negative marker may be inflected for person. See chapter 12 for further details.

4.10.2 Degree adverbs

There are two degree adverbs in Awa Pit, *kwisha* 'very' and *pina* 'very'. *Kwisha* may only occur before adjectives to modify them; *pina* occurs before manner and time adverbs, verbs, nouns and adjectives as a modifier. See section 13.6 for further details.

4.10.3 The comparative marker

The comparative marker *an* 'more' may occur before manner and time adverbs, adjectives and nouns to establish a comparative relationship between two things. This is discussed fully in section 13.7.

4.11 Discourse particles

There are six discourse particles in Awa Pit (shown in Table 4.13), which cliticize onto the preceding element of a clause, regardless of its syntactic status, and without changing its syntactic possibilities. These discourse particles are discussed in chapter 14. Note that this group of words is semantically diverse — they are anlayzed together because of their formally similar behaviour.

4.12 Interjections

There are presumably a variety of interjections in Awa Pit, as there are in any language. Unfortunately, only two are found in the data for this study — *ashtash* 'thank you' and *watsha* 'clearly, obviously, that is true'. The latter is formally identical to one of the manner adverbs, *watsha* 'for sure, certainly'. The interjections are the only words in Awa Pit which fall outside the level of sentence-grammar, and so form complete utterances on their own, with no requirement for a predicate.

It is perhaps interesting to note at this point that there are no words for 'yes' or 'no' in Awa Pit. A positive answer is given by repeating the verb, in an appropriate form; a negative answer by giving the verb negated in an appropriate form.

4.13 Cross-classification of words

While the vast majority of words in Awa Pit belong to one word class or another, there are a few words which are cross-classified: while formally identical and semantically similar, there are actually two words involved, of different word classes. It is important to point out that these are *individual* words which are involved in cross-classification, not entire classes. For example, the temporal adjunct slot can be filled by an unmarked time adverb or by an unmarked noun with a temporal reference. As the latter group is based on a semantic feature, and any noun dealing with time can be used in this slot, these words are treated simply as nouns rather than being cross-classified as nouns and time adverbs — it is simply a feature of Awa Pit that any noun with time reference can be used in this way. In contrast, the word *ilapa* can be used both as a noun meaning 'old man' or as an adjective meaning 'old'. This contrasts with other nouns in the same semantic field, for example *pashpa* 'child', which cannot be used as adjectives as well. As this use in two word classes is particular to this one word, it is treated as two separate words, one a noun and one an adjective.

As well as the various words discussed below which are cross-classified, it is possible to change the word-class assignment of roots through derivational processes. All productive derivational processes which have been found change words into verbs (from nouns, adjectives and verbs), and will be discussed in sections 6.3 and 6.4.

There are a number of nominals which are cross-classified within the sub-classes of nominals. All nominal postmodifiers are also nouns, and these were discussed in section 4.3.6. Many of the relational nouns are cross-classified as nouns (see section 4.3.5).

Verbs are also cross-classified between subclasses. There are two verbs which can be both active and stative: *shaa-* 'walk' and *tu-* 'lie down' are active, while *shaa* 'be around' and *tu* 'be somewhere' are stative. There are a variety of ambitransitive verbs, those verbs which are both transitive and intransitive — see section 6.2 for a discussion of these verbs.

A few words in Awa Pit are truly cross-classified between major classes. The noun *ilapa* 'old man' is formally identical to the adjective *ilapa* 'old'; and some relational nouns are formally indistinguishable from adjectives (see section 4.3.5). There is one adjective *wan* 'all' which is clearly related to the manner adverb *wan* 'completely'. And another manner adverb *watsha* 'for sure, certainly' is formally identical and semantically similar to the interjection *watsha* 'clearly, obviously, that is true'.

4.14   Borrowed words

Awa Pit is spoken in Colombia, which has Spanish as its national language. The Awa region is not fully self-sufficient, relying on interactions with the outside world: for example, in the region where the data for this thesis were collected, the majority of families have one or more members who go to town every week or two. Equally, even within the Awa region, there are a large number of monolingual speakers of Spanish, and in the data-collection region the everyday language of interaction within the community is Spanish. Thus all speakers of Awa Pit are also speakers of Spanish, to a greater or lesser degree. This has, naturally, led to some borrowing from Spanish into Awa Pit.

There are a wide range of borrowed words, and these fall on a continuum from "permanent" to "temporary" borrowings. While in part the integration of a borrowed word depends on a speaker's Spanish competence, different words said by the same speaker appear to be differentially integrated into Awa Pit, which accords with Mougeon & Beniak's (1989:307) comment that variation in the integration of loans depends on individual words, as well as other factors.

There are a few words which appear to have been borrowed from Spanish, but have fully and completely integrated in Awa Pit, both syntactically and semantically. For example, all speakers use the words *mayshti* 'machete', *pishkatu* 'fish' and *kwinta kizh-* 'tell a story', although these are quite probably borrowed from the Spanish words *machete* 'machete', *pescado* 'fish' and *cuenta/contar* 'tell' (*kizh-* is the Awa Pit word for 'say'). What distinguishes these borrowings, if they are borrowings, from others is that speakers appear to have no realization that these are borrowings, and always pronounce them with Awa Pit phonology and phonetics, not Spanish.

In contrast to these permanent borrowings, there are semi-permanent borrowings. These words have clearly been borrowed, but have indeed acquired the status of Awa Pit words, in that there is, in general, no "traditional" word to describe them, and speakers will consistently use the same "Spanish" word for the concept, even if Spanish has a variety of words available. The important distinction between these borrowings and the previous set is that speakers are aware that they have been borrowed, and while speakers who are not highly fluent in Spanish will tend to say them in a way which is allowable according to the phonology of Awa Pit, speakers who are more fluent in Spanish vary, saying these words more according to the phonology of Awa Pit when speaking quickly, and more according to Spanish phonology when speaking more slowly. For ex-

ample, for the concept of 'plate', speakers will use a range of pronunciations from the Spanish [plato], through [pilato] or [platu], to [pilatu] and finally to [pwilatu], which accords completely with Awa Pit phonetics for a phonologically well-formed word *pilattu*. Some of these semi-permanent borrowings have even shifted meaning slightly within Awa Pit, while retaining their link to Spanish: for example, the word [tumiŋgu]~[domiŋgo] has clearly been borrowed from Spanish *domingo* 'Sunday', but in Spanish this can only refer to the day of the week, while in Awa Pit, whether pronounced [tumiŋgu] or [domiŋgo], it may mean either 'Sunday' or 'week'. Particularly frequent semi-permanent borrowings are the numerals greater than four: the traditional Awa Pit counting system only reached *ampata* 'four', and all higher numerals have been borrowed from Spanish, but all speakers are fully aware of this, as numerals are essential in their trade interactions with non-Awa.

Finally there are temporary loans from Spanish in the speech of native speakers of Awa Pit. As nouns and adjectives in Awa Pit are almost always unmarked, it is very easy to simply borrow a Spanish noun or adjective and place it in the appropriate position for an equivalent Awa Pit noun or adjective. With its complex verb morphology, borrowing verbs into Awa Pit should be more difficult — but speakers simply borrow the third-person, present, indicative form of the Spanish verb, then use it as the first, invariant, part of a compound verb, and use the verb *ki-* 'do' as the second part, which carries all the morphology.[15] These loans appear to be simply "one-off" loans; a speaker may commonly use a "traditional" Awa Pit word, but on one particular day borrow a word from Spanish for the same concept. This process is presumably aided by the fact that speakers in the region where this data was collected use Spanish as their daily language of interaction, and consequently are constantly using Spanish words for concepts, rather than Awa Pit words; hence the Spanish words spring to mind more readily.

In the example sentences throughout this thesis, loans from Spanish are indicated by a non-italic font.

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[15]See section 4.5.6 for further details on compound verbs.

Chapter 5

Noun phrases, postpositional phrases and Copula Complements

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with various elements associated with the predicate in Awa Pit, either complements, which are obligatory in a semantic sense, or adjuncts, which are optional. These elements are NPs, PPs or adjectives, and these constituents sometimes have complex internal structures, with NPs being embedded within PPs within NPs, for example.

The first section deals with NPs and their internal structure. Following this, Copula Complements are examined, as these have slightly different possibilities from other grammatical relations in terms of their constituency. The various postpositions found in Awa Pit are then discussed, before a short description of NPs and PPs in apposition.

5.2 Noun phrases

The head of an NP is, naturally, a noun or pronoun, although under certain conditions this head can be ellipsed (see 5.2.5). With the exception of the nominal postmodifiers (see 4.3.6), all other nominals discussed in section 4.3 can be used as the head of an NP: nouns, time and place nouns, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and relational nouns (although there are strong restrictions on all of these except nouns).

As well as a noun or pronoun head, an NP has many other possibilities. Awa Pit has a productive clausal nominalization strategy, discussed in section 10.5; however certain nominalizations have diverged from this pattern, and apparently been lexicalized (section 5.2.1). While there is no true reflexive construction in Awa Pit, the techniques used by Awa Pit to reflect the same meanings are largely based on the selection of appropriate NPs (section 5.2.2). Nominal heads of NPs can, of course, be modified, and the strategies for modification are discussed in section 5.2.3; one particular modification strategy, used for possession, has a wide range of functions, and these are examined in section 5.2.4.

After a discussion of headless NPs (5.2.5), the peculiarities of "plural" marking are looked at, and the relationship between this and clausal nominalizations.

5.2.1   Lexical nominalizations

The verb suffix *mu* (and its allomorph *m*, which occurs after a vowel) has a variety of functions (section 7.2.8.4). In addition to these productive uses, however, there are a number of words which appear to be lexicalized forms from a verb root plus *mu*. These are all formed from intransitive verbs, and often an unpredictable semantic element is present in the meaning of the noun. To use the terms of Comrie & Thompson (1985), the nominalization involved may be an agentive nominalization or an instrumental nominalization.

The agentive nominalization use of *mu*, where the resulting noun is a thing which performs the action of the verb, is similar to the agentive relative clause function of *mu* discussed in section 10.4. An example of this is the noun *pil-mu* 'bat', related to the verb *pil-* 'fly'.

The instrumental nominalization use of *mu* is quite distinct from all productive functions of this morpheme which are either agentive or purposive. The object denoted by the resulting noun is an item which is used in carrying out the action denoted by the verb involved. Examples of this are *pihshka-m* 'broom' from *pihshka-* 'sweep', and *uz-mu* 'seat' from *uz-* 'sit'.

There is one slightly problematic example of an instrumental nominalization. While most speakers used the word *mazha* for 'mirror', one speaker, T, consistently produced *matsuh izh-mu* 'face see-*mu*'. This is clearly an instrumental nominalization — 'thing used for seeing [one's own] face'. Unlike all other instrumental nominalizations, this is based on a transitive verb with its Object, parallel to the productive agentive nominalizations and relative clauses using *mu*. As no other examples of a productive use of instrumental nominalization have been found, it is possible that *matsuh izhmu* 'mirror' is in fact a fixed expression, a relic from a time when *mu* was used to form productive instrumental nominalizations.

5.2.2   "Reflexives"

Awa Pit does not have a specific reflexive construction; however the techniques used to convey the notion of reflexivity are more closely related to a nominal reflexive system than a verbal one such as is found in Imbabura Quechua (Cole 1985:134–135).

Reflexive situations are reported in a variety of ways in Awa Pit, with two being the most common. With non-third person, there is always the option of simply including separate Nominative and Accusative pronouns referring to the same person, and the same structure is sometimes used for third person as well, although then there is ambiguity between reflexive and non-reflexive; this same sort of system, with the ambiguity present, is used in a few other South American languages such as Pirahã (Everett 1986:215–217). In this case, and

$$NP \rightarrow \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PossAdj} \\ \text{DemAdj} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\} \right) (\text{Quant}) (\text{DescrAdj})^* \text{Noun}$$

Where: NP = Noun phrase
        PossAdj = Possessive adjective
        DemAdj = Demonstrative adjective
        PP = Postpositional phrase
        Quant = Quantifier
        DescrAdj = Descriptive adjective

Table 5.1: Basic noun phrase structure

in the following one, where the verb inflection would distinctly mark Locutor Subject or Locutor Undergoer (see chapter 8), the Locutor Undergoer marking is chosen.

More frequently, reflexives are stated as sentences with an ellipsed Subject, which can be understood to refer to the same participant as the Object (which may also be ellipsed). In this case, an adjunct postpositional phrase *ap miŋpayŋ* 'through my own idea', *paynya miŋpayŋ* 'through his/her own idea', and so forth (section 5.4.4) is normally present:

(135) ap   miŋ=pa=yŋ   tit   kway-ti-s
       my   thought=in(approx)=REST   cut   DROP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
       'I got cut and it was my idea; I cut myself.'

(136) paynya   miŋ=pa=yŋ   payn-ti-ti-zi
       his   thought=in(approx)=REST   hit-TERM-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'He got hit, it was his idea; he hit himself.'

Note that the sentences are not strictly reflexive, this is simply a possible interpretation: the second sentence, for example, would also be appropriate in a context in which he got into a fight with the intent of having someone hit him. That is, the PP involving *miŋ* can also be used in non-reflexive contexts. The use of an adjunct to suggest a reflexive context in sentences like these is also found in Retuarã, where reflexive clauses usually contain an adverbial phrase like 'knowingly' (Strom 1992:133–134).

5.2.3 Modification of nouns

Head nouns in an NP can often be modified, with the basic schema presented in Table 5.1. However there are many restrictions and variations on this schema.

It does not include deverbal adjectives or purposive adjectives, modification by nouns, or modification of adjectives. For negation of elements within an NP, see section 12.6.

Of the nominals which can be heads of NPs, only the nouns can be modified in this way. As was noted in section 4.3.3, personal pronouns can only be modified by quantifiers, and in this case the quantifier appears *after* the pronoun rather than before: *au kutnya* 'we three'. Other nominals — time and place nouns, demonstrative pronouns and relational nouns — cannot be modified at all.

Where it is semantically plausible, quantifiers and descriptive adjectives themselves can be modified by the degree adverbs *kwisha* and *pina* or by the comparative marker *an*, as can the head noun. These constructions are discussed and exemplified in sections 13.6 and 13.7 respectively.

Not all postpositional phrases can occur within an NP. Those which have been found are possessive (discussed at length below), locational and similarity PPs.

Examples of a variety of NPs with basic modification are:

(137)   *alizh*   *kwizha*
         angry   dog
         DescrAdj   N
         'a fierce dog'

(138)   *an*   *kih*
         this   leaf
         DemAdj   N
         'this leaf'

(139)   *ampata*   *katsa*   *til*   *kuzhu*
         four   big   black   pig
         Quant   DescrAdj   DescrAdj   Noun
         'four big black pigs'

(140)   *ap*   *kutnya*   *kwizha*
         my   three   dog
         PossAdj   Quant   Noun
         'my three dogs'

(141)   *sun*   *paas*   *awa*
         that   two   person
         DemAdj   Quant   Noun
         'those two people'

(142)   [mesa=*ta*   libro   ]   *kwin-zha*
         [table=in   book   ]   give-IMP.1OBJ
         LocPP   Noun
         'Give me the book on the table.'

(143) [*Cumbal=ta-s*   *awa*   ] *a-mtu-y*
     [Cumbal=in-from   person] come-IMPF-NONLOCUT
     LocPP   Noun

'The person from Cumbal is coming.'

(144) [*ap=kana* *kwizha*] *sula*   *kwa-ti-s*
     [my=like   dog   ] bite(1) bite(2)-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
     SimilPP   Noun

'The dog like mine bit me.'

The basic structure given above allows for indefinitely long strings of adjectives, in particular long strings of descriptive adjectives. In actual speech, a maximum of two adjectives have been observed in any NP. However in elicitation sessions speakers were quite willing to accept longer strings, with strings of three or four adjectives being perfectly allowable. This restriction on the use of adjective strings does not appear to be a case of "ungrammaticality", but rather that speakers prefer simpler structures, and will reorganize sentences involving longer strings into two or three shorter sentences. Because of the lack of spontaneous use of strings of descriptive adjectives, it has not been possible to investigate the relative order of different classes of such adjectives.

The only exception to adjective–noun word order occurs occasionally when Spanish adjectives are used, presumably as a result of interference from Spanish. Within Spanish, adjectives follow the nouns they modify, and speakers sometimes use this feature in Awa Pit, especially when the noun in question is also a loan:[1]

(145) *na=na*   *shihtti* izquierdo=*mal* *kihshpizh*
     1SG.(NOM)=TOP arm   left=LOC   scratch
     kway-ta-w
     DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

'I scratched my left arm.'

(146) *na=na*   cuchillo mocho=*kasa=yŋ*   *kuzhu*
     1SG.(NOM)=TOP knife   blunt=with=REST   pig
     nak-ma-ta-w
     skin-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

'I skinned the pig with a blunt knife.'

This phenomenon of noun–adjective ordering with Spanish loan adjectives has also been noted for the Salvadorian language Pipil, with a usual adjective–noun order (Campbell 1985:108).

5.2.3.1 Deverbal adjectives

In addition to lexical adjectives, Awa Pit has two classes of derived adjectives: the deverbal adjectives (discussed here) and the purposive adjectivizations (the following section). These adjectives, which are derived from verbs, retain some

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[1]As elsewhere, loans are indicated here in non-italic.

verbal features — in particular, rather than occurring before the noun they modify, they follow it. The two constructions have not been found after a noun which has modifiers before it also.

There are very strict semantic restrictions on the verbs which can be deverbalized: a deverbal adjective can only be formed from a verb which implies a change of state and indicate the result of that change. Thus while a deverbal adjective *ii-ta* 'dead' can be formed on the verb *ii-* 'die', there is no deverbal adjective corresponding to *az-* 'cry', as this verb does not signal a change of state.

Deverbal adjectives can be formed on the basis of intransitive or transitive verbs (there are no ditransitive verbs with appropriate meanings). The deverbal adjective is formed through the use of the Perfective Participle suffix, and gives the meaning that the noun with which it is associated has, at some time in the past, undergone the change of state indicated by the verb.

In the case of intransitive verbs, the deverbal adjective refers to the Subject argument of the corresponding verb:

(147)   *wakata   ii-ti-zi*
         cattle   die-PAST-NONLOCUT
         'The cow died.'

(148)   *wakata   ii-ta*
         cattle   die-PFPART
         'a/the dead cow'

With transitive verbs, the deverbal adjective is associated with the noun which has undergone the change of state marked by the verb — and for transitive verbs, the Object is the argument which undergoes any change of state:

(149)   *na=na*   camisa   *pat-ta-w*
         1SG.(NOM)=TOP   shirt   wash-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
         'I washed the shirt.'

(150)   camisa   *pat-ta*
         shirt   wash-PFPART
         'a/the clean shirt'

As can be seen from the above examples, there is a major difference between the distribution of (lexical) adjectives and deverbal adjectives. Within the NP, adjectives precede the noun which they modify; deverbal adjectives follow the noun. In English it is reasonable to consider that passive participles used as adjectives are indeed adjectives, derived at the level of the lexicon, since they exhibit all the properties of adjectives (see Wasow 1977); however in Awa Pit the deverbal adjectives are clearly quite separate from the lexical adjectives.

Not only are deverbal adjectives different from adjectives in terms of their position in the noun phrase, there is another difference between the two. Adjectives in Awa Pit do not have complements; deverbal adjectives can "bring

with them" any optional adjuncts (PPs) which the corresponding verb may have. For example, the verb *kutil-* 'skin' is a transitive verb, and can optionally be accompanied by a PP indicating the method of skinning used:

(151) na=na   iiŋ=kasa   kuzhu kutil-ta-w
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP flame=with pig   skin-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I skinned a pig with fire.'

The corresponding deverbal adjective, *kutilta* 'skinned', may likewise be accompanied by this PP:[2]

(152) kuzhu [iiŋ=kasa   kutil-ta   ]=na   kwashmayŋ
       pig   [flame=with skin-PFPART]=TOP tasty
       i
       be.(NONLOCUT)
       'Pig skinned with fire is tasty.'

Deverbal adjectives (and any associated PPs) clearly form a constitutent together with the noun they modify, as a single noun phrase. Any marking associated with the noun phrase — either the topic marker or a postposition indicating case — occurs not on the noun itself, but after the deverbal adjective, as in the preceding example and the following ones:

(153) [shap   ayna-ta   ]=na   kwashmayŋ i
       [ripe:plantain cook-PFPART]=TOP tasty   be.(NONLOCUT)
       'Cooked ripe plantain is tasty.'

(154) na=na   [awa   ii-ta   ]=ta
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP [person die-PFPART]=ACC
       izh-ta-w
       see-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I saw the dead man.'

The noun itself cannot be marked by the topic marker or case marking, if it is not the final element in the noun phrase:

(155) *wakata=na   ii-ta=na
       cattle=TOP   die-PFPART=TOP

This clearly indicates that the two words, the noun and the deverbal adjective, are in the same NP, rather than being associated in an appositional structure.

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[2]Note that the English translation of this sentence is almost identical to the Awa Pit construction, allowing for the difference in positioning in the two languages of PPs with respect to the verb.

5.2.3.2 Purposive adjectivizations

The adjectivizer suffix *mu* has a number of functions, and one of these is to form a nominal modifier from a transitive verb, indicating that the noun being modified "is (good) for Verb-ing" or "is to be Verb-ed". The noun is necessarily something which could fill the Object slot of the *mu*-marked verb. When used attributively rather than predicatively, the *mu*-marked verb follows the noun it modifies as deverbal adjectives do, rather than preceding it like lexical adjectives. The only examples of an attributive use of purposive adjectivizations which have been found are together with the verb *waa* 'there is', which is intransitive. Consequently it is not clear where case marking postpositions would occur with a noun modified by a purposive adjectivization. However, given the parallels with the deverbal adjectives, it appears likely that the noun and a following *mu*-marked verb form one noun phrase.

(156)   [chicha *ku-m*   ] *waa-y*
        [chicha eat-ADJZR] there:is-NONLOCUT
        'There's chicha (an alcoholic drink) to drink.'

(157)   *Santos=pa=mal*   [*wakata* *pay-nin-mu*   ]
        Santos=POSS=LOC   [cattle   buy-CAUS-ADJZR]
        waa-y
        there:is-NONLOCUT
        'There are cattle for sale at Santos'.'

5.2.4 "Possessive" constructions

While the semantics of the "dedicated" modifiers within the NP — such as the descriptive adjectives and the quantifiers — is relatively straightforward, the semantics of the "possessive" construction needs closer examination.

The "possessive" construction can be used to encode a wide range of functions: location–object, whole–part, material–object, and meanings similar to English complex prepositions, which are encoded through the use of relational nouns. Many of these functions have been found cross-linguistically to be coded similarly to possession,[3] and indeed in Awa Pit some of the above functions can also be marked in the same way as possession, either through the use of the possessive postposition *pa* (see 5.4.8), or through the possessive adjectives.

In some cases, however, there is an alternation between a PP with *pa*, a possessive adjective, and a bare noun modifier, where the bare noun acting as a modifer must occur directly before the noun it modifies. The alternation between these constructions can be seen to depend on humanness and referentiality.[4] If

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[3]See, for example, Ultan (1978b:28–35).

[4]'Referential' here is not used to imply the logical idea of 'existence in some world', but rather is used in the sense Givón (1982:84) gives it, where a referential noun is one whose "*specific identity* is important" rather than "its generic *type membership*" (emphasis in original). Hopper & Thompson (1984:711) prefer the label 'manipulable' to 'referential'.

the modifying noun is human and referential, the postpositional construction is used (or a possessive adjective, if the non-head entity is pronominal); otherwise a bare noun modifier is used:

(158)   *Santos=pa*   *pimpul*
        Santos=POSS   leg
        'Santos's leg'

(159)   *ap*   *pimpul*
        my   leg
        'my leg'

(160)   *kwizha*   *pimpul*
        dog   leg
        'the leg of (a/the) dog'

(161)   *awa=wa*   *pit*
        person=POSS   language/tongue
        '(the) person's tongue [most likely]; (the) person's way of speaking [unlikely]'

(162)   *awa*   *pit*
        person   language/tongue
        'the language of the people (Awa Pit) [most likely]; human tongues [unlikely]'

Once this division between human, referential entities (expressed through the postpositional or possessive adjective constructions) and other entities (expressed through a bare noun modifier) has been drawn for those functions where the constructions are in alternation, it is possible to see that this distinction underlies all uses of the constructions, and in fact explains why some functions are necessarily expressed by one construction or the other.

For example, the ideas of alienable possession and kinship relations necessarily involve the use of the postpositional or possessive adjective constructions (with the exception of "plural possessive adjectives", see below), rather than a bare noun modifier. However this follows from the semantics: alienable possession and kinship are inherently characteristics of referential humans. In those few cases where the idea of possession or relation are expanded to include higher animates, Awa Pit personifies the entity in question, treating it like a human:

(163)   *kwizha=wa*   pelota
        dog=POSS   ball
        'the dog's ball'

Equally, in those constructions which encode the relations of location–object, unit–mass, material–object and purpose–object, the first entity is necessarily either non-human or non-referential, and consequently the postpositional and possessive adjective constructions cannot be used.

The "plural possessive adjectives" provide a slightly peculiar exception to the above regularity. Singular possessive adjectives occur in the expected slot, and descriptive adjectives may occur between the possessive adjective and the head noun:

(164)   ap   *katsa*   *til*   *kuzhu*
        my   big   black   pig
        'my big black pig'

However as noted in section 4.4.5 there are no special plural possessive adjective forms. In order to translate a phrase such as *our house*, speakers of Awa Pit have two options. The more common option is to simply use the singular possessive adjective:

(165)   ap   *yal*
        my   house
        'my house, our house'

The alternative, with no apparent difference of meaning, is to use the plural Subject pronoun, unchanged, in the bare noun modifier slot:

(166)   au   *yal*
        we   house
        'our house'

In this case no adjectives can intervene between the pronoun and the following noun.

It could perhaps be maintained that the difference between singular and plural "possessive adjective" constructions is related to 'individuation', in the sense of Hopper & Thompson (1980:253). Pronominal referents which are human, singular and referential — the more individuated nominals — take one position, while those which are non-singular occur in a different position. In this case, however, a distinction would need to be drawn between the way the language treats 'individuation' in possession with pronouns (where singular and plural are distinguished by position) and nouns (where unmarked nouns with plural reference are treated identically to unmarked nouns with singular reference). A distinction would also need to be drawn between the treatment of "possessive adjectives" (where entities which are singular, human and referential are distinguished from others) and Accusative marking (where entities which are human and referential, whether singular or plural, are distinguished from others).

On the whole it seems more sensible to simply consider that there is a "gap" in the language, a lack of plural possessive adjectives, and that the speakers make up for this gap either by using a singular possessive adjective or a plural Subject pronoun in the bare noun modifier position, rather than attempt to find a theoretical explanation.

In the following sections the various functions of the *pa*-postpositional construction, the possessive adjective construction and the bare noun modifier

construction will be examined. It is important to remember here that the constructions used to encode all the following functions are identical — the following are simply a family of related meanings that are expressed in the same way.

5.2.4.1 Alienable possession and kinship relations

Probably the most obvious relationship which can hold between two entities is that of alienable possession. In this relation the non-head nominal is necessarily referential and human, as noted above, and consequently the construction necessarily involves the postposition *pa* or a possessive adjective. Kinship relations (see Table 4.1) are treated identically to alienable possession in Awa Pit; indeed, within an NP the "possession" of body parts is treated in the same way, but has been treated separately here as a part–whole relation (see below), as in body part "possession" the non-head noun is not necessarily referential or human.[5] That is, there is no distinction in Awa Pit between alienable and inalienable possession within an NP; different constructions exist for referential human possession and others, regardless of the nature of the possession.

(167) *Santos=pa*   *kuzhu*
       Santos=POSS   pig
       'Santos's pig'

(168) *Carmen=pa*   *ayshpihsh*
       Carmen=POSS   sister
       'Carmen's sister'

(169) *paynya* cuchillo
       his   knife
       'his knife'

(170) *ap   akkwa*
       my   mother
       'my mother'

5.2.4.2 Whole–part

Part–whole relations are encoded in the same way as possession also, with the whole as the modifier, and the part as the head noun. The modifier whole may be a referential human (in which case the construction with *pa* or a possessive adjective is used), or a non-referential human or a non-human (encoded through a bare noun modifier):[6]

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[5]It should be noted that while alienable possession, kinship relations and "possession" of body parts are treated identically within an NP, there is a difference in the coding of these relations through verbs: alienable possession and kinship relations use the verb *mil* 'have', while the "possession" of body parts is described using the verb *waj* 'have (body part)'.

[6]It is interesting to note here that while Imbabura Quechua similarly encodes part–whole relationships with either a genitive marker or a bare noun, the distinction in that language is between animates and inanimates, rather than referential human and others (Cole 1985:117).

(171) *Santos=pa*   *sayl*
       Santos=POSS arm
       'Santos's arm'

(172) *ap   pimpul*
       my   leg
       'my leg'

(173) *awa   kizpu*
       person head
       'a human head'

(174) *ti   aya*
       tree skin
       '(tree) bark'

5.2.4.3 Relational nouns

As discussed in section 4.3.5, there is a special class of nouns in Awa Pit, the relational nouns, which are largely used to cover meanings for which many languages have adpositions or complex adpositions. While the meaning of these is perhaps not strictly that of a relation between two nominals, formally they are constructed in exactly the same way as possessive constructions, with the relational noun as head, and the other nominal modifying this — referential human nouns take an enclitic *pa*, or a possessive adjective if pronominalized; other nouns are simply placed before the relational noun. This distinguishes this Awa Pit construction from a similar construction found in Imbabura Quechua where, except for *chawpi* 'between, among', the "complex postpositions" are simply placed after the noun to which they refer, with no marking indicating the relationship even for animate nouns (Cole 1985:120–124).[7]

(175) *Carmen=pa*   *ma=mal*
       Carmen=POSS side=LOC
       'beside Carmen'

(176) *ap   punsih=mal*
       my   back=LOC
       'behind me'

(177) *yal   kwash=pa*
       house above=in(approx)
       'above the house'

Just as with other NPs, the modifier is not essential, and can be ellipsed if it can be understood from context:

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[7]Compare this with the English "compound prepositions" where, as Ultan (1978b:30) notes in his discussion of "locative-governed genitives", *in my front* is not equivalent to *in front of me*.

(178) *kwizha kal=mal tu-y*
      dog   inside=LOC be:in:place-NONLOCUT
      'The dog is inside [the house].'

This sentence was used while standing on the verandah of the house, as an appropriate answer to 'Where is the dog?'.

A list of the relational nouns which have been found in Awa Pit was given in Table 4.4. However the precise uses of a few of these relational nouns require more discussion: in particular, the differences between *pula/puta=* 'below' and *su=* 'under'; *isal=* 'on top' and *kwash=* 'above'; and *ayuk=* 'inside' and *kal=* 'within'.

Pula/puta= has been glossed as 'below' and *su=* as 'under', and these have clearly different uses. *Pula/puta=*[8] is used to refer to any point which is geographically lower than another, for example:

(179) *yal pula=mal pii waa*
      house below=LOC river there:is.(IMPFPART)
      'There is a river below the house.'

(180) *pijtam libro=na kwaŋtam libro pula=mal*
      green/blue book=TOP red   book below=LOC
      tu-y
      be:in:place-NONLOCUT
      'The green book is under the red book.'

On the other hand, *su=*, with its relation to the noun *su* 'earth', means something closer to 'on the ground under', and could not be used in example (180), though it could be used in example (179).

While *isal=* has been glossed 'on top of, in the top of' and *kwash=* has been glossed 'above', it must be noted that they have overlapping uses. The latter word, *kwash=*, can be used when one entity is strictly 'above' another, with space between them (sentence (181)), or when one entity is resting on another (sentence (182)):

(181) *yal kwash=mal pil-tu*
      house above=LOC fly-IMPFPART
      '[The bird] is flying above the house.'

(182) *yal kwash=mal sum=na*
      house above=LOC sit.(IMPFPART)=TOP
      '[The bird] is sitting on top of the house.'

On the other hand *isal=* begins its range where *kwash=* stops, and can be used anywhere from one entity resting on another surface (sentence (183)) down to a situation where one entity is within the other, though still near the top (sentence (184)):

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[8]The two forms *pula=* and *puta=* are from different dialects.

(183)   mesa   *isal=ki=na*   libro   *tu-y*
        table top=at=TOP   book   be:in:place-NONLOCUT
        'On the table there is a book.'

(184)   *shitshu=na   ti   isal=mal   uz-i*
        bird=TOP   tree   top=LOC   sit-NONLOCUT
        'The bird is sitting in the top of the tree.'

The exact distinction between *kal=* 'within' and *ayuk=* 'inside' is not clear. *Kal=* is used for being inside a building or in a field; on the other hand *ayuk=* is the more normal word for being in something which is conceived of as all around, but is also used to state that something is under a table.

5.2.4.4   Location–object

The expression within one NP of an object and its "inherent" location is expressed using a bare noun modifier — the location is the modifier, and as a location can never be a referential human, the postpositional construction and the possessive adjective construction are never used. This construction is appropriate, for example, when the Awa ('people') are required to specify themselves as a group of people separate from other groups. Then they refer to themselves as:

(185)   *inkal   awa*
        mountain   people
        'mountain people'

It is also extensively used for labelling various body parts. The word *ash* 'hair/fur' has a wide range of referents, and these can be made more precise with this construction:

(186)   *kizpu   ash*
        head   hair
        '(head) hair'

(187)   *kasu   ash*
        eye   hair
        'eyelash'

Similarly, some body-part terms also refer to other objects, and the use of a location–object construction causes them to refer specifically to a body part:

(188)   *pu   nul*
        male:genitals   small:ball
        'testicle'

5.2.4.5 Purpose–object

The bare noun modifier construction can be used to give the meaning of an object with a specific purpose. For example, a *saw* is a cultivated field. In order to indicate what the purpose of the field is — that is, what is growing in it, or what is to be grown in it — this construction is used:

(189) *pala   saw*
      plantain   field
      'plantain field'

Naturally the postpositional construction cannot be used, as the purpose is always non-human.

5.2.4.6 Material–object

It is often necessary to state what material an object is made from. In this case the object is the head noun, and the material is a modifier. The material is, of course, non-human, and hence a bare noun modifier is used. It does not matter whether the object has been constructed by people or is naturally occurring:

(190) *kwalti yal*
      gualte house
      'house made from gualte (local wood)'

(191) *uk   iza*
      stone   ridge
      'stone ridge'

5.2.4.7 Specific–general

There is one further construction which appears to use a bare noun modifier, which is the specific–generic construction. Unfortunately, little data is available on this construction.

While there do not appear to be any cases in Awa Pit where it is necessary to use a specific–general construction, these constructions are sometimes used with plants and animals. For example, *kalputut* 'mouse sp.' is a particular variety of *tunya* 'mouse', and simply saying *kalputut* is sufficient to identify this animal — but often it will be referred to as *kalputut tunya*. Likewise rather than *wisha* 'white person', speakers will often say *wisha awa* 'white:person person'.

These constructions could perhaps be considered as a form of noun classifier, a classification device which accompanies the noun regardless of the presence of modifiers. However noun classifiers are commonly used anaphorically (Craig forthcoming), and there is no evidence of this in Awa Pit, nor is there evidence of the system extending beyond animals and plants.

In addition to the specific–general constructions, there are also similar constructions involving types of trees. However with these constructions the modifier has "fused" with the word *ti* 'tree' to form one word. Thus for example

there is a particular variety of local tree called *kwalti*, and bamboo is called *minanti*.

5.2.5   Headless NPs

In section 4.4.1 it was noted that the head of an NP can sometimes be ellipsed, leaving only modifiers in the NP. Of course, this occurs only under restricted discourse conditions — essentially, an entity must have been introduced into the discourse first, before it can be referred to by a headless NP.

It is important to point out that a headless NP is quite distinct from an adjective used as a Copula Complement (section 5.3), and the two have quite different properties. A Copula Complement can only consist of a single adjective (plus a degree adverb or comparative marker), while a headless NP can contain a string of adjectives.

As well as appropriate discourse conditions, an NP must have the "right sort" of modifier before its head can be ellipsed. The head can be ellipsed if the modifier is a possessive adjective, quantifier, descriptive adjective or deverbal adjective, or a possessive PP:

(192)   *na=na*   *ap=ta*   *i-mtu-s*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   my=in   go-IMPF-LOCUT
        'I am going to my [house].'

(193)   *na=na*   *paas=ta*   *izh-ta-w*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   two=ACC   see-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I saw two [people].'

(194)   *na=na*   *katsa=ta=na*   *payn-ta-w*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   big=ACC=TOP   hit-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I hit the big [person].'

(195)   *pat-ta=na*   *watsal*   *i*
        wash-PFPART=TOP   beautiful   be.(NONLOCUT)
        'Washed [shirts] are beautiful.'

(196)   *Carmen=na*   *paynya*   *nalpihsh=pa=ta*
        Carmen=TOP   her   brother=POSS=in
        ayna-ma-ti-zi
        cook-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Carmen cooked at her brother's [house].'

As noted in section 4.4.1, the head of an NP can never be ellipsed if the NP has a bare noun modifier, presumably to avoid ambiguity in the status of this noun. Purposive adjectives and non-possessive PPs have also never been found without a head (although they are used as Copula Complements). Finally, demonstrative adjectives are never found without heads; the related demonstrative pronoun is used instead.

5.2.6 "Plural" marking and nominalizations

With the exception of personal pronouns, nominals in Awa Pit do not have number as a grammatical category, and thus *awa* can indicate one person, a number of people, or people as a group.[9] However there is one suffix, the Collective action suffix *tuzpa*, which can be attached to nouns to show something similar to number. Rather than simply marking multiple referents, the suffix marks that the referents form a coherent group, similar to the collective "plural" in Tlingit (Anderson 1985:174); additionally, the group has to have been acting together to perform some process:

(197)   *ampu-tuzpa   kal   ki-ni-ma-ti*
        man-COLL   work(1)   work(2)-PROSP-COMP-TERM
        'Together the men went off to work.'

(198)   *kutnya   ampu-tuzpa   kal   ki-mtu-y*
        three   man-COLL   work(1)   work(2)-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'The three men are working together.'

While the group marked by *tuzpa* must have been acting together in one sense, the use of this suffix as an equivalent of a reciprocal indicates that the group need not have been acting cooperatively:

(199)   *uspa-tuzpa=yŋ   wiya   ki-a-ma-ti*
        3PL.(NOM)-COLL=REST   fight(1)   fight(2)-PL:SUBJ-COMP-TERM
        'They were fighting among themselves.'

As this suffix is used to indicate that a group were acting together, it is restricted to appearing on Subjects, and can in fact only occur with verbs indicating an action.[10]

The form *tuzpa* does not occur on headless NPs. There is, however, another form *tuz* with the same semantics used on adjectives in headless NPs:

(200)   *kutnya-tuz   kal   ki-mtu-y*
        three-NMLZR.PL   work(1)   work(2)-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'The three [men] are working together.'

(201)   *yawa-tuz=ma   kal   ki-mtu-y?*
        how:many-NMLZR.PL=INTER   work(1)   work(2)-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'How many are working together?'

The form *tuz* also occurs in clausal nominalizations in Awa Pit, where it means 'the ones who ...' and contrasts with the singular *mika* 'the one who ...'

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[9]Number of human participants can be shown on the verb; see section 7.3.

[10]It would appear that Inga Quechua has a noun suffix with a similar use, *pura*. Levinsohn (1976:95) lists this form as one of several plural markers, translating it as 'among', the usual translation the Awa use for *tuzpa*. Unfortunately the details of the use of Inga *pura* remain unclear.

(see section 10.5). The two uses, on headless NPs and to nominalize a clause, are presumably related historically at least, both being used to nominalize a non-nominal element.

In fact, *mika* can also be used on adjectives as a nominalizer, although this is rare:

(202)   *ilapa-mika*
        old-NMLZR.SG

        'the older one (of two brothers)'

However while *tuz* and *mika* are being treated as adjective suffixes here, it would be possible to consider that the "adjective" is, in fact, an entire non-finite copula clause. This has not been done as *tuz* (but not *mika*) on adjectives appears to be restricted to Subject position, unlike clausal nominalizations with *tuz*.

5.3   Copula Complements

As was mentioned in section 3.5.4, a Copula Complement may be an NP or a PP, which both occur as other grammatical relations also, or it may be an adjective with or without a comparative marker or a degree adverb, and it may also be a relative clause (see section 10.4). With the exception of a demonstrative adjective (which is replaced by a demonstrative pronoun), any type of adjective can be used as a Copula Complement, including deverbal adjectives and purposive adjectivizations:

(203)   an   *yal=na*   [*ap*   ]
        this house=TOP   [my   ]
              Subj   CopComp=PossAdj

        ka-y
        be:permanently-NONLOCUT
        V

        'This house is mine.'

(204)   *Laureano=wa*   *pashu*   [*ampata=na*   ]
        Laureano=POSS   daughter   [four=TOP   ]
                         Subj   CopComp=Quant

        'Laureano has four daughters (Laureano's daughters are four).'

(205)   [*kwayl*   ] *i*
        [bad   ] be.(NONLOCUT)
           CopComp=DescrAdj   V

        'It's bad.'

(206)   *ap* *yal=na*   [*an*   *katsa*   ]
        my   house=TOP   [more   big   ]
              Subj   CopComp=Comp   DescrAdj

        'My house is bigger.'

(207) an   pyatis   [*kii-m*   ] *ka-y*
     this   sugar:cane [mill-ADJZR   ] be:permanently-NONLOCUT
     'This (type of) sugar cane is good for milling (it has lots of cane juice).'

(208) sun   nya   [*il-mu*   ] *ka-y*
     that   meat   [fry-ADJZR   ] be:permanently-NONLOCUT
     'That meat is good for frying.'

There is an important difference between NPs as Copula Complements and other NPs: an NP as a Copula Complement necessarily has a head. While this may seem trivial, given that an adjective can be used as a Copula Complement anyway, this rules out strings of adjectives in a Copula Complement.

An NP or adjective being used as a Copula Complement can be followed by one of the nominal postmodifiers discussed in section 4.3.6: the diminutive *pashpa*, the augmentative *ilapa*, the male marker *ampu* or the female marker *ashaŋpa*.

5.4 Postpositional phrases

Postpositional phrases are formed in Awa Pit using a variety of postpositions (for a full list, see Table 4.10). Postpositions have an important role in the language, as they are often used to mark the relations which particular NPs bear to the predicate. In addition to PPs being used as complements and adjuncts to verbs, however, they may also be used within NPs and other PPs. Postpositions follow an NP or another PP, and cliticize onto the word which precedes them. In addition, postpositions may be used following a clause (see section 10.2.3.2 for details).

At a theoretical level, the postpositions and postpositional phrases of Awa Pit may be divided into a number of types. For example, in many theories of grammar the Accusative marker would be treated as a case marker, a grammatical item with no meaning, while other postpositions would be considered to be true adpositions, full and complete words with their own semantic structure. In some more recent work, however, this explicit dichotomy has been questioned (see, for example, Kumashiro (1994), who discusses the case marker versus adposition problem in Japanese).

It is clear that in Awa Pit there is some difference between the Accusative marker, which can show the grammatical relations of Object and Second Object and marks a variety of semantic roles, and other postpositions, which do not mark grammatical relations but rather explicitly mark semantic roles. However at a formal morphosyntactic level all postpositions behave in the same fashion, with the exception of suppletive forms being used for Object pronouns and possessive pronouns, and consequently after a brief discussion of the combination of pronouns and postpositions, all postpositions will be treated in the same fashion.

5.4.1   Postpositions and pronouns

The expected combination of postposition plus pronoun does not always occur in Awa Pit. Some postpositions — for example, all the locational postpositions — are not used together with the personal pronouns for obvious semantic reasons, however others are. With most postpositions, there is no distinction in the use of the postpositions from their use with nouns:

(209)   *us=kasa*   *i-mtu-s*
      3SG=with   go-IMPF-LOCUT
      'I am going with him/her.'

However expected combinations of the Accusative postposition or the possessive postposition with pronouns do not occur.

The possessive marker *pa* is not used together with the first, second and third person personal pronouns (it is used together with the interrogative personal pronoun *min* 'who'). Rather, there are special possessive adjectives instead (see 4.4.5 for details). However, these forms are not merely suppletive forms, but rather a quite separate item, as the possessive adjectives may be used predicatively, while a postpositional phrase of possession may not be used in this way:

(210)   *an*   *yal=na*   *ap*   *ka-y*
      this house=TOP   my   be:permanently-NONLOCUT
      'This house is mine.'

(211)   *an*   *shutta*   *Santos=pa*   *i*
      this hat   Santos=POSS   be.(NONLOCUT)

When a singular personal pronoun is being used as an Object or Second Object, there are special suppletive Accusative pronoun forms, rather than simply using the Nominative singular pronoun followed by the Accusative postposition. In the case of plural personal pronouns, the Nominative form is used, together with a special Accusative clitic, distinct from the Accusative postposition. For further details and a full listing of these Accusative pronominal forms, see section 4.3.3.

5.4.2   *Ta*: The Accusative marker

The postposition *ta* is used to indicate that the referential human noun phrase it follows is acting in the grammatical relation of Object or Second Object. As these grammatical relations are extensively discussed in section 3.5.3, the types of verbs which take Object and Second Objects are discussed in sections 4.5.4 and 4.5.5, and examples are given in section 3.6, no further comments will be made here.[11]

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[11]It is interesting to note that a case-marker *ta* is found in Inga Quechua (Levinsohn 1976:96), marking both accusative and a locative case.

5.4.3   *Ta*: Locative/allative

While Obando Ordóñez (1992:107) lists *ta* as an allative, as with *pa* and *mal* it is better considered as basically locative; it can be used to indicate direction towards, but also position at, and when suffixed with *s*, it is used for motion away from. As a locative, its primary use appears to be to indicate location in a container:

(212)   *shi=ta=ma*   comida   *kwin-ta-w?*
        what=in=INTER   food   give-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'In what [container] did you give [it] food?'

(213)   *wisha*   *payl=ta=yŋ*   *ayna-t*   *ku-m*
        white:person   pot=in=REST   cook-SV   eat-ADJZR
        '[We] cooked and ate in clay pots.'

However it is also used for location in a settlement or town; and is used with an interrogative as the standard method of asking the location of something or someone:

(214)   profesor=*na*   *min=ta*   *tu-y?*
        teacher=TOP   where=in   be:in:place-NONLOCUT
        'Where is the teacher?'

(215)   *Nulpe   Medio=ta   tu-y,*   profesor=*na*
        Nulpe   Medio=in   be:in:place-NONLOCUT   teacher=TOP
        'The teacher is in Nulpe Medio.'

(216)   pueblo=*ta=na* fiesta   *waa-zi*
        town=in=TOP   party   there:is-NONLOCUT
        'There was a party in the town.'

The postposition *ta* differs from the other locative/allative postpositions in that it is used with a specific location — the preceding NP must refer, at least conceptually, to a quite specific, bounded area, such as a container or a town, in which the action or participant is (or to which or from which someone is going). It thus contrasts specifically with *pa*, which refers to a general area around a point, and this distinction appears to parallel the 'specific locative' and the 'general locative' in Guambiano (Vásquez de Ruíz 1988:72–73); *ta* also contrasts with *mal*, which refers to a specific part of a larger entity (see examples in sections 5.4.4 and 5.4.5 respectively).

As well as its use as a locative, *ta* is used as an allative, with no change in form. In this use as an allative, *ta* has the same constraint as it does when functioning as a locative — the NP referred to must be a specific, bound space:

(217)   *Chucunés=ta   Pasto=ta-s*   *tazh-ta-w*
        Chucunés=in   Pasto=in-from   go:down-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I went (down) from Pasto to Chucunés.'

(218) mes-ayzhpa Ricaurte=ta puz-tu-s
       month-each Ricaurte=in go:out-IMPF-LOCUT
       'Each month I go out to Ricaurte.'

While synchronically the Accusative marker *ta* and the locative *ta* are distinct postpositions, it seems likely that diachronically they are related. The development of markers of some sort of location into markers of accusative (especially with human nouns) is relatively common in languages of the world. It has occurred in a fully documented way in the change from the Latin allative *ad* 'to' to the modern Spanish *a*, which is used both as an allative, an indirect object marker, and a marker of human direct objects. Markers for human direct objects and some form of locative are also identical in two of the languages related to Awa Pit, Tsafiqui (Moore 1966:98) and Cha'palaachi (Vittadello 1988:23), although the forms in these languages, *ka* and *nu* respectively, are quite different.

Both the postposition *ta* and the postposition *pa* (see following section) may be suffixed by *s*. This suffix converts these postpositions from locative or allative to elative, showing motion away from the indicated point. The distinction between *ta-s* and *pa-s* is as expected, with the former having a more precise reading, the latter being more approximate.

(219) na=na   Pasto=ta-s
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP Pasto=in-from
       a-ma-ta-w=ma
       come-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ=TEMP
       'I came recently from Pasto.'

(220) na=na   anshik=na   Pueblo Viejo=ta-s
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP yesterday=TOP Pueblo Viejo=in-from
       a-ta-w
       come-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'Yesterday I came from Pueblo Viejo.'

(221) na=na   uŋ=pa-s   kayl   kway-ka=na,
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP there=in(approx)-from   return DROP-WHEN=TOP
       kal   ki-mtu-ani-zi=ma
       work(1) work(2)-IMPF-FUT-NONLOCUT=TEMP
       'When I return from there, [my friends] will already be working.'

As well as showing motion away from a place, the elative suffix *s* can also be used to indicate someone's origins, apparently only with *ta* and not with *pa*, presumably because one is from a particular place rather than from somewhere around a place:

(222) Cumbal=ta-s   ka-y
       Cumbal=in-from be:permanently-NONLOCUT
       'They are from Cumbal.'

(223) na=na   inkal   awa   shi   ki-s,
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   mountain person   NEG   be.NEG-LOCUT
       pueblo=*ta-s*   *i-s*
       town=in-from   be-LOCUT

       'I'm not a mountain person (ie. Awa), I'm from town.'

Obando Ordóñez (1992:108) does not consider *s* to be a separate suffix, but rather considers *ta* and *pa* to be allative suffixes, and separate suffixes *tas* and *pas* to be ablative. However there is evidence that *s* is in fact a separate suffix (apart from the repetition the alternative analysis requires). This comes from the word *akki*, discussed in section 4.8. As well as following *ta* and *pa*, *s* may appear on the word *akki* 'here' (although not on the postposition *ki* 'at' nor on any other words):

(224) *akki-s*   *puz-tu-s*
       here-from   go:out-IMPF-LOCUT

       'I am leaving (from) here.'

5.4.4 *Pa*: Locative/allative

As mentioned in the previous section, *pa* (or its allomorph *wa* after a vowel) can be used as a locative or allative, where it has a less precise meaning than *ta*; while *ta* refers to a specific, bounded location, *pa* refers to the region around a point (and will thus be glossed 'in(approx)'). Thus while *aŋ=ta* and *uŋ=ta* refer to specific 'here' and 'there' points, with *pa* these are much more general:

(225) *aŋ=pa*   *awa*   *su*   *paa-ma-tɨ.*
       here=in(approx)   person   earth   become-COMP-TERM
       uŋ=pa   *inkal*   *i*
       there=in(approx)   mountain be.(NONLOCUT)

       'Around here (this side of the river) it's become cultivated. Over there (the other side of the river) it's bush.'

Similarly the use of *pa* in the following example implies that the meat is not being sold from Santos's house, but from somewhere in the vicinity.

(226) *Santos=pa=wa*   *nya*   *waa-y*
       Santos=POSS=in(approx)   meat   there:is-NONLOCUT

       'There is meat (for sale) near Santos's.'

As was discussed and exemplified at the end of the previous section, *pa* may be followed by the suffix *s*, which converts it into an elative, and indicates motion away from an approximate place.

As well as its use as a strict locative or allative, *pa* is used to indicate the route along which something went:

(227)   *na=na*   *Santos=ta*   *izh-ta-w,*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Santos=ACC   see-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        mii=wa   *shaa-zi*
        path=in(approx)   walk-NONLOCUT
        'I saw Santos, he was walking along the path.'

The postposition *pa* is also used to indicate the means of transportation by which someone has travelled:

(228)   *na=na*   *Pasto=ta-s*   *carro=wa=yŋ*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Pasto=in-from   vehicle=in(approx)=REST
        a-ta-w
        come-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I came down from Pasto by bus.'

(229)   pueblo=*ta*   *mitti=wa=yŋ*   *i-ma-ta-w*
        town=in   foot=in(approx)=REST   go-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I went to town by foot.'

There also seems to be a somewhat metaphorical extension of the previous use. This is the use of *pa* in forming a PP with *miŋ* 'thought' and a possessive adjective, indicating that someone did something intentionally. This PP occurs frequently in sentences with reflexive-like meanings (see section 5.2.2 for other examples):

(230)   *ap*   *miŋ=pa=yŋ*   *tit-ma-t*
        my   thought=in(approx)=REST   cut-COMP-PFPART
        'I got cut, it was my idea; I cut myself.'

This PP is not restricted to reflexives, however:

(231)   *ap*   *miŋ=pa=yŋ*   *shihtti*   *kit-ta-w*
        my   thought=in(approx)=REST   hand   wash-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I washed my hands because I wanted to.'

Pa is also used to indicate on what date, or in which month or season something happens. These words are all borrowed concepts; traditional 'seasons' are clausal — 'when it rains', 'when it dries out' — and *pa* is not used in this construction. Days of the week (also borrowed) are used with no postposition.

(232)   siete de julio=*wa=na=ma*   *akki*
        the seventh of July=in(approx)=TOP=TEMP   here
        tu-ani-s
        be:in:place-FUT-LOCUT
        'I will be here on the 7th of July.'

(233) diciembre=wa=na   *Pueblo Viejo mii=na   pul=miŋ*
        December=in(approx)=TOP   Pueblo Viejo path=TOP   dry=REST
        a-zi
        be-NONLOCUT
        'In December, the Pueblo Viejo path was dry.'

(234) verano=wa=na   *ii*   *ki-mtu-s*
        summer=in(approx)=TOP   be:hot(1)   be:hot(2)-IMPF-LOCUT
        'In summer it is hot (to us).'

The postposition *pa* has also very occasionally be found marking an Object. For examples of this, and discussion, see section 3.5.3.1.

5.4.5 *Mal*: Locative/allative

The final locative/allative marker in Awa Pit is *mal*. Obando Ordóñez (1992:108) considers that this is an allative marker, with a meaning of the final terminus a process reaches. However, like *ta* and *pa*, in my data this marker may be used as a locative also. While *ta* indicates a specific location, and *pa* is more general in location, *mal* appears to mark a location within a larger location. Thus it is used in sentences such as:

(235) *Dolores Pueblo Viejo=mal   tu=ma*
        Dolores Pueblo Viejo=LOC   be:in:place.(IMPFPART)=INTER
        ka   *ki?*
        be:permanently.(IMPFPART)   Q.(NONLOCUT)
        'Is Dolores in Pueblo Viejo?'

(236) *mitti=mal aympi tuk-tu*
        foot=LOC   blood   suck-IMPFPART
        '[Mosquitos] sucked blood on my feet.'

In the first example here, the question is really 'Is Dolores at the school?' (she is the teacher, and lives and works there), that is, is she at a particular point in the (very diffuse) settlement of Pueblo Viejo. The second example likewise states that mosquitos have bitten parts of my feet, not my entire feet.

Similarly *mal* is used as an allative under the same conditions, where the goal is in fact a part of the NP. It is commonly used for large areas, such as countries, where one presumably does not go to the entire country, but an area within it:

(237) *Ecuador=mal   i-ta-w=ma*   *kutnya año*
        Ecuador=LOC   go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ=TEMP   three   year
        paa-ma-ti
        become-COMP-TERM
        'I went to Ecuador three years ago.'

(238)   *ap*   *su=mal*   *i-shi-mtu-s=ma*
        my   earth=LOC   go-DESID-IMPF-LOCUT=TEMP
        'I want to go to my country.'

5.4.6   *Ki*: Locative

Unlike the preceding three postpositions, *ki* is used only as a locative, never as an allative nor as a temporal marker. It corresponds quite closely to the English preposition 'at' (and is glossed as such in examples), and describes a location in terms of position with respect to another point, rather than in terms of being in another point.[12] Thus for example:

(239)   *paas*   *pala*   *kwal=ki*   *pana-y*
        two   plantain   trunk=at   be:standing-NONLOCUT
        'The two [people] are standing at (beside) the trunk of the plantain tree.'

(240)   *Isabel=na*   profesora   nueva   *Pialapí=ki*   *tu-y*
        Isabel=TOP   teacher   new   Pialapí=at   be:in:place-NONLOCUT
        'Isabel is the new teacher at Pialapí.'

Because it describes location in terms of another point, it is frequently used with clauses to indicate 'at the place where':[13]

(241)   *us*   *ii-ta=ki=na,*   cruz
        3SG.(NOM)   die-PFPART=at=TOP   cross
        pana=na
        be:standing.(IMPFPART)=TOP
        'At (the place where) he died stands a cross.'

In addition to the locative use of *ki*, it is also used with monetary amounts to state the price of goods:

(242)   *yawa=ki=ma*   *pay-ta-w*   *panela=na?*
        how:much=at=INTER   buy-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ   panela=TOP
        'How much did you buy the panela for?'

(243)   doce mil=*ki*   *pay-ta-w*
        twelve thousand=at   buy-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I bought it for twelve thousand [pesos].'

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[12]At first glance the postposition *ki* also seems to appear in the Awa Pit word *akki* 'here'. However, as explained in section 4.8, this word is better treated as an unanalyzable whole.

[13]See section 10.2.3.2 for further discussion.

5.4.7 *Kima*: 'Until'

The final local-related postposition in Awa Pit is *kima* 'until'.[14] As a local post-position, it indicates a limit on a distance, and follows the postpositions *ta* or *pa*:

(244)   *min=ta=kima=ma*   *i-mtu-s?*
          where=in=until=INTER go-IMPF-LOCUT
          'On to where are you going?'

(245)   pueblo=*ta*=*kima* *i-ma-ta-w*
          town=in=until   go-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
          'I am going as far as the town.'

As well as being used as a locational postposition, *kima* is also used in relation to time. When it is used for time, *kima* directly follows a measurement of time, and indicates that this is a limit of time, the point up to when something happened or will happen, as in the first two examples below. This construction is very common, as it occurs in the normal parting expression, given in sentence (248). It is also used following non-finite clauses (see section 10.2.3.2), where the time of the action in the non-finite clause gives a time limit for the action in the matrix clause, as in sentence (249).

(246)   *ma=kima* *kwinta* *kizh-tu-s*
          now=until tell(1)   tell(2)-IMPF-LOCUT
          'I am talking until now.'

(247)   noviembre=*kima* *ma-mtu-s*   *mama*
          November=until stay-IMPF-LOCUT still
          'I am still going to be here until November.'

(248)   *tilawa=kima*
          tomorrow=until
          'Goodbye ("until tomorrow").'

(249)   *Demetrio* *kayl-na=kima*   *kal*   *ki-ni-s*
          Demetrio return-INF=until work(1) work(2)-FUT-LOCUT
          'Until Demetrio returns, I will work.'

5.4.8 *Pa*: Possessive

The possessive postposition *pa* (*wa* after a vowel) occurs following referential human noun phrases. For precise details about when it occurs and its functions, which include possession, part-whole relationships, and relational nouns, see section 5.2.4.

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[14]The Awa Pit form *kima* is quite similar to the Inga Quechua postposition *kama* 'until' given in Levinsohn (1976:96).

(250)   *na=na*   *Santos=kasa* *Demetrio=wa* *yal*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP Santos=with Demetrio=POSS house
        i-ta-w
        go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I went with Santos to Demetrio's house.'

(251)   *min=pa*   *shutta=ma* *ka-y?*
        who=POSS   hat=INTER   be:permanently-NONLOCUT
        'Whose hat is this?'

5.4.9 *Kasa*: 'With'

Like many languages, such as Imbabura Quechua (Cole 1985:114) and Ika (Frank 1990:37–38), but unlike three-quarters of the languages of the Americas in Stolz's (1996) sample, Awa Pit has a single marker indicating both comitative and instrumental functions, *kasa*.

With animate NPs, *kasa* marks a person who accompanies the Subject:

(252)   *min=kasa=ma*   *i-mtu-s?*   *anya=kasa*   *i-mtu-s*
        who=with=INTER go-IMPF-LOCUT brother=with go-IMPF-LOCUT
        'Who are you going with? I'm going with my brother.'

(253)   *na=na*   *Santos=kasa* *Demetrio=kasa* *miimal*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP Santos=with Demetrio=with Chucunés
        i-ta-w
        go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I went to Chucunés with Santos and Demetrio.'

As can be seen from the last example, Awa Pit often uses *kasa* where other languages might use a word similar to English *and*. However it is clear that *kasa* means 'with' rather than 'and', from sentences such as:

(254)   *José=na*   *Pedro=kasa* *shi* *i-ma-y*
        José=TOP Pedro=with NEG go-NEG-NONLOCUT
        'José didn't go with Pedro (Pedro went).'

If *kasa* were conjoining two noun phrases, we would expect the previous sentence to mean 'José and Pedro did not go'. However the negated verb phrase applies only to José, and hence it is clear that the postpositional phrase with *kasa* is comitative rather than conjoined.

While with animate NPs *kasa* is used as a comitative marker, with non-animates, it expresses the idea of an instrument:

(255)   *na=na*   *mantel=kasa* *mesa* *kihja-ta-w*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP cloth=with   table wipe-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I cleaned the table with a cloth.'

(256) anya=na   awa=na   shi=kasa=ma   payna
before=TOP person=TOP what=with=INTER deer
nak-tu?
skin-IMPFPART
'What did people skin deers with before?'

(257) *kuzhu iiŋ=kasa   kutil-ta=na   kwashmayŋ*
pig   flame=with skin-PFPART=TOP tasty
'Pig skinned using fire is tasty.'

5.4.10   *Akwa:* 'Because'

The postposition *akwa* expresses a reason for something having happened. It is most commonly found used with a clausal complement (see section 10.2.3.2):

(258) *mama ish-tu=akwa   i-ta-w*
mother sick-IMPFPART=because go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'I went because [my] mother was sick.'

Akwa is slightly different, semantically, from other postpositions in that its complement must semantically be a proposition, and cannot be an entity. However structurally it is identical, in that the concept of an action may be expressed in an NP:

(259) *ap kwankwa   ii-ma-ti.*
my grandmother die-COMP-TERM
suna=akwa   yal   mazh-ma-t   i-s
that=because house change-COMP-PFPART be-LOCUT
'My grandmother died. We moved because of that.'

5.4.11   *Patsa:* 'Like'

The exact status of the postposition *patsa* (and its variant *watsa* which follows vowels) is unclear. It does not have a high frequency, and in all cases where *patsa* was found it could be replaced by *kana*, though the reverse is not true.[15] It expresses an equative construction, with the precise similarity being expressed through the predicate or following adjective. Unlike *kana*, which is much more general in use, *patsa* seems to be used to indicate ideas like 'as big as', 'as much as', 'as bad as', and so on.

(260) *an   pashpa ampu=watsa ku-mtu*
this child   man=like   eat-IMPFPART
'This child eats like (as much as) a man.'

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[15]See the following section for details of this latter word.

(261)   suna   pii=watsa   pya-m
        that   shit=like   smell-ADJZR
        'That smells like shit.'

(262)   na=watsa=yŋ   katsa   i
        1SG=like=REST   big   be.(NONLOCUT)
        'He is just as big as me.'

5.4.12   *Kana*: Semblative

Awa Pit has a semblative postposition, *kana*. This postposition describes an object as being like something else:

(263)   shitshu=kana   kwiyan-tu=na
        bird=like   cry-IMPFPART=TOP
        'She cries like a bird.'

(264)   na=na   an=kana   ki-mtu-ata-w
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   this=like do-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I did (like) this [demonstrating with hands].'

(265)   na=na   sun=kana=yŋ   kizh-ta-w
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   that=like=REST say-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I said the same as him.'

Kana can also be used after a locative, or after a non-finite clause:

(266)   na=na   Pasto=ta=kana=yŋ   tu=na
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Pasto=in=like=REST   be.(IMPFPART)=TOP
        'I live (in a place) like Pasto.'

(267)   shaa-t=kana=yŋ   mitti   ish-tu-s
        walk-PFPART=like=REST   foot   hurt-IMPF-LOCUT
        'My feet hurt as though I had walked.'

As in many languages, the exact status of the semblative marker is difficult to determine. In the above cases it appears with the same distribution as other postpositions. However it can also be used in a slightly different construction, although few examples have been found. Here it is used with a non-finite clause, as before, but *kana* itself is marked for person:

(268)   paas   akkwihsh   mij   kana-s
        two   mother   have.(IMPFPART)   like-LOCUT
        'It's like I have two mothers.'

The precise analysis of this sentence (and others like it) is unclear. One possibility is that *kana* is both a postposition and a verb. However it is also possible, given the hypothesized origin of the person markers and their occurrence on other non-verbal elements (see 8.4.1), that *kana* is simply a postposition, but can be marked if it is sentence-final, acting as a Copula Complement.

5.5 NPs and PPs in apposition

As was discussed in section 3.2, there are two positions in Awa Pit which are, in some senses, outside the clause, the sentence-initial and sentence-final positions. While these two positions can be filled by a variety of elements which appear there rather than in their expected position in the clause for a variety of reasons, or with an external topic (see section 14.2), it is also possible to fill these positions with what appears to be a headed or headless NP or a PP referring to the same entity as another NP or PP within the clause, as occurs with the extraposed *katsa* and *Australiatas* in the following sentences:

(269)   *ampu pyan-ta-w,*   *katsa*
      man   hit-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ   big
      'I hit the man, the big one.'

(270)   *Australia=ta-s,*   *uŋ=ta-s*   *i-s*
      Australia=in-from   there=in-from   be-LOCUT
      'I am from there, from Australia.'

There are two potential analyses of sentences such as these. The Awa Pit sentences could be similar to the English translations or phrase juxtaposition in Macushi (Abbott 1991:30–33) or Apalai (Koehn & Koehn 1986:37–39), where two noun phrases or postpositional phrases are "juxtaposed", with one placed before or after the remainder of the clause; in this case there are indeed two separate NPs or PPs referring to the same entity. Alternatively, these constructions could be similar to those in languages like Fox, where elements such as NPs may be discontinous, with some elements of an NP appearing in the usual position, other elements of the same NP appearing after the verb (Dahlstrom 1987).

However in Awa Pit, unlike in Fox, there are reasons for considering that these sentences do, in fact, contain two separate NPs or PPs. In Awa Pit, unlike in Fox, NPs are only marked once for items such as locative markers:

(271)   an(*=ta)   yal=ta
      this(*=in)   house=in
      'to this house'

Consequently the elements *Australia* and *uŋ=* in sentence (270) above must belong to different NPs (and hence PPs) as the locative marking occurs on each of them.

Similarly, the Topic marker can occur only once on each NP in Awa Pit, not separately on each element:

(272)   *katsa(*=na)*   *ampu=na*
      big(*=TOP)   man=TOP
      'the big man'

However when the two words are separated, as in example (269) above, both elements can occur with the Topic marker, suggesting two separate NPs:

(273)   *ampu=na   pyan-ta-w,*   *katsa=na*
         man=TOP   hit-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ   big=TOP
         'I hit the man, the big one.'

There is also a suggestion of two NPs from the translations into Spanish which speakers give for examples such as (269): *yo pegué al hombre, al grande.* The words are separated, with the post-verbal section being placed sentence-finally after a pause, and, if it is an adjective, it is 'nominalized' through the use of the definite article. This construction is odd in Spanish, except in 'afterthought' constructions.

Thus it is clear that in Awa Pit sentences of the type given in (269) and (270) have two NPs or PPs in apposition, rather than one discontinous NP or PP. In many cases the alternative analyses of these constructions is unimportant, in that the same result would be obtained either way, however the distinction does become important in section 10.5.

Chapter 6

Verb derivation and valency changes

6.1   Introduction

As has been noted several times in the preceding chapters, Awa Pit is a strongly verb-oriented language, with a great deal of information being expressed in the verb, and the majority of morphology being verbal morphology. The following four chapters concentrate exclusively on verbs and verbal morphology.

In chapter 4, and more specifically section 4.5, the verb roots of Awa Pit were classified into a variety of classes, depending upon the distinctions between active and stative verb roots, between simple and compound verb roots, and between verb roots of various valencies. The last distinction is of particular importance for this chapter — while verb roots may have particular argument frames, there are some derivational morphological processes which can alter the argument structure of verbs, deriving a verb stem of different valency from the verb root. Inflectional affixes may then be added to the derived verb stem.

This chapter deals with two areas of the grammar of Awa Pit which are theoretically separate; however they are dealt with jointly, as they are deeply intertwined. One is the various derivational processes which verb roots (and sometimes other elements) may undergo to produce verb stems; the other are the various valency relationships which pairs of verbs in Awa Pit may bear to each other.

There are three sections in this chapter, each dealing with a slightly different aspect of valency or verb derivation: (1) ambitransitivity, (2) non-productive derivation (including compounding) and (3) productive derivation. The first two areas contrast with the third, in that the former are extremely non-productive, and in fact the pairs of verbs discussed in these sections must both be in the lexicon; the latter, in contrast, consists of highly productive derivations. The first of the three sections, that of ambitransitivity, deals with "pairs" of verbs which are formally identical, while one of the pairs of verbs discussed in the other two sections has more phonological material than the other.

Before continuing onto these three interrelated areas, it is necessary to

point out some processes which could be mistaken for valency changes, but in fact are not. The first of these is the phenomenon of ellipsis, discussed in section 3.2. As both indefinite and definite ellipsis are possible in Awa Pit, a verb often appears with fewer arguments than its subcategorization frame states it to have. As pointed out in section 4.5.1, this is purely a process of "suface" ellipsis, and does not change the valency of the verb in question.

The second process which could be considered as a form of valency changing is the apparent addition of an Object argument to an intransitive or copula sentence through "cross-referencing" on the verb. In fact, however, as will be shown in chapter 8, the verbal suffixes indicating person are not necessarily cross-referencing any grammatical relation in a sentence, and although a verb in an intransitive sentence may have a suffix indicating that an entity other than the Subject is involved in the action, this other entity cannot actually appear as an argument of the verb — that is, although reference is made to this extra entity within the verb, the verb still only has the usual number of arguments.

In addition to these apparent valency-changing processes, there are several phenomena related to valency changing and derivation which will be discussed elsewhere: the Resultative construction, adjectivizations, and nominalizations. In none of the cases is a verb stem formed, and hence they will only be briefly outlined here.

The Resultative construction, discussed in section 11.2.2.2, is a syntactic construction which can be valency reducing, causing a transitive verb to obligatorily appear with only one argument. It is similar in syntactic effect to a passive, although like many South American languages (Derbyshire & Pullum 1986b:19) Awa Pit does not have a passive. Related to this are the deverbal adjectives, where a (slightly unusual) adjective may be formed from a verb indicating a change of state; as discussed in section 5.2.3.1, the formation of these adjectives may involve the loss of a (conceptual) argument. The suffix *mu* is involved in a variety of adjectivizations and nominalizations, some productive and others lexicalized, as discussed in sections 5.2.1, 5.2.3.2 and 10.4. And finally there are agentive nominalizations, formed with the clitic *mika*, where an entire clause is nominalized, as discussed in section 10.5. In many constructions with *mu*, and all with *mika*, one of the "arguments" of the verb root is obligatorily missing.

In addition to the derivations discussed below, verbal number marking is perhaps best considered as a derivational process in Awa Pit, although this is not entirely clear. It is discussed in section 7.3, however, together with arguments for treating it as either derivational or inflectional.

6.2   Ambitransitive verbs

There are a small number of ambitransitive verb roots, or verb roots with two argument frames, in Awa Pit. These verb roots are cross-classified as both transitive and intransitive, and are of two types, depending on whether the Subject in the intransitive root corresponds to the Subject or the Object of the transitive root.

These pairs of verbs, all of which are active, are identical in form; that is, there is no morphological marking associated with the change in valency. It has unfortunately been impossible to determine for these pairs whether native speakers consider one valency or the other to be more "basic" (cf. Dixon 1991:286-293 for ambitransitive verbs in English).

6.2.1 S=A ambitransitive verb roots

Only one ambitransitive verb root has been found where the Subject in its intransitive use (S) bears the same semantic role as the Subject in its transitive use (A): *ku-* 'eat'. In Awa Pit the following sentences are both possible:[1]

(274) *na=na*   *pala*   *kwa-ta-w*
1SG.(NOM)=TOP   plantain   eat-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'I ate a plantain.'

(275) *na=na*   *kwa-ta-w*
1SG.(NOM)=TOP   eat-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'I ate.'

Given the common use of ellipsis, it could be suggested that *ku-* is a transitive verb only, and that in the second sentence it is simply used with an ellipsed, indefinite Object. However, as was shown in section 4.5.1, this is clearly a case of the verb root having two different subcategorization frames, being either intransitive or transitive, and the arguments establishing this through the use of the Resultative construction will not be repeated here.

While *ku-* 'eat' is the only S=A ambitransitive verb which has been found in Awa Pit, it is possible that there are others. Because of the formal identity (except in the Resultative) between the use of a transitive verb with an ellipsed Object, and the same verb used intransitively, it is very difficult to identify which verbs may in fact be S=A ambitransitive, rather than simply transitive.

6.2.2 S=O ambitransitive verb roots

Awa Pit contains a number of other ambitransitive verb roots, in which the Subject of the intransitive verb bears the same semantic role to the verb as the Object of the transitive verb. The following verbs have been found in the data (where the corresponding English verb is ambitransitive, only one translation is given; otherwise the translation of the intransitive verb root is given before the translation of the transitive root): *alizh kul-* 'get annoyed, annoy', *ii kul-* 'keep warm', *ishkwin-/ishkwa-* 'be startled, scare', *kaa-* 'be born, bear', *kaa-* 'get lost, lose', *ki-* 'happen, do', *kil-* 'dry', *kiz-* 'break',[2] *payl-* 'finish', *pya-* 'smell (bad), smell'.

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[1]Recall that *ku-* 'eat' has two forms, *ku-* and *kwa-*, depending on the following sound.

[2]It should be noted that *kiz-* as a transitive verb has only been found in the Perfective Serial construction with *kway-* and *kyan-* (see section 11.6).

(276) *Roberto anya   kaa-t   kway-zi*
       Roberto before be:born-SV DROP-NONLOCUT
       'Roberto was born first.'

(277) *ashaŋpa pashpa=ta kaa-t   kway-zi*
       woman   child=ACC bear-SV DROP-NONLOCUT
       'The woman gave birth to a child.'

(278) *na=na   ii   kul-miz-is*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   keep:warm(1)   keep:warm(2)-INCEP-LOCUT
       'I am going to get (begin to keep) warm.'

(279) *ashaŋpa=na Santos=ta   ii*
       woman=TOP   Santos=ACC   keep:warm(1)
       kul-ti-zi
       keep:warm(2)-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'The woman kept Santos warm.'

6.3   Non-productive derivations

While the ambitransitive verbs discussed in the previous section consist of formally identical pairs of verbs with different valencies, there are verbs which are clearly related to other words, but differ from them by containing additional phonological material. Similar to the ambitransitive verbs, but unlike the productive derivations discussed in the following section, the verb derivation discussed in this section is non-productive — as it is unpredictable in both form and function, the "derived" verbs must be included separately in the lexicon.

Three types of non-productive derivational morphology will be discussed in this section. Firstly, there are a number of pairs of verbs which differ through the addition of a, *ta* or *na*. Many of these, though not all, are pairs of unmarked intransitive and marked transitive, with the transitive being a causative of the intransitive. The second and third types of non-productive derivation are similar to compounding in many ways, with many, though once again not all, of the "roots" and the "suffixes" being otherwise meaningful elements in Awa Pit, not necessarily verbs. The distinction between the two categories is the type of verb which results: it may be simple, consisting of one phonological word, or compound, consisting of two phonological words.

6.3.1   Non-productive a, *ta* and *na* suffixes

There are a number of pairs of verbs in Awa Pit where one member of the pair is identical to the other, with the addition of a suffix a, *ta* or *na*. A list of the pairs which have been found is given in Table 6.1. The pairs are usually related in some causative sense, though not always, with the unmarked verb being intransitive while the marked is transitive, or the unmarked being transitive with

sul-	intr	'boil'	*sul-a-*	tr	'boil'
kawi-	intr	'grow up'	*kawi-ta-*	tr	'bring up'
pak-	intr	'burn'	*pak-ta-*	tr	'burn'
ay-	intr	'cook'	*ay-na-*	tr	'cook'
kwi-	intr	'go out (flame)'	*kwi-na-*	tr	'put out (flame)'
pii-	intr	'bathe'	*pii-na-*	tr	'bathe'
mil-	tr	'take'	*mil-a-*	ditr	'give'
kwaa-	tr	'carry'	*kwaa-na-*	ditr	'load'
ap-	tr	'squash'	*ap-ta-*	tr	'squash'
mi-	tr	'hear'	*mi-na-*	tr	'listen'

Table 6.1: Verb pairs related through the suffixes a, *ta* or *na*

the marked ditransitive. In these cases the Subject of the intransitive corresponds to the Object of the transitive in semantic role, or the Subject and Object of the transitive correspond to the Object and Second Object respectively of the ditransitive, with the Subject of the marked verb indicating a causer in both cases.[3]

One pair related through *ta* and one pair related through *na* do not have this change in valency, with both verbs of the pairs being transitive. In one case there is a difference in meaning (*mi-* 'hear', *mina-* 'listen'), but in the other case (*ap-*, *apta-* 'squash') no meaning difference has been found.

6.3.2 One-word compounds

The non-productive suffixes discussed in the previous section appear to have been in origin a morphological causative marker. They are only found on verbs, the result is a verb, and the usual additional causative meaning is accompanied by a change in valency.

There is a second group of non-productive derivations, in some ways similar to the previous group, but distinct from it. These "derivations" involve the "suffixes" *ap*, *pizh*, *pyan* and *kul*. In fact, this second group is a very heterogeneous one, covering those pairs of words which are single words (unlike the forms discussed in the following section), but not related through a causative meaning and the suffixes a, *ta* or *na*. The suffixes *ap* and *kul* have only been found in these words, while *pizh* and *pyan* are also found as verb roots, meaning 'grasp' and 'hit' respectively, and these meanings appear related to their use as "derivational" morphemes. All these "suffixes" can be attached to phonetic sequences

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[3]This correspondence of grammatical relations is identical to that of non-causative–causative pairs using the productive causative; see section 6.4.1 for further details.

uz	stat	'be, live'	uz-ap	stat	'be'
ishuz-	intr	'sit down'	ishuz-ap-	intr	'sit down'
kan-	tr	'tie up, hang up'	kan-ap-	tr	'hang, put ropes on'
kuz-	tr	'hit with fist'	kuz-ap-	tr	'hit with fist'
us-	tr	'blow'	us-ap-	tr	'blow'
pwitayl	N	'untruth'	pwitayl-ap-	intr	'tell a lie'
-	-	-	azh-pizh-	tr	'open'
kii-	tr	'mill, grind'	kii-pizh-	tr	'massage'
kihsh-	tr	'slice'	kihsh-pizh-	tr	'scratch'
tul-	tr	'squeeze'	tul-pizh-	tr	'squeeze'
-	-	-	azh-pyan-	tr	'pull apart'
alizh	Adj	'angry'	alizh-kul-	intr, tr	'get annoyed, annoy'
ii	Adj	'hot'	ii-kul-	intr, tr	'keep warm'
kwayzh-	intr	'become tired'	kwayzh-kul-	intr	'rest'
pin-	intr	'pass through'	pin-kul-	intr	'pass through'
pya-	intr, tr	'smell'	pya-kul-	tr	'smell (place, of s.thing)'

Table 6.2: Verb pairs related through the suffix *ap*, *pizh*, *pyan* and *kul*

which are otherwise verbs, adjectives or nouns; and the change in meaning which occurs may be minimal or quite great.

As these words are all, synchronically, single items, and all four "suffixes" are non-productive, it is perhaps simplest just to list the various forms, which has been done in Table 6.2. It is worth noting that *azh*, found in *azhpyan-* and *azhpizh-*, has not been found as a separate word, although it seems likely that diachronically it was a verb meaning something similar to 'open' or 'apart'.

6.3.3   Two-word compound verbs

The two-word compound verbs were introduced briefly in section 4.5.6, where a number of points were made about them. These are verbs like *sula ku-* 'bite' and *kal ki-* 'work' (see section 4.5.6 for a longer list). These verbs are clearly phonologically two words, but in other ways act as a single lexical item. The second phonological word is always identical to another verb in the language, often *ki-* 'do, happen', while the first phonological word may be identical to a noun or an adjective, otherwise unknown in the language, or a verb from Spanish. The majority of these compound verbs are fixed and non-productive; the exceptions are those compounds involving Spanish words — apparently any Spanish verb (at least action verbs) can be used in Awa Pit by placing it in the basic Spanish form and compounding it with *ki-*.

While the issue of these compound verbs will not be discussed exhaustively here, a number of points must be made about them, and in particular about their

"Janus-faced" nature, to borrow a term from Kiefer's (1990–91) discussion of an apparently similar phenomenon in Hungarian.

6.3.3.1 Compound verbs are two words

Phonologically, as was noted in section 4.5.6, these compound verbs are clearly two words. While there is some evidence from strictly phonological criteria, syntactic criteria also make this clear, and additionally show that the compound verb must be treated as two grammatical words.

In terms of phonology, in slow speech phonemes at the "word" boundary may not undergo certain allophonic variation which is obligatory within a word. Thus, for example, between vowels within a phonological word, /k/ is obligatorily [ɣ]; phonological word-initially, but in an intervocalic environment, this allophony is optional, with /k/ appearing as either [k] or [ɣ] in slow speech. Compound verbs exhibit the latter process — *alu ki-* 'rain' may be produced as [aluki] or [aluɣi] in slow speech.

However overwhelming evidence for the two word status of compound verbs comes from their syntactic behaviour under negation. In simple negation in Awa Pit, a negative word *shi* appears before the verb, and a special suffix or auxiliary occurs on or after the verb (see section 12.5). When a compound verb is negated, *shi* occurs *between* the elements of the compound verb:

(280) *alu   shi   ki-ma-y*
       rain(1) NEG rain(2)-NEG-NONLOCUT
       'It didn't rain.'

The separation of the two halves of a compound verb by an intervening word clearly shows that they are composed of two words: a word cannot occur between two parts of another word, whether the words in question are phonological or grammatical.[4]

6.3.3.2 Compound verbs are one word

While it is easy to show that compound verbs consist of two words, there is also evidence that in another sense they form one word.

Compound verbs are treated as a single unit for the purposes of modification (except negation). For example, intensification of a verb is done by placing the word *pina* 'very' before the verb: *pyan-* 'hit', *pina pyan-* 'hit hard, hit a lot' (see section 13.6). With compound verbs, modifiers appear before the first element, rather than before the second:

(281) **alu   pina   ki-ma-ti-zi*
       rain(1) very rain(2)-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT

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[4]This use of negation to clearly show the two-word status of compound verbs is similar to the use of the emphatic particle *tāṇ* in Tamil, which appears between elements of compound verbs — see Steever (1979:285–6).

(282)   *pina alu   ki-ma-ti-zi*
        very rain(1) rain(2)-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'It rained very hard.'

If the modifier were modifying the "noun" *alu* 'rain', *akkwan* 'much' would be used rather than *pina* 'very', however this is not possible. Thus, with the exception of negation, modifiers treat the compound verbs as single units.

Some compound verbs have presumably undergone a shift in meaning after their original formation (cf. Mithun 1984:889–90). Thus while *kal* 'difficult' and *ki-* 'do' are presumably the origin of the compound verb *kal ki-*, the compound means 'work' rather than 'do [something] difficult'.

Two other phenomena are associated with this lexicalization of compound verbs. There are a number of compounds where the first element of the compound is not a (synchronic) lexical item in the language; for example *ku ki-* 'dance', with no word *ku*. It could be hypothesized that *ku* was an Awa Pit word at an earlier stage of the language, having since disappeared, only surviving in this compound. This would be identical to what Matisoff (1981:309) believes has happened with a number of compounds in Lahu.[5]

Secondly, the lexicalization of these compounds (followed by meaning shift of words) has sometimes resulted in the loss of the hyponymic status of words. For example, *sula ku-* 'bite' has clearly been formed from *sula* 'tooth' and *ku-* 'eat, drink'. However synchronically *ku-* on its own cannot cover the meaning 'bite'. Thus following a statement that a dog bit (*sula ku-*) me, a following sentence:

(283)   *pina kwa-ti-s*
        very eat-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER

can only have the (somewhat questionable) meaning 'it ate me a lot', not 'it bit me hard', which could only be indicated through:

(284)   *pina sula   kwa-ti-s*
        very bite(1) bite(2)-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER

As well as the above issues, there is the problem of the status of the first element, if it is a separate word. While this is not so much of an issue when it is identical to an adjective (where it could, theoretically, be acting as a manner adverbial; see section 13.5), it causes a problem for those "words" which are identical to nouns. As with similar instances in, for example, Hungarian (Kiefer 1990–91) and Tamil (Steever 1979), this "noun" is not an argument of the verb. Syntactically, there is often no argument slot available — for example *ku-* 'eat, drink' takes two arguments (Subject=agent and Object=patient) with all other NPs necessarily obliquely-marked adjuncts; *sula ku-* 'bite' has exactly the same argument frame, and hence *sula* cannot be an argument of *ku-*. This "noun" also cannot be modified or quantified, unlike arguments. At a more discourse-oriented level, this "noun" is not a participant in the discourse, either: it cannot

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[5]It should be noted, however, that as Awa Pit uses this process synchronically for adopting words from Spanish, *ku* and other words like it may in fact be borrowings from another language.

be topicalized with *na*, preposed or postposed in the sentence, and it cannot be referred back to in a following sentence — it is inherently non-referential.

Thus while these compounds are phonologically two words, they are lexically one word, and must be entered explicitly in the lexicon.[6] Grammatically they are dual-natured — for nearly all processes they are treated as a single unit, however negation treats the second item as a verb, and the first as some sort of modifier. This dual treatment of compound verbs under syntax — two words for negation, one unit for most other processes — is actually remarkably similar to the treatment of compound verbs in American Sign Language (ASL) with respect to the inchoative morpheme. In ASL compounds, there are clear reasons for treating compounds of two verbs as a single lexical item (for example, THINK + MARRY 'believe'); but the inchoative derivation, which normally affects the beginning of a verb affects the beginning of the *second* half of the verb in these compounds (Liddell & Johnson 1985). The conclusion, both for ASL and for Awa Pit, is that "a lexical compound ... is a morphologically simple word (i.e., a single morpheme) with two phonological parts" (Liddell & Johnson 1985:95); in the terms used here, a compound verb is a single lexical item consisting of two phonological words and two grammatical words, although the two grammatical words almost always act together in the same way as a single grammatical word.

6.3.3.3 Compounds as incorporation

Setting aside the use of compound verbs involving a Spanish verb, the other compound verbs show many similarities to what is often considered as incorporation. Unfortunately, the majority of work has been done on noun incorporation — the incorporation of a noun into a verb. Examining those cases where a synchronically existing noun in Awa Pit is identical to the first half of a compound verb, we can see that Awa Pit probably has what Mithun (1984) has termed Type I and Type II noun incorporation.

In Mithun's (1984) Type I incorporation, an argument of a verb has been incorporated into the verb, with the complex having one less argument than the original verb. It is not clear that this occurs in Awa Pit, although it may be the case with *alu ki-* 'rain'. If we assume that this verb is formed by incorporating the Subject *alu* 'rain' into the verb *ki-* 'happen' then it is true that the resulting compound has one less argument than the original verb — none rather than one. However in her discussion of Type I noun incorporation Mithun (1984) only discusses transitive verbs becoming intransitive through the incorporation of an object. Equally, her Type I incorporated nouns are necessarily in particular semantic relations to the verb — patient, location or instrument — and *alu* 'rain' is probably none of these in *alu ki-* 'rain' (though it does depend on how the term 'patient' is interpreted).

There is also only one example of what may be Type II noun incorporation in the data, the compound *sula ku-* 'bite' from *sula* 'tooth' and *ku-* 'eat, drink'. This compound is, in fact, identical to the results of the system of "instrumental

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[6]Except for some examples of Spanish verbs; see below.

prefixes" found in Uto-Aztecan languages, where "a body-part term ... signals the instrument by which the action of the verb is realized", as in Pipil *tan-kwa-*'bit' from *tan-* 'tooth' and *kwa-* 'eat' (Campbell 1985:96). This appears to be an example of Mithun's (1984) Type II incorporation; however unlike her Type II, this incorporation does not affect the arguments (Subject=agent, Object=patient in both cases), but rather incorporates an instrumental adjunct.

While these few compound verbs with the first part identical to a noun may be treated as noun incorporation, it is clear that the phenomenon extends well beyond this in Awa Pit, with "incorporation" of nouns, adjectives and various unknown elements. As the process is non-productive except for the use of Spanish verbs, which are clearly not noun incorporation, these verbs have simply been called compound verbs, ignoring the various processes by which the compounds may have been formed.

6.3.3.4   Loan verbs

As noted a number of times in the previous sections, there is one case in which compound verbs are formed in a fully productive fashion: when Spanish verbs are used in Awa Pit. Spanish words from most word classes can be used in Awa Pit with no change (beyond phonetic/phonological alignment), as Awa Pit has almost no morphology, except for verbs. However when a speaker wishes to use a verb from Spanish, the verb is put into a compound structure with *ki-* 'do, happen', and this second element can then carry the morphology. The Spanish verb itself is placed in its most basic form, the third person singular present indicative form. Thus from the Spanish *trabajar* 'work', an Awa Pit verb *trabaja ki-* 'work' may be formed, or from *contar* 'count' comes *cuenta ki-* 'count'.

This process of forming compound verbs from non-native words through the use of an "auxiliary" verb meaning 'do' can be compared in an interesting way with similar constructions in a number of other languages.[7] Japanese appears to have a similar construction using the verb *suru* 'do' — thus *doraibu-suru* is formed from English *drive* (Hinds 1986:371-2). It must be noted, however, that this construction is only used with foreign loan nouns, not verbs; and the hyphen presumably indicates that these two elements can never be separated.

Clearer parallels are with Indian languages, whether Dravidian (such as Tamil) or Indo-European (such as Panjabi). In the majority of these languages there are a series of complex verbs, formed by combining an element such as a noun, verb or adjective with some sort of auxiliary, most commonly 'do'. Bilingual Panjabi–English speakers in Birmingham have taken advantage of this construction (Romaine 1985), and often use lexical items (usually verbs) from English, followed by the auxiliary *kərna* 'do'. While it is not clear from Romaine's discussion of Panjabi whether the resulting compound is a single word or

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[7]While only examples of languages using an "auxiliary" verb 'do' will be looked at here, there are other ways of achieving the same ends. For example, Warlpiri has a productive system of compound verbs, and English loan verbs are entered into the language using this pattern (Bavin & Shopen 1985:82); however as cases such as these do not involve a verb meaning 'do', they will not be discussed here.

two words, the equivalent construction in Tamil discussed in Annamalai (1978), using English verbs and the "auxiliary" *paṇṇu* 'do', clearly does form two separate phonological words — as mentioned earlier, in Tamil an emphatic particle can occur between the first and second parts of the compound.

This use of a verb meaning 'do' to form verbs from non-native words is thus found in a variety of languages, although its exact status is, perhaps, a little unclear. Annamalai's (1978) discussion of Tamil is in the context of "the anglicised Indian languages: a case of code mixing", and Romaine's (1985) article likewise considers the Panjabi construction as some form of mixed system; however in both languages there is a relatively high number of compound verbs which do not involve non-native elements. In his discussion of Japanese, on the other hand, Hinds (1986) discusses this structure being used with English loans and Chinese-based words, but as a loan structure, not as code mixing — this is presumably established on the basis that the majority of Japanese speakers are not bilingual speakers of Chinese.

In Awa Pit it would appear that these uses of Spanish, as other uses of Spanish words, range on a continuum from true loans through to tag-switching, the use by bilinguals of a single lexical item from Spanish in the midst of Awa Pit. A few of the compound verbs involving Spanish words, such as *trabaja ki-* 'work', appear to be well fixed in the language, and understood and used by all speakers, and indeed the only way of expressing the concept in question (the native word *kal ki-* 'work' is not used for paid work); while others appear to be "once off" uses when a speaker temporarily cannot recall an Awa Pit word — indeed, sometimes a speaker will use one of these Spanish-based compound constructions, then this will be replaced in the following sentence by a native verb. Thus a relatively small number of these compounds involving Spanish verbs have to be entered into the lexicon of Awa Pit, while the majority do not.

6.4 Productive derivations

There are six productive derivational suffixes which apply to verbs in Awa Pit (excluding number marking, discussed in section 7.3 below), and these cover a variety of meanings, from Causative and Desiderative markers, suffixes that mean 'help' and 'learn to', through to Inceptive and Prospective aspect suffixes. Only one of these suffixes, the Desiderative *shi*, can be used with stative verbs; however all are fully productive with active verbs, being used wherever semantically appropriate.

While the productive derivations discussed here have a wide variety of meanings, and differing effects on the syntax of a sentence, they nevertheless form a unified group on positional and distributional grounds. All occur directly after the verb root (which may itself contain non-productive derivational morphology) and before any other suffixes.

The productive derivational suffixes do not have a fixed order among themselves. The ordering of the suffixes, if there is more than one, depends on the meaning which is to be expressed; compare the order of Causative *nin* and De-

siderative *shi* and the effect of this on meaning in the following two sentences:

(285) *na=na*   *Juan=ta*   *wakata* *pay-nin-shi-mtu-s*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP Juan=ACC   cattle   buy-CAUS-DESID-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I want to sell cattle to Juan.'

(286) *na=na*   *Juan=ta*   *wakata* *pay-shi-nin-mtu-s*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP Juan=ACC   cattle   buy-DESID-CAUS-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I am making Juan want to buy cattle.'

It must be noted that some orderings are not possible, however these have clear semantic problems (?'I helped Juan want to buy cattle') rather than an issue of fixed morpheme order.

In addition to a lack of fixed morpheme order, these six derivational suffixes (and number marking) may appear in circumstances where no inflectional suffixes may appear. For example a verb root with a productive derivational suffix may be followed by the various imperatives, which do not allow any other inflections to combine with them:

(287) *na-wa*   *pat-payn-zha!*
       1SG-ACC   wash-HELP-IMP.1OBJ
       'Help me wash [clothes]!'

This combination of a verb root plus derivation may also occur in subordinate, non-finite structures where otherwise only lexical stems are possible:

(288) *na=na*   *pay-nin-mu*   *i-s*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP buy-CAUS-ADJZR   be-LOCUT
       'I am a seller.'

It is clear from the above that these six suffixes form a unified group, but it has not yet been clearly stated why they are considered derivational rather than inflectional. In the theoretical literature, there is a great deal of dispute over the precise nature of the difference between inflectional and derivational morphology, if this distinction indeed exists in any real sense.[8] However there are a number of criteria on which the derivational status of this group can be established, given the common assumptions about the distinction.

To begin with, while it does not establish the group as derivational in nature, it is perhaps worth noting that these suffixes occur directly after the verb root. This means that any other (inflectional) suffixes are "outside" them, and they are thus potentially derivational (Anderson 1992:126).

It was noted above that there is no fixed order among the six suffixes of this group, but rather different orderings correspond to different meanings. Affixes which allow this sort of variation are usually considered derivational; inflectional affixes have fixed order.

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[8]For general discussion of the difference between derivational and inflectional morphology and further references, see Anderson (1992:74–85, 125–128), Matthews (1991:42–54) and Spencer (1991:9–12, 193–197).

In establishing this set of six affixes as a unified group, it was also observed that a verb root plus one of these suffixes may occur in environments where no other suffixes are possible, for example before imperatives or in non-finite structures. That is, a verb root plus one of these six suffixes is treated as a completely productive lexical verb. This is a property of derivations rather than inflections — only derivations derive new lexical items.

Finally, it can be clearly shown that at least four of the suffixes are necessarily derivational, because of changes between verbs with and without them. The Causative *nin* and the Auxiliative *payn* change the valency of the verb root to which they attach, adding an additional argument to intransitive and transitive verbs, and alter the correspondence of grammatical and semantic roles for ditransitive verbs. The Desiderative suffix *shi* and the Inceptive aspect suffix *miz* optionally change the subclass of a verb, converting an active verb into a stative verb. These sort of changes are only possible with derivational markers.

Having established this group of six suffixes as a unified group of derivational suffixes, the remainder of this section discusses the individual suffixes and their semantics. For the purposes of discussion they are divided into two groups, valency-changing and valency-preserving, as this avoids some repetition.

6.4.1 Valency-changing productive derivations

Awa Pit has two productive derivations which change the valency of the verb root to which they are suffixed: the Causative *nin* and the Auxiliative *payn* (with its post-vocalic allomorph *wayn*). These two suffixes add an additional argument to intransitive and transitive verb roots, and cause a rearrangement in the argument structure of ditransitive verb roots. For an examination of the semantics of these two suffixes, see the following two subsections — here only the syntactic effect of these derivations is examined. To simplify the discussion, the terms 'causer' and 'causee' will be used here, and all examples will use the derivational suffix *nin*. It must be kept in mind that the discussion is equally valid for the Auxiliative *payn* (for examples of sentences involving this suffix, see below), and 'causer' represents either the person causing an activity or helping with an activity, while 'causee' is either the person caused to carry out an action or the person helped to carry out an action.

Addition of *nin* or *payn* to an intransitive verb converts it to a transitive verb, with the Subject (S) of the underived verb corresponding in semantic role to the Object (O) of the derived verb, and the causer being shown by the Subject (A) of the derived verb:

(289) ap   aympihsh   kal   ki-mtu-ati-zi
       my   brother   work(1)   work(2)-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
       Subj V   V
       'My brother was working.'

(290) *na=na*   *ap* *aympihsh=ta* *kal*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP my brother=ACC work(1)
       Subj   Obj   V
       ki-nin-tu-ata-w
       work(2)-CAUS-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       V
       'I was causing my brother to work.'

Thus the correspondences of roles for an intransitive verb before and after suffixation by the Causative or Auxiliative marker may be represented as:

(291) <u>Underived   Derived</u>
                                  Subject (causer)
               Subject ⟺ Object

When the underived verb is transitive, the Causative or Auxiliative derivations change it to a ditransitive verb, with the Subject of the underived verb (A) corresponding to the Object of the derived verb (O); the Object of the underived verb (O) corresponds to the Second Object of the derived verb (OBJ2); and the causer enters the sentence as a Subject (A):

(292) *Jaime maza atal   pay-ti-zi*
       Jaime   one   chicken buy-PAST-NONLOCUT
       Subj   Obj   V
       'Jaime bought a chicken.'

(293) *Carmen=na   Jaime=ta   maza atal*
       Carmen=TOP Jaime=ACC one   chicken
       Subj   Obj   Obj2
       pay-nin-ti-zi
       buy-CAUS-PAST-NONLOCUT
       V
       'Carmen sold a chicken to Jaime (caused Jaime to buy a chicken).'

The Object of the derived verb (corresponding to the Subject of the underived verb) in a Causative or Auxiliative construction is often human, from the semantics of the Causative and Auxiliative markers. Hence if one of the Object and Second Object is non-human (as in the previous example), the two objects may occur in either order, as it is usually clear which of the two is the Object and hence the causee. If both agent and patient of the basic action are human, then the order of the two objects of the derived verb is fixed — Object followed by Second Object — to enable comprehension:

(294) *na=na* *Marcos=ta=na* *anya=ta*
   1SG.(NOM)=TOP Marcos=ACC=TOP brother=ACC
   Subj (causer) Obj (causee) Obj2 (affected party)
   pyan-nin-ta-w
   hit-CAUS-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
   V

   'I got Marcos to hit [my] brother.'

(295) *na=na* *anya=ta* *Marcos=ta=na*
   1SG.(NOM)=TOP brother=ACC Marcos=ACC=TOP
   Subj (causer) Obj (causee) Obj2 (affected party)
   pyan-nin-ta-w
   hit-CAUS-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
   V

   'I got [my] brother to hit Marcos.'

The correspondences for underived and derived transitive verbs are thus:

(296)

Underived		Derived
		Subject (causer)
Subject	⟺	Object
Object	⟺	Second Object

In earlier work on causativization (for example, Comrie 1975, Comrie 1981), the focus was on the "paradigm case" of morphological causativization, whereby the Subject of the underived verb corresponds to the Indirect Object of the derived verb in the causativization of a transitive verb. Cases such as that of Awa Pit were merely considered as "doubling on direct object" (Comrie 1975:14–16). In fact, however, a process much more complex than "doubling" is occurring: rather than simply a correspondence of the Subject of the underived verb to another grammatical relation, both of the semantic roles filling the grammatical roles of Subject and Object of the underived verb are required to change grammatical relations. As pointed out by Baker (1988:164–165), while this correspondence of Subject to Object and Object to Second Object is rare in the languages of the world, it has been found in a number of languages, including Cebuano (Gibson 1980) and Choctaw (Davies 1981); it also occurs in Imbabura Quechua, where a subject becomes a direct object, while the original object remains marked with accusative (rather than dative, used for ditransitives) but shows no other object properties (Cole 1985:135–141).[9]

The Object status of the causee can be seen from sentences involving both the Causative or Auxiliative marker and the First Person Object Imperative *zha* (see section 3.5.3). Thus compare the following two sentences:

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[9]A similar but not identical change in grammatical relations of two arguments happens in other languages, where the Subject of the underived verb form corresponds to the Object of the derived form, and the Object of the underived form corresponds to an oblique relation; this occurs, for example, in Tolai (Mosel 1984:155).

(297)   *nu=na*   *na-wa*   *shitshu*   *sa-nin-tu-s*
        2SG.(NOM)=TOP   1SG-ACC   breast   touch-CAUS-IMPF-LOCUT
        'You let me touch [your] breasts.'

(298)   *shitshu*   *sa-nin-zha*
        breast   touch-CAUS-IMP.1OBJ
        'Let me touch [your] breasts.'

From the second sentence, it is clear that the entity who will carry out the action of the verb roots in these sentences, 'I', is expressed through the grammatical relation of Object, as it is only possible to use *zha* when the Object is first person. A first person Second Object does not act in this way.

Causatives and Auxiliatives of ditransitive verbs cause a problem for Awa Pit. A simple clause has a maximum of three core arguments — Subject, Object and Second Object. A non-causativized ditransitive clause already has these three positions filled. It is possible to causativize a ditransitive verb, however only two of the original three arguments may be expressed. Thus from a ditransitive verb such as *kwin-* 'give'

(299)   *Demetrio=na*   *Carmen=ta*   *pala*   *kwin-ti-zi*
        Demetrio=TOP   Carmen=ACC   plantain   give-PAST-NONLOCUT
        Subj   Obj   Obj2   V
        'Demetrio gave Carmen a plantain.'

it is possible to derive a causative verb *kwin-nin-* 'make [someone] give', but only two of the core arguments correspond to the arguments of the underived verb, in different ways:

(300)   *na=na*   *Demetrio=ta*   *pala*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Demetrio=ACC   plantain
        Subj   Obj   Obj2
        kwin-nin-ta-w
        give-CAUS-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        V
        'I made Demetrio give a plantain.'

(301)   *na=na*   *Carmen=ta*   *pala*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Carmen=ACC   plantain
        Subj   Obj   Obj2
        kwin-nin-ta-w
        give-CAUS-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        V
        'I made a plantain be given to Carmen.'

The two sentences above with the derived verbs are syntactically identical; but the correspondence of grammatical and semantic roles is distinct. The interpretation of the Object as corresponding to either the Subject of the underived verb (as

in (300)) or to the Object of the underived verb (as in (301)) depends purely on contextual information, and out of context both sentences are ambiguous. Thus for ditransitive verbs there are two patterns of correspondences between underived and derived forms:

(302)

Underived		Derived
		Subject (causer)
Subject	⟺	Object
Object	⟺	(unexpressed)
Second Object	⟺	Second Object

(303)

Underived		Derived
		Subject (causer)
Subject	⟺	(unexpressed)
Object	⟺	Object
Second Object	⟺	Second Object

The notional argument which is unexpressed by a core argument of the derived form (Object in the first case, Subject in the second) simply cannot be expressed, not even as a non-core argument.[10]

While a priori there would appear to be a third possibility, with underived Subject corresponding to derived Object, underived Object corresponding to derived Second Object, and an unexpressed underived Second Object, this is not possible.

Comrie (1975:9–11) describes the idea of a fixed number of syntactic slots as "causative blocking", and gives examples from Songhai, discussed by Shopen & Konaré (1970). The latter point out that in Songhai "there are only a limited number of syntactic nodes available to verbs and if there are too many semantic functions, one of them has to be left out" (Shopen & Konaré 1970:215), and note that the Songhai sentence

(304)   Garba   neere-ndi   bari   di   Musa   se
        Garba   sold-CAUS   horse the Musa   IO

is ambiguous, as Musa se may be the original Subject, 'Garba had Musa sell the horse', or the original Indirect Object, 'Garba had the horse sold to Musa'. While Awa Pit has different syntactic relations (Object and Second Object rather than Indirect Object and Direct Object), the process is the same: when a ditransitive verb is causativized, only one of the original Subject and the original Object may be expressed, and the sentence is ambiguous.

It should be noted that any non-core arguments (whether complements or adjuncts) may be retained by a verb when it is causativized; and new adjuncts may be added if semantically appropriate. The interpretation is normally a matter of context; given the sentence

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[10]Other arguments may, of course, be unexpressed in any given sentence, with sentences involving derived verbs having the same possibilities as any other sentence for definite and indefinite ellipsis.

(305)   *Juan=na   pyalmiŋ=kasa   Marcos=ta   kuzhu*
        Juan=TOP   axe=with   Marcos=ACC   pig
        pyaŋta-nin-ti-zi
        kill-CAUS-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Juan made Marcos kill a pig with an axe.'

in Awa Pit, as with the English translation, it is left to context as to whether Juan used the axe to force Marcos to kill the pig, or whether Juan caused Marcos to kill the pig, and Marcos used the axe to do so. Placing the adjunct phrase initially in the sentence creates a strong suggestion that Juan used the axe, but even this can be overridden by an appropriate context.

6.4.1.1   Causative

The first of the two valency-changing derivational morphemes is the Causative *nin*. This suffix is fully productive with active verbs, but cannot be used with stative verbs.[11] It causes the addition of an extra argument to intransitive and transitive roots and a rearrangement of the valency of ditransitive roots, in the way explained above.

The Causative in Awa Pit has a wide range of use, simply indicating that someone did something (accidentally or on purpose), and because of this (directly or indirectly, with or without force) the event happened (with participants being willing or unwilling). Thus the Causative in Awa Pit is not sensitive to any of the usual causative parameters, such as volition, intention, directness or animacy. It may correspond to all of the English causative-like verbs: *cause, make, get, have, force, let,* and so on. Further context is needed to be more specific:

(306)   *Marcos=ta=na   kal   ki-nin-ta-w*
        Marcos=ACC=TOP   work(1)   work(2)-CAUS-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        '(Marcos didn't want to work.) I made Marcos work.'

(307)   *Doris=ta=na   pala   kwa-nin-ta-w*
        Doris=ACC=TOP   plantain   eat-CAUS-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        '(Doris really wanted to eat plantains.) I let Doris eat plantains.'

Awa Pit uses its Causative construction quite widely, even where many other languages would choose to use a separate lexical item, or have an ambitransitive verb:

(308)   *uspa=na   wakata   nya   pay-nin-a-mtu-y*
        3PL.(NOM)=TOP   cattle   meat   buy-CAUS-PL:SUBJ-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'They are selling (causing [people] to buy) beef.'

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[11]Stative verbs can be causativized in a sense, by using a different verb root. Rather than 'make someone be standing (stative)', one can 'make someone stand up (active)'; rather than 'make something be (stative) red', one can 'make something become (active) red'.

(309) alcalde=ta   pinkih   paa-t   i-nin-ti-zi
       mayor=ACC   paper   write-SV   go-CAUS-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'She wrote and sent a letter (caused a letter to go) to the mayor.'

(310) tinta   awa   uk   man   ki-nin-tu
       strong   person stone   move(1)   move(2)-CAUS-IMPFPART
       'The strong man moved the stone (caused the stone to move).'

The semantics of the Causative marker, then, are simply that something happens, and it would not happen if the causer had not done what he or she did.

6.4.1.2 Auxiliative

Like the Causative *nin* (see previous section), the Auxiliative *payn* (with an allomorph *wayn* after vowels) adds an extra argument to the verb. The Auxiliative derivational suffix is syntactically identical to the Causative suffix, with an intransitive or transitive verb root increasing valency by one, while a ditransitive verb root rearranges its argument when suffixed by *payn*. Like the majority of other derivational suffixes, *payn* is only used with active verbs.

The semantics of the Auxiliative are very simple. When a verb root is suffixed by the Auxiliative (glossed as 'HELP'), the clause indicates that the Subject of the new verb stem is intentionally, volitionally helping the major agent of the verbal action (coded as an Object) to carry out the action:

(311) na=na   Demetrio=ta=na   si
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Demetrio=ACC=TOP   firewood
       pyan-payn-ta-w
       hit-HELP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I helped Demetrio cut firewood.'

(312) Demetrio   maza   kuzhu   pyaŋta-wayn-na-zi
       Demetrio   one   pig   kill-HELP-PL:OBJ-NONLOCUT
       'Demetrio helped them kill a pig.'

(313) ap   aympihsh=ta   kal   ki-wayn-tu-ata-w
       my   brother=ACC   work(1)   work(2)-HELP-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I was helping my brother work.'

It should be noted that the semantics of the Auxiliative necessarily cause both the 'helper' (Subject) and the 'helped' (Object) to be human, or at least personified. Only humans have the volition to intentionally help others; and only humans (or highly personified animals) would be assisted in carrying out a desired action.

6.4.2   Valency-preserving productive derivations

In addition to the two valency-changing productive derivations, the Causative and the Auxiliative discussed in the previous sections, Awa Pit has four valency-preserving productive derivations: the Desiderative suffix, the Prospective aspect suffix, the Inceptive aspect suffix and the Learnative suffix.

As valency-preserving suffixes, these derivations have no syntactic effect in a sentence — any verb stem formed from a verb root plus one of these derivations has the same valency and syntactic possibilities as the verb root itself.

While all four derivations are fully productive with active verbs, only the Desiderative may be used with stative verbs. In addition to this, the Desiderative suffix and the Inceptive aspect suffix can change an active verb root into a stative verb stem.

6.4.2.1   Desiderative

The Desiderative suffix *shi* may be added to all verbs in Awa Pit, whether active or stative. Its most common usage is, unsurprisingly, to indicate that a Subject wants to carry out an action, or be in a state:

(314)   *an   izh-shi-mtu-s*
      more   see-DESID-IMPF-LOCUT
      'I want to see more.'

(315)   *na=na   i-shi-mtu-ata-w*
      1SG.(NOM)=TOP   go-DESID-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      'I wanted to go.'

As it is not a separate verb, the Desiderative can only be used to express "same-subject" desires; when a situation is to be described where one person wishes another to carry out an action, a periphrastic way of stating this is used, usually something like "it would be good (for me) if you ...".

As well as its use to indicate strict wanting, the Desiderative may also be used for ideas closer to necessity than desire:

(316)   *pit-shi-ma-ta-w*
      sleep-DESID-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      'I got tired (I suddenly wanted to sleep).'

It can also be used with inanimate Subjects, as a sort of prediction of what will happen soon:

(317)   *kih   pit-miz-shi-mtu-a-zi*
      leaf   rot-INCEP-DESID-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
      'The leaf was about to start rotting.'

(318)   *alu   ki-shi-mtu*
      rain(1)   rain(2)-DESID-IMPFPART
      'It is about to rain.'

Both of these extensions of meaning are common developments for desiderative suffixes and verbs (cf. Harkins 1996, ch. 6).

In the examples given so far, the verb stem, consisting of a verb root plus the Desiderative suffix, has always been active. But a verb stem consisting of an (active) verb root and the Desiderative derivation can also be treated by the grammar as stative. For example, in the Present tense (not formally marked) active verbs are necessarily followed by the Imperfective aspect inflection, while stative verbs are followed directly by person marking. Desiderative-marked verbs may be used with the Imperfective, as in sentence (314) above, showing that they can be active; but they may also be followed directly by person marking, or in questions followed directly by the negative copula, another property of stative verbs only:

(319) *tuk-shi-s*
       suck-DESID-LOCUT
       'I want to smoke.'

(320) *shi   izh-shi   ki-s*
       NEG   see-DESID   be.NEG-LOCUT
       'I don't want to see.'

This ambivalent nature of verbs marked with the Desiderative is understandable. Given the strong distinction between active and stative verbs in Awa Pit, it is perhaps not surprising that when a derived form is produced, this derived form has a strong tendency to remain in the same verbal subclass as the non-derived form. But balancing this tendency is the pull of semantics. Wanting something is normally a state rather than an action, and states are strongly associated in Awa Pit with stative verbs, actions with active verbs. Thus the ambivalent nature of Desiderative-marked verbs is unsurprising.

There is an additional morpheme *ta* (glossed as 'DUMMY'), with very limited distribution, which is associated with the Desiderative suffix. It only occurs when a Desiderative-marked verb is being treated as a stative verb, and it is perhaps possible that, historically, it was used whenever a stative reading was desired, although this is clearly not synchronically true (see the preceding two sentences, for example).

(321) *maza=yŋ   kwa-shi-ta-s*
       one=REST   eat-DESID-DUMMY-LOCUT
       'I want to eat just one.'

(322) *uŋ=ta   pana-shi-ta-s*
       there=in   be:standing-DESID-DUMMY-LOCUT
       'I want to be standing over there.'

(323) *mizha   izh-ta=ma   pay-shi-ta-s?*
       how   see-PFPART=INTER   buy-DESID-DUMMY-LOCUT
       'Which colour [shirt] do you want to buy?'

(324)   na=na   pyan-kam-shi-ta-ta-w, ...
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   know-LEARN-DESID-DUMMY-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I was wondering (I wanted to learn to know) ...'

The synchronic function of this *ta* morpheme is unknown; with stative treatment of the Desiderative-marked verb, *shi* and *shi-ta* appear to be in free variation.

One final point which must be made about the Desiderative suffix is its unusual behaviour with the question marker *ma*. Normally to query a current action or state, *ki* is used (see section 12.3.2), and this is possible with the Desiderative marker also:

(325)   tuk-shi-mtu   ki-s?
        suck-DESID-IMPFPART   Q-LOCUT
        'Do you want to smoke?'

However *ma* may also be used together with the Desiderative marker to query a present action or state:

(326)   nul=na   kwa-shi-ma-s?
        chontaduro=TOP   eat-DESID-Q.PAST-LOCUT
        'Do you want to eat *chontaduro*?'

This use of *ma* to query *present* occurrences is unusual; in all other contexts it can only be used to question *past* activities or states (see section 12.3.1). The distinction between these two question forms and their uses is not fully understood and requires further study. It may perhaps parallel the distinction between English *do you want this?* and *did you want this?* — in the latter the speaker has some reason for believing that, in the past at least, the interlocutor did want it, and is checking on the current desires of the interlocutor, using a past tense.

6.4.2.2   Prospective aspect

There are a variety of ways of expressing aspect in Awa Pit, in a broad sense of the term. The most common aspectual relations are shown through inflection, with the Imperfective, Completive and Terminative aspect inflections (see section 9.3). Perfective aspect can be shown through a Serial Verb construction (see section 11.6). And two aspects, the Prospective and the Inceptive, are shown through derivational suffixes.

The Prospective aspect marker *ni* indicates the intention of the Subject to carry out the action expressed, and can only be used with animate Subjects, who could be expected to have such intentions. It also conveys the meaning that at the reference time, the Subject was (metaphorically) on his or her way to carrying out the action — the action is not merely in an indefinite future, but rather the earliest steps have been taken to carry out the action. For this reason, it tends to be used as an immediate future, and is especially common with hortatives.

Any combination of aspect, tense and person marking may follow *ni*, which is only used with active verbs. The tense and aspect marking focus on the "path" towards carrying out the action, not on the action itself — in saying

(327) us=na   *piikam-ni-ma-ti*
       3SG.(NOM)=TOP swim-PROSP-COMP-TERM
       'He is just going to swim.'

the speaker is not claiming that he (the Subject) has already entered the water, but rather that the process leading to this has begun. The action itself does not need to be completed:

(328) *Gloria=ta*   *izh-ni-ma-ta-w*
       Gloria=ACC   see-PROSP-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I went to see Gloria (but she wasn't there).'

In this case, while the intention was to see Gloria, and I was (at the time referred to by the tense) on a path towards fulfilling that goal, the intended activity (seeing Gloria) was not carried out.

Further examples of this construction are:

(329) *na=na*   *pihj*   *ki-ni-ma-tu*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP weed(1)   weed(2)-PROSP-COMP-HORT.1SG
       'I am off to weed [a field].'

(330) *kwa-ni-shayŋ!*
       eat-PROSP-HORT.PL
       'Lets eat!'

(331) *na=na*   *yaz*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP clear:land(1)
       ki-ni-ta-w
       clear:land(2)-PROSP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I went to clear (a field).'

(332) *ampu-tuzpa=na* *kal*   *ki-ni-ma-t*
       man-COLL=TOP work(1)   work(2)-PROSP-COMP-PFPART
       'Among men they went to work.'

The origin of this suffix is very clear — historically, it is the Infinitive *n(a)* used as a same-Subject purposive marker (see section 10.3.1), together with the verb *i-* 'go'. For those verbs where the Infinitive is *na* (rather than just *n*), the *a* has been elided before *i*, which is a regular phenomenon in rapid speech.

However, while the verb *i-* 'go' plus the same-Subject purposive use of the Infinitive *n(a)* is the historical source of this construction, it is clear that the construction has grammaticalized, with a distinct meaning and distinct construction. A subordinate clause marked with *n(a)* is usually found *after* the main clause, while in the Prospective aspect construction it is always found *before* the "main verb" *i-* 'go': contrast sentence (328) above, containing the Prospective aspect marker, with a sentence containing a same-Subject purposive:

(333)   *i-ma-ta-w,*   *Gloria=ta*   *izh-na*
        go-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ   Gloria=ACC   see-INF
        'I went, (in order) to see Gloria.'

In addition to this syntactic change, the physical movement component of *i-* 'go' is no longer a necessary part of the meaning of the Prospective, as can be seen in example (330) above, said at the table in front of food; and indeed the Prospective aspect suffix can be found on the verb *i-* 'go' itself:

(334)   *i-ni-pay!*
        go-PROSP-HORT.DU
        'Lets go!'

It is interesting to note that the Prospective aspect, with its immediate future meaning, derives from a movement verb together with any tense or (inflectional) aspect, plus a purposive construction. While the development of future tenses from movement verbs is well known in the languages of the world, Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins (1991) (and later Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:268–269)) hypothesize that

> the semantics of movement is not sufficient in itself to give rise to
> the future sense. Rather, movement constructions that are sources
> for future grams actually signal that the subject is in the process of
> moving towards a goal. That is, along with movement as a compon-
> ent of meaning, the source of such futures includes an imperfective
> (or progressive) component and an allative component.
>
>   (Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1991:30)

The Awa Pit Prospective marker clearly contains neither an imperfective component nor an allative component. While Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins (1991:30) note that these components need not be overtly marked, it seems clear that in Awa Pit not only are they not overtly marked, they are neither present nor necessary for the development of future meaning — the idea of movement in order to do something is all that is necessary. Given that an allative construction is a common source for purposive constructions in the world's languages (Haspelmath 1989), it would be interesting to reexamine those languages used in Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins (1991) and Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994), to see how many of the movement-derived futures are derived from movement plus purposive constructions — especially given that of the ten languages having 'go'-futures in the later work, only one is explicitly noted as having an imperfective component, and only two as containing an allative component. It seems possible that the notion of future arises directly from the movement verb plus a purposive, and that imperfectives and allatives are associated with the purposive rather than the future meaning, as it is clear that a future notion can develop from movement without these two correlates, as has happened in Awa Pit.

6.4.2.3 Inceptive aspect

Just as the Desiderative can form either an active or a stative verb stem from an active verb root, so too can the Inceptive aspect suffix *miz*, although this derivational marker can only be used with active verb roots. It cannot be combined with the Completive aspect marker, presumably for semantic reasons, but may occur with all other inflectional morphology.

The Inceptive aspect suffix has one very odd feature, shared by no other inflectional or derivational morphology. While other suffixes always retain their positional and structural integrity (although changing allomorphs depending on surrounding affixes), the Inceptive *miz* combines with the Plural Subject marker a to form a new portmanteau morpheme *mitaz*:

(335)   uspa=na   i-mitaz-tu-y
        3PL.(NOM)=TOP   go-INCEP.PL:SUBJ-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'They are about to go.'

Aside from this, the Inceptive has no other allomorphs, always retaining the form *miz*.[12]

Inceptive aspect focusses on the beginning of an activity. The way in which this focus on the beginning of an activity corresponds to the real world depends on whether the Inceptive is used to create a stative verb or an active verb.

When used to form a stative verb stem, the Inceptive indicates that at the reference time indicated by the tense, the beginning of the activity described had just happened: the reference time was in the beginning of the activity. The Inceptive in this use necessarily indicates that the activity has begun — it was sometimes translated by speakers as the Spanish equivalents of "has begun to Verb" (if Present) or "kept on Verb-ing" (if Past). Examples are:

(336)   pak-miz-is
        harvest-INCEP-LOCUT
        'We are harvesting/have begun harvesting.'

(337)   pa   mal-miz-i
        sun   shine-INCEP-NONLOCUT
        'The sun is shining, has started shining (said at 7am).'

(338)   pashpa   az-miz-i
        child   cry-INCEP-NONLOCUT
        'The child has begun to cry/is crying.'

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[12]This unusual portmanteau behaviour of the Inceptive suffix suggests that in origin it may be a combination of two distinct morphemes, perhaps *mi(t)* and *z*. However there is no other synchronic evidence of either of these suggested morphemes.

(339)   na=na   a-t   kway-ka=na,   kuzhu
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP come-SV DROP-WHEN=TOP pig
        kutil-miz-ati-zi
        skin:with:fire-INCEP-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'When I arrived, they had already begun to skin/kept on skinning a
        pig.'

(340)   na=na   a-t   kway-ka=na,   uspa=na
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP come-SV DROP-WHEN=TOP 3PL.(NOM)=TOP
        shappi   kii-miz-ani-zi
        cane:juice mill-INCEP-FUT-NONLOCUT
        'When I arrive, they will have begun milling the cane.'

Thus the stative verb formed by the Inceptive aspect marker describes the be-
ginning of an activity as a state which is current at the reference time indicated
by the tense of the verb.

An active verb formed by the Inceptive aspect has a slightly different
focus. As an active verb it naturally has a stronger focus on change, rather than
on a state, and this is often emphasized by using the Imperfective aspect marker
with it even when it is not (grammatically) required, for example with Past and
Future tenses. An active verb with the Inceptive focusses on the very beginning
of an activity, rather than the initial state: compare sentence (341) below with
sentence (338) above.

(341)   pashpa az-miz-tu-y
        child   cry-INCEP-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'The child is beginning to cry.'

The tense marking gives the time reference. Present tense (no tense marking, but
Imperfective aspect) indicates that the very beginning of the activity is happen-
ing; Past shows that at some reference time in the past, either shown by adjuncts
or from context, the action commenced; and Future states that at a determined
point the event will commence:

(342)   na=na   piya waa-miz-tu-s
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP corn sow-INCEP-IMPF-LOCUT
        'I am beginning to sow corn (at this time of year).'

(343)   kin-ka=na,   Marcos=na yaz
        dawn-WHEN=TOP Marcos=TOP clear:land(1)
        ki-miz-tu-a-zi
        clear:land(2)-INCEP-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Marcos began clearing land at dawn.'

(344)   shappi   kii-miz-tu-ani-s
        cane:juice mill-INCEP-IMPF-FUT-LOCUT
        'I will begin milling cane.'

The active Inceptive-marked verb is rarely used without the Imperfect-ive aspect. It is occasionally marked simply by the Past tense, where it can be distinguished as active rather than stative by the Past allomorphs *ti/ta*, appropriate for active verbs as in sentence (345), rather than the allomorphs *ati/ata*, appropriate for stative verbs as in sentence (339) above.

(345) na=na   kayas yal   pihshka-miz-ta-w
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP early house sweep-INCEP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I began sweeping the house early.'

The active Inceptive-marked verb is also occasionally used with the Terminative aspect. In this case the verb combines the meanings of the two suffixes, indicating that the very beginning of the activity (active Inceptive) has just occurred (Terminative):

(346) az-miz-ti
       cry-INCEP-TERM
       'She has just begun to cry.'

This combination of the derivational Inceptive and the inflectional Terminative is very seldom used, however.

6.4.2.4 Learnative

Awa Pit has a transitive active verb *kam-* 'learn'. As well as this, there is a homophonous derivational affix *kam*, used for 'learn to Verb'. This can be used together with any semantically appropriate active verb, with the usual full range of inflectional possibilities:

(347) *Awa   Pit*   pata-kam-tu-s
       person language speak-LEARN-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I am learning to speak Awa Pit.'

(348) na=na   kuzhu kutil-kam-ma-t=ma
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP pig   skin:with:fire-LEARN-COMP-PFPART=TEMP
       'I have learnt how to skin a pig over the fire.'

Together with the word *pyan-* 'know', the derivational suffix *kam* is used to indicate entering into knowledge, "coming to know" a fact about the world not previously known:

(349) pyan-kam-shi-mtu-s
       know-LEARN-DESID-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I want to know.'

In addition to its productive use, the derivational affix *kam* has lexified together with the word *pii-* 'bathe' to form the word *piikam-* 'swim':

(350)   *us=na*   *piikam-ni-ma-tɨ*
        3SG.(NOM)=TOP   swim-PROSP-COMP-TERM
        'He is just going to swim.'

The lexified status of *piikam-* 'swim' is shown in its ability to be followed once again by the derivational suffix *kam*, in its productive usage:

(351)   *Gloria=na*   *piikam-kam-ma-mtu-a-zi*
        Gloria=TOP   swim-LEARN-COMP-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Gloria was learning how to swim.'

The suffix *kam* could be considered as simply being the verb *kam-* 'learn' in some form of verb compounding. This has not been done here, as synchronically this is the only verb which can undergo such compounding as a productive process (but compare the non-productive uses of *pizh-* 'grasp' and *pyan-* 'hit' as "suffixes" in compound verbs, section 6.3.2).

Chapter 7

Verb inflection and number

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, a variety of verb derivations were discussed, both pro-
ductive and non-productive ones. These derivations produce verb stems, which
can then be modified through inflections, which can also be added to verb stems
which are verb roots. That is, the productive derivations in the previous chapter
are all morphologically and syntactically optional, although clearly they have
semantic effects.

While there are a variety of inflections which can be added (singly or
multiply) to verb stems, the inflections are clearly not all of the same type, but
form different groups of inflections, with different syntactic and morphological
effects. Some inflections must be the only inflection on a verb stem, others
combine with different inflections. Some inflections can only be used in main
clauses, others must only be used in subordinate clauses, while some can be used
in both.

This chapter begins with an overview of the different inflectional pos-
sibilities which exist in Awa Pit. 'Inflectional' possibilities is, in fact, perhaps
a slightly incorrect shorthand — two of the 'inflections', the Imperfective Parti-
ciple for stative verbs and the Serial Verb 'inflection' for consonant-final stems are
"zero inflections". That is, the morphological form of the Imperfective Participle
of stative verbs and the morphology of the Serial Verb form of consonant-final
stems are identical to the forms of the verb stems themselves.

With the exception of the two "zero" inflections mentioned in the previous
paragraph, all inflections in Awa Pit are suffixes — there are no prefixes or
infixes, and inflection is not shown through reduplication or a change in form of
a root; and suppletion is only used to show plural marking in the copula verb,
which appears to be derivational rather than inflectional, as will be shown in
section 7.3. South American languages generally have only a few prefixes but
many suffixes (Doris Payne 1990b:215), and there are some, such as Epena Pedee
(Harms 1994:13) and Barasano (Jones & Jones 1991:5) which like Awa Pit are
purely suffixing.

The first section of this chapter, then, discusses the possible inflections

which occur in Awa Pit in a very cursory fashion, with cross-references to the major sections or chapters where they are discussed in detail. The final part of the section discusses very briefly the relative ordering of the various affixes. Following this, the number-marking system, which appears to be derivational rather than inflectional, is discussed.

7.2 Inflections

The verb inflections in Awa Pit form into a number of different groups, based on a combination of semantic and structural features. In this section a summary of the inflectional system is given, with references to where these inflections are discussed more fully. The important issue of finiteness and the justification for the distinction between the formally identical Imperfective aspect and Imperfective Participle inflectional forms was discussed in section 3.3.2.

7.2.1 Tense inflection

There are two formal markers of tense, the Past and the Future. There is an additional covert category, which expresses the Present: in any particular string of inflections, in any given structure, if either the Past or Future marker could appear, but does not, this indicates Present:

(352)   *ku-mtu-ata-w*
        eat-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I was eating.'

(353)   *ku-mtu-ani-s*
        eat-IMPF-FUT-LOCUT
        'I will be eating.'

(354)   *ku-mtu-s*
        eat-IMPF-LOCUT
        'I am eating.'

That is, in pure structuralist terms, the Present is marked by a zero morpheme. The tense markers appear after any aspect or mood suffixes, but before person marking. Tense is discussed in section 9.2.

7.2.2 Aspect inflection

As has been noted elsewhere, aspectual meaning in its widest sense is expressed in a variety of ways in Awa Pit. There are two aspectual derivations, the Inceptive (section 6.4.2.3) and the Prospective (section 6.4.2.2). Perfective aspect is also expressed using a Serial Verb construction (section 11.6).

    In addition, however, there are three aspectual inflectional suffixes, the Imperfective, the Terminative and the Completive, discussed in section 9.3. These

aspect markers occur before any tense marking (if it is present in a clause), and may combine with each other, in the order Imperfective, Completive, Terminative. They do not cooccur with mood marking (but see below). The aspect inflections are the only inflections which can occur before the subordinating suffix *ka* 'when'.

7.2.3 Mood inflection

The mood inflections convey a wide range of meanings, and form a less coherent group than others, both semantically and syntactically. None of them can combine with aspect inflections,[1] while only one may occur with tense; and a few are sometimes used with person, while others have inherent person. Two of the mood inflections are formally identical with subordinating markers, and are presumably historically related, although the meanings expressed are distinct. The mood markers are discussed in section 9.4.

One mood marker which is perhaps worthy of more comment is the Irrealis marker *na*, which is only used in past counterfactual clauses (section 10.3.6). This suffix is unusual in two ways: it occurs *after* any tense marking, while mood marking normally occurs before tense marking; and it is followed by person marking, with an *s* for Locutor and an unmarked form for Non-locutor. As will be discussed in section 8.4.1, zero Non-locutor forms are associated with non-verbal elements. This suggests that in origin the Irrealis suffix may have been the Infinitive, a non-finite form which has the same 'non-real' semantic idea, but that through its use in the counterfactual construction and its acquisition of person marking, the Irrealis has separated from the Infinitive.

7.2.4 Negative and interrogative inflection

Negation and interrogation are often expressed through content question words or through auxiliary verbs. However there is one negative inflectional marker *ma*, and a homophonous interrogative marker *ma*. These are discussed in sections 12.5.1 and 12.3.1 respectively. There is also a negative nominalizer, *kayŋ*, which is non-finite, and forms a group with the 'other non-finite' inflections below.

7.2.5 Serial Verb inflection

When verb stems are united to form a Serial Verb construction,[2] the non-final verb stems are suffixed by the Serial Verb inflection *t*, if their final element is a vowel; for consonant-final verb stems, the Serial Verb form is identical to the verb stem itself. The Serial Verb construction is discussed in section 11.5. The Serial Verb inflection is also involved in the Conjoined Clause construction described in section 11.7.

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[1]This is not quite true. When the Necessitive is used as a marker of future time rather than modality, it can combine with aspect — see section 9.4.2.2.

[2]As will be discussed in section 11.5, there are problems with analyzing this construction as a "true" serial verb construction — it should be treated as a label only.

7.2.6 Person inflection

Awa Pit has an unusual system of person marking, which has probably formed from an earlier system of evidentiality, though it has largely been grammaticalized. The inflections involved do mark person, however not always just person of Subject or Object, and hence while it is a person-marking system, it is not strictly speaking a cross-referencing system. This unusual marking system is discussed in chapter 8.

7.2.7 Subordinating inflection

There are a few inflections which are used to mark a clause as non-finite and subordinate. Two of these are formally identical to mood markers, and while historically related, they can be distinguished, as was discussed in section 3.3.2. These inflections and their uses in adverbial subordinate clauses are discussed in section 10.3.

7.2.8 Other non-finite inflections

The final category of inflections is, in some senses, a residue class, containing the Infinitive, the two participles, and two adjectivizers, one positive and one negative. However there are common elements in this group. All are used only in non-finite clauses, and in particular constructions there are often alternations between subsets of these inflections, such as the two participles and the Infinitive, or the two participles and the adjectivizers. Most of these inflections can be used in non-finite main clauses, with the exception of the Infinitive. One inflection in this group, the Imperfective Participle, is formally identical to the Imperfective aspect marker.

The non-finite forms are used in a wide variety of different constructions with different uses, and hence it is easiest to give a summary of these suffixes here, as it is impossible to give cross-references to simply one other section as has been the case with other inflections.

7.2.8.1 Infinitive

The Infinitive marker *na* (and its allomorph *n*) has a wide variety of functions, although it is restricted to appearing in non-finite subordinate clauses. There are a variety of definitions given for infinitives, from traditional ones, "the non-finite form of the verb usually cited as its unmarked or base form" (Crystal 1985:157), through to more complex ones. such as that of Noonan (1985:57):

> verb-like entities that do not bear syntactic relations to their notional subjects; i.e. their subjects do not take nominative case marking or condition verb agreement.... But because infinitives are verblike, the relations that they may establish with their objects ... are the same as those established by [other verb forms].

In Awa Pit the verb-form labelled the Infinitive definitely does not fit the more traditional definition — it is not unmarked, and the citation form tends to be the Imperfective. In many constructions in which it is used, the Infinitive does not have an explicit Subject, and when it does, the verb is not marked for person, which accords with Noonan's definition; but then the other non-finite forms accord equally well. The label 'Infinitive' has been chosen for this verb form because of its use to create a clause about which predications can be made.

For all verb stems ending in consonants, and for most verb stems ending in vowels, the Infinitive is *na*. There are a few verbs ending in vowels which take the "short form" of the Infinitive, *n* rather than *na*. The verbs which have been found to take the short form are: *a-* 'come', *i-* 'go', *ki-* 'do', *ku-* 'eat', *kata-* 'bring' and *shaa-* 'walk'.[3]

The Infinitive is used entirely in subordinate constructions. It is used in forming indirect questions, where the subordinate clause contains a Subject (section 10.2.2); in complements of intention and evaluative predicates (sections 10.2.4.1 and 10.2.4.2); to form a clausal complement to a postposition (section 10.2.3.2); to form the same-Subject purposive construction (section 10.3.1); and in absolute constructions (section 10.3.7).

7.2.8.2 Imperfective Participle

The Imperfective Participle has two quite distinct forms. For stative verbs and the Serial Perfective aspect verbs, the Imperfective Participle form is simply the verb stem; for active verbs, the Imperfective Participle is formed with a suffix, which has the form *mtu* after vowels and *tu* after consonants.

The major use of the Imperfective Participle is in non-finite subordinate clauses. It is used to form indirect question complements (section 10.2.2); indirect statement complements (section 10.2.3.1); complements of intention and evaluation predicates (sections 10.2.4.1 and 10.2.4.2); to form complements to postpositions (section 10.2.3.2); it forms absolute clauses (section 10.3.7); it is used in the formation of counterfactual clauses (section 10.3.6); and it is used in nominalizations (section 10.5). In addition, the Imperfective Participle can be used as a main verb with an auxiliary (section 11.2); and it can also be used in non-finite main clauses (see section 3.3.2).

7.2.8.3 Perfective Participle

The Perfective Participle is formed with a suffix *ta* with most verbs. The suffix has the short form *t* with the same verbs that have a short form of the Infinitive — *a-* 'come', *i-* 'go', *ki-* 'do', *ku-* 'eat', *kata-* 'bring' and *shaa-* 'walk' — and also with all stative verbs ending in a vowel. When the copula *i* is used in the Perfective Participle form, it takes the allomorph *a*, which is also used with non-Present inflections.

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[3]Note that these verbs also all take the short form of the Perfective Participle; see below.

In addition to the normal Perfective Participle, there is also an "extended" Perfective Participle, which consists of an (active) verb stem, followed by the Terminative or Completive aspect markers, followed by the *t* form of the Perfective Participle. The extended Perfective Participle is used in some constructions, the Perfective Participle in others.

The Perfective Participle is used as a derivational marker to form change of state adjectives from verbs (section 5.2.3.1). It is also used to form indirect questions (section 10.2.2) and statements (section 10.2.3.1); complements to intention and evaluation predicates (sections 10.2.4.1 and 10.2.4.2); clausal complements to postpositions (section 10.2.3.2); counterfactual clauses (section 10.3.6); and absolute clauses (section 10.3.7); as well as occurring in agentive nominalizations (section 10.5). The extended Perfective Participle is used as a main verb with an auxiliary in the Resultative (section 11.2.2.2) and Past Anterior (section 11.2.2.1) constructions; and it can also be used in non-finite main clauses (see section 3.3.2).

7.2.8.4 The adjectivizers

There are two adjectivizers in Awa Pit, the (Positive) Adjectivizer *mu* (with its allomorph *m*, occurring after vowels), which is found in a wide variety of constructions, and the Negative Adjectivizer *kayŋ*, which is limited to occurring in one construction.[4]

The essential element in all of the uses of the adjectivizers is an idea of habituality, as well as converting the clause it marks into an adjective-like or sometimes noun-like clause. The (Positive) Adjectivizer is used in agentive and instrumental nominalizations (section 5.2.1), purposive adjectivizations (section 5.2.3.2), and as one part of forming agentive clausal nominalizations (section 10.5); with the Negative Adjectivizer, it is used in forming habitual relative clauses (section 10.4).

7.2.9 Order of inflections

The inflections given in the preceding sections do not, of course, occur in a random order, but rather are very constrained in their cooccurrence. A general summary of the order in which inflections occur following a verb stem is given in Table 7.1. It must be strongly stressed that this is simply a very general outline, and individual affixes may be highly constrained in their cooccurrence possibilities. Any possible combination of inflections in Awa Pit fits the outline in Table 7.1, but the schema given there generates many impossible combinations. For example, mood is clearly followed by tense, then by person, as can be seen in a verb such as *kwa-npa-ta-w* 'I needed to eat', where the verb stem is followed

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[4]It is interesting to note that there is a nominalizer *mu* in the related language Cha'palaachi (Abrahamson 1962:231). Unfortunately, not enough information is available on this language to know how the Cha'palaachi nominalizer is used — the example given shows the verb *hi* 'go' followed by the nominalizer *mu* forming a word *himu* 'traveller', but this could be a lexical nominalization, an agentive nominalization, or a headless relative clause.

| Verb stem – | $\begin{cases}\end{cases}$ Negative – $\begin{array}{c}\text{Aspect}\\\text{Mood}\end{array}$ – Tense – Person |
| Interrogative – Person |
| Aspect – Other non-finite – Subordinating |
| Serial Verb |
| Conjoining |

Table 7.1: Schema to cover possible inflectional combinations

by the Necessitive mood, Past tense and "first person" (Locutor). However while person follows tense follows mood in the general schema to cover verb forms such as *kwa-npa-ta-w*, some moods, such as the imperatives, cannot be used together with tense or person; one aspect in a particular tense cannot be followed by person; and so on. Thus the description in Table 7.1 is a quick summary, but by itself overgenerates inflectional combinations. For precise combinatory possibilities, it is necessary to refer to the description of individual inflections.

7.3 Plural marking

The number-marking system of Awa Pit is, in one sense, quite complex, with a variety of verb suffixes being used in some regions for dual and plural, varying in different tenses, aspects and persons (Lee Henriksen, p.c.).

However this complex system of number marking is simply not used in the Pialapí region. It was sometimes possible to elicit one of these forms from one informant, but only by being extremely explicit: "they hit us" never produced the complex forms, while "those two hit all of us" would sometimes produce a complex verb form, although not often enough to allow anything beyond a very preliminary analysis of the forms.

While the lack of use of the forms in the Pialapí region could be taken as a sign of language decay, it may simply be a dialect feature. The speaker who did occasionally produce complex forms, T, had lived for a number of years in Ecuador, and may perhaps have acquired a passive knowledge of them there. The forms were clearly not part of his active knowledge of the language — in one language session, a dual form had been successfully elicited, when two men walked by, and the informant said spontaneously:

(355)   Planada=*ta-s*   *a-mtu-y*
        Planada=in-from come-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'He/she/they are coming from La Planada.'

This spontaneous sentence contains no number marking, even though it was produced directly after an elicited sentence with dual number marking.

Despite the absence of this complex number-marking system, speakers of Awa Pit in the Pialapí region at least have a much simpler system available to them. This system only distinguishes plural (more than one), and contrasts with no marking, which may indicate any number. Thus this plural-marking system is completely optional, unlike the much more extensive system which is obligatory for human referents in some other regions (Lee Henriksen, p.c.). Indeed, even this simple plural marking is rarely used, unless the number of a human argument is to be especially emphasized.

While the plural-marking system used in the Awa Pit of Pialapí is apparently a relatively simple system compared with that used in some regions, there are strong restrictions and constraints on it. It can only mark plural for an argument which is human, and this argument must be either the Subject or the Object of an active verb, or the Subject of a stative verb. The subsystems used for active and stative verbs are quite distinct, and stative plurals are only used in Present tense; the two subsystems will be discussed separately below.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the plural-marking system is that it appears to be derivational rather than inflectional. This will be discussed below, after exemplifying the active and stative systems.

7.3.1   Plural marking in active verbs

With active verbs, the marker of plural Subject is a, and the marker of plural Object, clearly only with transitive verbs, is *na*. These suffixes are placed directly after the verb stem — that is, either after the verb root if it carries no derivational affixes, or after any derivational affixes that there might be (but see below).

(356)   *uspa=na*   *Santos=ta*   *tit-shi-a-mtu-y*
        3PL.(NOM)=TOP Santos=ACC cut-DESID-PL:SUBJ-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'They want to "cut" (stab) Santos.'

(357)   *ampata-tuz=na*   *ku-a-ti-zi*
        four-NMLZR.PL=TOP eat-PL:SUBJ-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Between the four of them they were eating.'

(358)   *kayl-a-ni-zi*
        return-PL:SUBJ-FUT-NONLOCUT
        'They will come back.'

(359)   *pashpa=ta* pan   *kwin-na-ta-w*
        child=ACC bread give-PL:OBJ-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I gave bread to the children.'

(360)   na=na   uspa=tuza   tit
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   3PL=(3PL.)ACC   cut
        kyan-na-ta-w
        THROW-PL:OBJ-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I stabbed them.'

As can be seen from the above examples, a wide variety of tense, aspect and mood suffixes can cooccur with active plural marking; in fact, plural marking is even possible on some non-finite forms (see below). It is used with any grammatical person, and does not vary with this feature.

The plural Subject and plural Object markers can be used, at least in the Pialapí region, to show any number of humans greater than one, including two:

(361)   na=na   paas pashpa=ta   piina-na-ta-w
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   two   child=ACC   bathe-PL:OBJ-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I bathed the two children.'

This appears to be different in other dialects; the only verb paradigm given in the pedagogical grammar of Awa Pit (Henriksen & Obando Ordóñez 1985:65), the Present Imperfective, contains dual forms, which do not have the Plural Subject marker a, unlike the plural forms. This use of the Plural markers to cover two people is presumably related to the lack of the dual forms in the language of the region of Pialapí.

There is only one positional slot for the plural marker, and hence if both Subject and Object are plural and human, only one of these can be marked. The marker which is chosen depends on which participant the speaker wishes to focus on:

(362)   uspa=na   au=miza   kal
        3PL.(NOM)=TOP   1PL=(1/2PL.)ACC   work(1)
        ki-wayn-a-mtu-y
        work(2)-HELP-PL:SUBJ-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'They are helping us work.'

(363)   uspa=na   au=miza   tit
        3PL.(NOM)=TOP   1PL=(1/2PL.)ACC   cord
        ta-na-ti-zi
        give-PL:OBJ-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'They passed us a cord.'

Even though the Subject and Object are both plural in these two sentences, in the first the focus is on the Subject, in the second on the Object.

There are two peculiarities of the plural Subject marking on active verbs, compared with other affixes. The first was noted earlier, in the discussion of the Inceptive aspect suffix miz (see section 6.4.2.3). Rather than the plural Subject suffix following this derivational suffix, as it follows all others, the two form a portmanteau morpheme mitaz:

	Locutor Subject	Non-locutor Subject
Unspecified	i-s	i
Plural	makpa-s	puta-y

Table 7.2: Unspecified number and plural forms of the copula verb *i*

(364) *uspa=na*   *say-mitaz-tu-y*
       3PL.(NOM)=TOP look:for/find-INCEP.PL:SUBJ-IMPF-NONLOCUT
       'They are about to look for [it].'

The second peculiarity occurs when the plural Subject suffix is placed on a verb stem ending in a stop consonant. The stop consonant is geminated between the verb stem and the plural marking, thereby retaining its voiceless quality, rather than being voiced and fricativized, as a single stop between vowels would be:

(365) *uspa=na*   *sip-pa-ma-ti-zi*
       3PL.(NOM)=TOP sew-PL:SUBJ-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'They sewed.'

7.3.2   Plural marking in stative verbs

The marking of plural in stative verbs is quite distinct from that of active verbs. It is still completely optional, and appears to be even more uncommon than with active verbs. Once again, only human arguments may be marked as plural. In the case of stative verbs, only Subjects can be marked as plural; of course, excluding verb stems formed with the Desiderative or Inceptive aspect suffixes, there is only one stative verb with an Object, so this is perhaps not surprising.

The copula verb *i* has a set of suppletive plural forms. Unlike with the active verbs, there are separate forms for Locutor and Non-locutor, shown in Table 7.2. The final *s* and *y* in the plural copula verb forms mark person. Their separateness from the stem can be ascertained through the use of the Topic marker with these forms. When the Topic marker is used on verbs, person marking is absent (see section 14.2.4). With the plural forms of the stative verbs used with Topic marking, the final segment is absent; for example:

(366) *yal=ta=na,*   *pina akkwan awa*
       house=in=TOP   very many   person
       puta=na=ma
       be.PL:NONLOCUT:SUBJ=TOP=TEMP
       'There are loads of people in the house.'

Thus the final *s* or *y*, absent in this sentence, is clearly person marking.

These suppletive copula forms have only ever been found in the Present (unmarked) tense. When the copula occurs in other tenses, the forms are always those of the unspecified form: there is no way (in the verb) of indicating the plural nature of the Subject for non-Present copula verbs.

Plural marking of the other stative verbs, apart from the copula, is based on the forms for the copula. There are two suffixes, *makpa-s* for Locutor plural Subject and *puta-y* for Non-locutor plural Subject:

(367) aŋ=*ta*   *pana-makpa-s*
here=in   be:standing-PL:LOCUT:SUBJ-LOCUT
'We are standing over here.'

(368) *uspa*   *uz-puta-y*
3PL.(NOM)   be:sitting-PL:NONLOCUT:SUBJ-NONLOCUT
'They are sitting.'

Unsurprisingly, these suffixes are only used in the Present tense; in other tenses plural is not indicated with stative verbs.

7.3.3   Plural marking as derivational

While the situation is not at all clear, there are reasons for considering that the marking of plural in the Awa Pit of Pialapí may be derivational rather than inflectional. The evidence is suggestive, but not conclusive.

As an initial consideration, it should be noted that plural marking is closer to the root than any other suffixes except derivational suffixes. While this is not evidence in itself, it does mean that all (other) inflectional morphology is "outside" plural marking, and hence plural marking could be derivational. In addition, in the case of plural Subject marking of active verbs, the plural forms a portmanteau morpheme with one of the derivational suffixes, *miz*, the Inceptive aspect marker.

The plural marking is completely optional. While it is not unknown for inflectional morphology to be optional, it is much more common for inflection to be obligatory, and only derivational morphology to be optional.

Perhaps most tellingly, plural marking may occur on certain non-finite verb forms. Inflectional morphology in Awa Pit is not generally found on non-finite forms, except for specific exceptions (such as *ti* or *ma* found on the Perfective Participle in the Resultative construction). However the plural marker may be found on non-finite forms:

(369) *izh-na-mtu*   *ka-s*
see-PL:OBJ-IMPFPART   be:permanently-LOCUT
'I know (lit. see) them.'

(370) *min-a-waza*   *tit-na-t*   *kyan-ta-w*
someone-ACC   cut-PL:OBJ-SV   THROW-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'I cut some people (lit. someone-plural).'

Occurring as it does on non-finite forms, the plural marking appears more similar to derivational marking, which may occur in these circumstances. However there are restrictions placed on the occurrence of plural marking in non-finite forms which are not placed on (other) derivational suffixes. Plural marking only occurs on non-finite verb forms which are main verbs and followed by a (finite) auxiliary — unlike other derivational morphemes, plural marking may not occur on non-finite verbs in subordinate clauses.

Thus the evidence for the precise status of plural markers is unclear. Their position in the verb, their optionality and their wider distribution than (other) inflectional affixes suggest that they are derivational; but their range is somewhat more restricted than that of (other) derivational affixes.

Chapter 8

Person marking

8.1 Introduction

As has been noted in a number of places, there is an unusual system of person marking operating in Awa Pit. Person marking is important in examining the issue of finiteness — person marking is never used on verbs in non-finite clauses (whether main or subordinate), while verbs in finite clauses are generally person marked.[1]

There are a few cases of finite clauses where person marking is not expressed through the usual system — either it is simply unexpressed, or it is shown inherently through some other marking.

There is only one case where a finite clause does not express person. For some reason, there is a "clash" between the Terminative aspect marker *ti* and person marking, so while the Terminative aspect marker can be followed by a Past or Future tense marker and then person, in the Present tense, which is shown by the absence of Past or Future marking, person cannot be expressed.

As noted in section 3.3.2, the Obligative and Potential moods are often used to express "universal" ideas — 'someone must do X/X must be done' and 'someone can do X/X can be done' respectively. In these "impersonal" uses of these moods, person marking is never expressed; but it can be used with the same moods when a "personal" interpretation is intended ('I must do X', 'Demetrio can do X').[2]

There is also a small group of verb inflections which have inherent person marking: imperatives and hortatives (see section 9.4.5). The inflections indicating these moods have inherent person — first person for hortatives and second person for imperatives. It is interesting to note that, by their very nature, clauses containing these forms are "outside" the declarative/interrogative split which is of extreme importance for the usual person-marking system.

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[1]Or at least one of the verbs is person marked, in the case of clauses involving the Serial Verb or Conjoined Clause constructions — see sections 11.5 and 11.7.

[2]This use of "impersonal" is not to be confused with the impersonal (zero argument) verbs, such as *kin-* 'to dawn' — these verbs *do* have person marking (in the usual contexts), despite their inherent impersonal nature.

In the remainder of this chapter the basic person-marking system of Awa Pit will be described. That is, non-declarative, non-interrogative clauses (directives) will be left aside, as will "impersonal" uses of the Obligative and Potential mood markers. It will be assumed that finite clauses involving the Terminative aspect do carry person marking, and it is simply a peculiarity of the system that in the Present tense this marking is not expressed.[3]

It is also important to note that the system being described is the "reduced" system of marking used in the region of Pialapí. That is, some varieties of Awa Pit appear to have complex marking involving portmanteau person and number marking, but this system is not used in Pialapí (see section 7.3 for more details). It should, however, be mentioned that from what little data is available the Locutor/Non-locutor system (see below) appears to operate in the more complex person/number system also.

The remainder of this chapter is thus dedicated to the person-marking system of Awa Pit. It begins with a discussion of the Locutor/Non-locutor person marking split; the full Past system is explained, followed by the full non-Past system; and finally a number of parallels with other languages and possible origins for the system are discussed.

In the following, a number of terms are used with somewhat unusual meanings, more precise than common usage rather than distinct, and for reasons which will become clearer below. First, a distinction is made between an entity being 'involved' in an activity or state and an entity being a (grammatical) 'participant' in an activity or state. For example, *alu ku-* 'rain' is a zero-argument verb in Awa Pit: there are no participants (whether complements or adjuncts). However an entity can be involved in an activity in which it is not a participant — if it rains, it could affect me by raining on me, and I am then involved in this activity even though (in Awa Pit) I cannot be a (grammatical) participant. This distinction between participants and involved entities then leads to a distinction between the notions of 'cross-referencing' and 'person marking'. Cross-referencing is some marking of information about *participants* on some word or words other than those denoting the participant entity (usually on verbs or auxiliaries). It is also possible, however, to give some indication on, for example, a verb that an entity is involved in an action. If this marking gives some information about the person of an involved entity, then this marking can be considered person marking. If information can only be given about the person of *participants*, then this person marking is (a subset of) cross-referencing. But it is also possible that person marking could refer to *non-participant involved entities*, and consequently the person marking is not cross-referencing. This distinction will be taken up again in more detail after an examination of the person-marking system of Awa Pit.

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[3]In fact, this assumption has no impact on the system, and it could just as easily be considered that these finite Present Terminative aspect verbs do not carry person.

8.2 Locutor and Non-locutor

The complexity of the Awa Pit person-marking system is due in part to the interaction of two separate systems; or at least, two systems which appear to be separate, although cross-linguistic comparisons suggest that the two may be interrelated. While each of these systems is not, of itself, complex, both are unusual, and the interaction of the two leads to an overall complex system which is bewildering, on the surface. This section deals with the Locutor/Non-locutor distinction which is the major person-marking distinction in the system; the following two sections examine how this system interacts with semantic roles and grammatical relations to produce the system used to mark person in the Past tense and non-Past tenses.

As is detailed in section 4.3.3, Awa Pit recognizes the "usual" three persons lexically, in its pronouns: first person *na* 'I', second person *nu* 'you' and third person *us* 'he, she', to give the singular Nominative personal pronoun forms. These persons and correspondences to lexical pronouns are invariant — that is, a notional first person argument can always be expressed through one of the first person pronouns, and so on, regardless of the type of utterance; of course the common use of ellipsis in Awa Pit means that the personal pronouns are not often used, except to indicate emphasis or to disambiguate utterances.

The person-marking system, as expressed through verbal affixes, does not have this three-way division, but rather a binary division into Locutor and Non-locutor. These terms are perhaps not the most felicitous, but have been chosen as they are used in Vásquez de Ruíz's (1988) analysis of the related language Guambiano; although it is, in fact, unclear from Vásquez de Ruíz's analysis whether the system in which the Guambiano Locutor and Non-locutor operate is the same as the Awa Pit system or not.[4] The terms 'Locutor' and 'Non-locutor' could perhaps be more accurately replaced by 'item of interest is (or is not) epistemic source for this type of utterance'; this is clearly not appropriate for glossing or easy reference, however.

In discussion of a similar phenomenon in Tibetan languages, the terms 'conjunct' (corresponding to Locutor) and 'disjunct' (Non-locutor) have sometimes been used, but these terms have been avoided for four reasons. Firstly, they refer only to the verb form, and are not used to refer to entites, which will be done below with Locutor and Non-locutor. Secondly, the terms were chosen by Hale (1980) for Kathmandu Newari because of the behaviour of these verb forms in indirect speech subordinate clauses, and this is precisely where they differ from Awa Pit Locutor and Non-locutor, which never occur in such clauses. Thirdly, the most precise definition of a conjunct/disjunct system is that given by DeLancey (1992:57), and this definition includes features which are not found in the Awa Pit system. Finally, and perhaps most importantly in practical terms,

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[4]Vásquez de Ruíz (1988) only gives examples of Guambiano person marking in statements, where Locutor corresponds to first person, Non-locutor to second and third person. As she gives no examples of questions, it is unclear whether the Locutor and Non-locutor in Guambiano retains these correspondences of marking to person in questions, or undergo the same "reassignment" as in Awa Pit.

'conjunct' has been used in the analysis of North American indigenous languages to refer to a very different feature of verbs, found in Algonquian languages such as Fox (see, for example, the use of 'conjunct' in Goddard (1996)).

The Locutor/Non-locutor distinction is, as is obvious from its name, a binary one. In statements, Locutor corresponds to first person, Non-locutor to second and third person:

(371)   *(na=na)*   *pala*   *ku-mtu-s*
         (1SG.(NOM)=TOP) plantain eat-IMPF-LOCUT
         'I am eating plantains.'

(372)   *(nu=na)*   *pala*   *ku-mtu-y*
         (2SG.(NOM)=TOP) plantain eat-IMPF-NONLOCUT
         'You are eating plantains.'

(373)   *(us=na)*   *atal*   *ayna-mtu-y*
         (3SG.(NOM)=TOP) chicken   cook-IMPF-NONLOCUT
         'He/she is cooking chicken.'

In these three statements there are two person markers, with a contrast between Locutor *s* (first person) and Non-locutor *y* (second and third person).

However the person-marking system is not a straightforward first versus non-first system. In questions the correspondence between Locutor and Non-locutor and the person system is different.[5] In questions, Locutor corresponds to second person, while Non-locutor corresponds to first and third person:

(374)   *min-a=ma*   *(na=na)*   *ashap-tu-y?*
         who-ACC=INTER   (1SG.(NOM)=TOP)   annoy-IMPF-NONLOCUT
         'Whom am I annoying?'

(375)   *shi=ma*   *(nu=na)*   *ki-mtu-s?*
         what=INTER   (2SG.(NOM)=TOP)   do-IMPF-LOCUT
         'What are you doing?'

(376)   *min=ta-s*   *(us=na)*   *a-mtu-y?*
         where=in-from   (3SG.(NOM)=TOP)   come-IMPF-NONLOCUT
         'Where is he coming from?'

While these three questions are all content-word questions, the same system is in operation for polar questions.

The system, as explained to this point, can thus be summarized as in Table 8.1.

In fact, in elicitation occasional examples of Locutor marking have been found on questions involving a first person; and Non-locutor marking has very occasionally been found on questions involving a second person:

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[5]As noted earlier, directives, including imperatives, have inherent person marking and are consequently outside the Locutor/Non-locutor system.

	Statement	Question
1st person	Locutor	Non-locutor
2nd person	Non-locutor	Locutor
3rd person	Non-locutor	Non-locutor

Table 8.1: The distribution of Locutor and Non-locutor

(377)   *min=ta   na=na   tu-s?*
       where=in 1SG.(NOM)=TOP be:in:place-LOCUT
       'Where am I?'

(378)   *nu=na   Ricaurte=mal puz-ta   ki?*
       2SG.(NOM)=TOP Ricaurte=LOC go:out-PFPART Q.(NONLOCUT)
       'Did you go to Ricaurte?'

There are two possible explanations for this. The first assumes that the speakers are in some sense semi-speakers of Awa Pit, and that they have been influenced by Spanish, with the strictly assigned person marking of Spanish "extending" into speakers' Awa Pit. This does not seem likely, given the strength of the appearance of the usual complex assignment, and the unusualness of the questions involving this secondary assignment of marking to person.

A much more likely explanation relies on the peculiarness of elicitation conditions. While the speaker was asked how to say in Awa Pit 'where am I?', the speaker in fact knew perfectly well, at the time of asking, where he was. In a parallel fashion, when the speaker was asked how to say 'did you go to Ricaurte?', he was fully aware that the addressee *had* in fact gone to Ricaurte. If the person-marking system is based on an idea of 'epistemic source', as will be suggested below, these circumstances are precisely those in which the system would be expected to deviate from its normal pattern.

This suggestion in fact gains force from a consideration of the best description of the parallel conjunct/disjunct system of marking in Tibeto-Burman languages, given in Hale's (1980) description of (Kathmandu) Newari. Hale shows that (a class of) verbs in Newari have a two-choice person-marking system, with 'conjunct' (Locutor) used for first person in statements and second person in questions, while 'disjunct' (Non-locutor) is used for second and third person in statements, first and third person in questions. However, he notes that while this applies to *true* questions, *rhetorical* questions pattern in the same way as statements: if a speaker "knows the answer" to a question, and is not asking it of another person, then a first person is indicated by the 'conjunct' form, just as in statements. While this aspect of the person-marking system of Awa Pit needs further research, it is likely that it parallels the Newari system, with truly information-seeking questions patterning in one way, in contrast to statements

and rhetorical questions.[6]

While no other clear examples of a Locutor/Non-locutor distinction have been found in the literature on South American languages, there are suggestions that a related system may be found in Nambiquara. While unfortunately no detailed paradigms for the interrogative system are available, in describing the interaction of person-marking and evidentiality Lowe (1972) notes that there are "gaps" in marking possibilities, and that for 'observational orientation', first person marking is possible in declaratives and second person in interrogatives, while for 'dedication orientation', second person is possible in declaratives and first person in interrogatives. However the system is complex, with third person being possible in either orientation, and the marking of first person in declaratives and second in interrogatives (and vice versa) being different.

The Locutor/Non-locutor distinction in Awa Pit is, then, essentially that given in Table 8.1 above, with exceptions for rhetorical questions. The deviation of rhetorical questions can be explained in a straightforward manner by invoking the concept of 'epistemic authority', and this will be examined in the discussion after exemplification of the full Awa Pit person-marking system.

8.3   The Past paradigm

Thus far the discussion of the Awa Pit person-marking system has been entirely theoretical, and skated over the actual realization of the system. In particular, some sleight of hand has been used, in that it has been implied in examples and through omission that the Locutor/Non-locutor distinction applies to the Subject of a clause. In fact, in Awa Pit the system applies to a mix of grammatical functions and semantic roles, and operates differently in sentences in the Past tense and non-Past tenses.

The essential complication in the system is that a Locutor entity (regardless of grammatical function) is marked over a Non-locutor element, with only one suffix available to code participants. In some respects this is similar to the systems of person marking used in Kamaiurá and Mapudungun, where first person is marked preferentially over second, and second over third. In Mapudungun, however, much more information is also marked (Grimes 1985), while in Kamaiurá there are some portmanteau prefixes (Seki 1990:383). Both languages have a relatively straightforward first, second and third person system; and both systems mark the distinction in grammatical roles in different tenses, unlike Awa Pit.

Awa Pit sentences which deal with past time can be marked with a variety of aspect and mood markers, and may or may not have explicit tense markers. The Past system of person marking applies only to those person markers which occur in clauses with an explicit Past tense marker — because of the ordering of affixes, person marking always directly follows any explicit Past tense marker. Here there are three possible person-marking affixes: *w*, which indicates a Locutor

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[6]See below for further details on the Newari system.

Locutor	*ta-w*	Past tense Locutor Subject
	ti-s	Past tense Locutor Undergoer
Non-locutor	*ti-zi*	Past tense Non-locutor

Table 8.2: Allomorphs of the person markers in the Past system (where *ti* and *ta* are Past tense markers)

Subject; *s*, which marks a Locutor undergoer; and *zi*, which shows an absence of included Locutor entities (see Table 8.2). Note that the imbalance between the notions of Subject (a grammatical function) and undergoer (a semantic role) is intentional, and necessary to an understanding of the system.

8.3.1 Locutor Subject marking

The presence of a final *w* indicates that the grammatical Subject of a clause is a Locutor participant. This Subject is most commonly an agent, but may be an experiencer, patient, or other semantic role, as long as it is a Subject:

(379) *nash-na=kima*　　　*na=na*　　　　*kal*
     afternoon-INF=until　1SG.(NOM)=TOP　work(1)
     ki-mtu-ata-w
     work(2)-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
     'I was working till late.'

(380) *shi*　　*ayuk=ta=ma*　　　libro　*ta-ta-w?*
     what　inside=in=INTER　book　put-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
     'Under what did you put the book?'

(381) *kin-ka=na,*　　　*na=na*　　　　*Santos=ta*
     dawn-WHEN=TOP　1SG.(NOM)=TOP　Santos=ACC
     izh-ta-w
     see-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
     'At dawn I saw Santos.'

(382) *yawa*　　　*payu=ma*　　*shaa-ta-w?*
     how:many　day=INTER　be:around-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
     'How many days were you there for?'

(383) *na=na=ma*　　　　　　*pit-ti-ta-w*
     1SG.(NOM)=TOP=TEMP　sleep-TERM-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
     'I fell asleep.'

(384)   *payta-ma-ta-w*
        sweat-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I sweated.'

It should be noted that while a *w* always indicates a Locutor grammatical Subject, the reverse is not necessarily the case: a Locutor grammatical Subject does not always imply a final *w* (see below).

8.3.2   Locutor Undergoer marking

A final *s* person marker after a Past tense morpheme indicates that a Locutor entity underwent the action of the verb.[7] This Past tense *s* is the most complex of the three Past system person markers.

When there is a Locutor participant in the Object grammatical function, a Past tense verb is always marked with *s*, and this is the most common usage of *s*, suggesting that in fact it marks a Locutor Object in the same way in which *w* marks a Locutor Subject:

(385)   *Libardo   (na-wa)   pyan-ti-s*
        Libardo   (1SG-ACC)   hit-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'Libardo hit me.'

(386)   *Demetrio=na   tit-ma-ti-s*
        Demetrio=TOP   cut-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'Demetrio cut me.'

(387)   *nu-wa=na,   min=ma   pyan-ti-s?*
        2SG-ACC=TOP   who=INTER   hit-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'Who hit you?'

However *s* is also found in two other cases as well. It can be found in utterances where a Locutor participant is the grammatical *Subject* of an intransitive verb:

(388)   *na=na   kwayzh-ma-ti-s*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   get:tired-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'I got tired/am tired.'

(389)   *mayŋ-ma-ti-s*
        lose:consciousness-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'I lost consciousness.'

(390)   *na=na=ma   pit-ma-ti-s*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP=TEMP   sleep-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'I fell asleep then.'

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[7]It should be noted that there is also an *s* morpheme in the non-Past person-marking system, but while this morpheme is still related to Locutor, it has a much wider function than *s* in the Past system, as will be discussed below.

This use of *s* to mark a grammatical Subject only appears in the data with a handful of verb roots:

kwayzh-	'get tired'
mayŋ-	'lose consciousness'
nayn-	'fall'
nijul-	'gain consciousness'
pit-	'sleep'
sihppayl-	'get thin'
tazh-	'go down'

These verbs have a semantic feature in common — while they are all intransitive, their single argument, the Subject, undergoes the action expressed in the verb.

This marking of Locutor undergoer Subjects by *s* appears to conflict with the earlier statement that *w* marks all Locutor Subjects. In fact it is also possible to mark Locutor Subjects of these verbs using *w*. Thus corresponding to the three sentences above, the following are also well-formed Awa Pit sentences:[8]

(391)   *na=na*   *pina*   *kwayzh-ma-ta-w*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   very   get:tired-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

        'I got tired/am tired.'

(392)   *mayŋ-ma-ta-w*
        lose:consciousness-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

        'I lost consciousness.'

(393)   *na=na=ma*   *pit*   *kway-ta-w*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP=TEMP   sleep   DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

        'I fell asleep.'

There are four possible explanations for this alternation between *s* and *w*, assuming that it is not simply random: the alternation may be marking a semantic distinction, a pragmatic distinction, it may be related to language change, or it may be related to the origin of the person-marking system itself. Of course, these explanations are not necessarily mutually exclusive. These various possibilities will be discussed shortly, after all the relevant data is given.

In the data, only the verbs listed above were found to take *s* as well as *w*, but it seems likely that all intransitive verbs with a single participant who is an undergoer can take this alternation, and that it is simply a lack in the data that some verbs in this semantic class — for example *nilta-* 'shiver' — were never found with *s* marking. Certainly all verbs from this class which were tested had the possibility of *s* marking as well as *w* marking. It is also worth pointing out that all these verbs are intransitive. This is probably a semantic rather than a syntactic fact, as no transitive verbs were found where the grammatical Subject was semantically an undergoer.

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[8]Note that the *ti~ta* alternation in the Past marker is allomorphy.

These examples clearly show that *s* does not mark a Locutor Object: there are cases where a Locutor Subject is "cross-referenced" through a verb suffix *s* also. Perhaps even more interesting are those cases where the person marker *s* is present, but is not cross-referencing any participant at all. This can occur in sentences with intransitive verbs, either stative or active, and in copula sentences, and indicates that the action or state affected a Locutor entity, even though that entity was not, strictly speaking, a participant in the action or state, being some sort of experiencer of the action or state:

(394)   kerosín   *way-a-s*
        petrol   lack-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'Petrol was lacking to me.'

(395)   *alu*   *ki-ma-ti-s*
        rain(1)   rain(2)-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        '(I was on my way to bathe,) it rained on me.'

(396)   *aympi pina*   *i-ma-ti-s*
        blood   very   go-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        '(I cut myself,) lots of my blood flowed everywhere.'

(397)   *pina us*   *a-ti-s*
        very heavy   be-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'I found [the bag] was very heavy.'

It is important to note that these verbs remain one place (intransitive) or two place (copula) verbs. It is not the case that an extra argument, an Object, is added to the verb, as can be seen by the fact that such an argument cannot be expressed:

(398)   *(*na-wa)*   *alu*   *ki-ma-ti-s*
        (1SG-ACC)   rain(1)   rain(2)-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'It rained on me.'

This "cross-referencing" of an affected non-argument is similar in intent to the ethical dative construction of languages such as Spanish, where an affected party can be indicated in a sentence by including it as a dative argument:

(399)   *el   perro me   murió*
        the dog   me.DAT   died
        'The dog [went and] died on me.'

However there are two clear differences. Firstly, the affected party in Spanish is, truly, an argument, and can be expressed by any appropriate form, either pronoun or full NP, and can be any person:

(400)   *el   perro le   murió a   Santos*
        the dog   him.DAT   died   to(DAT)   Santos
        'The dog [went and] died on Santos.'

In Awa Pit, only an affected Locutor can be indicated, and only in the verb, not by an argument. Equally, even if it were an argument in Awa Pit, it would necessarily be a core argument (being cross-referenced in the verb), while in Spanish and other languages the ethical dative is at least arguably an oblique argument, implying no change in the verb valency.[9]

This *s* person marking in the Past paradigm is thus clearly not cross-referencing an Object in the way in which *w* cross-references a grammatical Subject. An *s* indicates that a Locutor entity is affected by the action in some way, whether a participant in the action or not. This concept of 'affectedness' is, however, very broad, and perhaps better stated as 'involved in the action but not as a (volitional controlling) agent'. In any sentence with a Locutor Object (as well as in some sentences without a Locutor Object) the verb will be marked with *s* regardless of the semantic role of the Object; it is most commonly a patient, but may also be, for example, a theme, in which case it is not 'affected' by the action in the usual sense of the word:

(401)   *Juan=na*   *(na-wa)*   *izh-ti-s*
        Juan=TOP (1SG-ACC) see-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'Juan saw me.'

It is, however, involved in the action, and not as an agent.

It is interesting to return at this point to the possible explanations for the alternation between *s* and *w* with some intransitive verbs given above, now that other uses of *s* have been seen. The four explanations suggested there were: a semantic distinction, a pragmatic distinction, language change, and the origin of the system. The first two of these tend to appear less likely, now that it is clear that there is not simply an alternation between *s* and *w* with some intransitive verbs, but that *s* has a habit of "popping up" in unexpected places even when there is no argument that it can cross-reference. That is, a semantic difference between the use of *s* and *w* based on some element such as "volition" or "control" such as occurs in many fluid-S languages (Dixon 1994:78–83); a pragmatic distinction based on the division between foregrounded and backgrounded activities such as occurs in the Peruvian Arawakan language Asheninca (Judith Payne & David Payne 1991); or a marking system such as that of Yagua where S_O marking is favoured in contexts where a main character is moved to a new scene or at "points of episodic climax" (Doris Payne & Thomas Payne 1990:257) will hardly explain the use of *s* in clauses where there is no Locutor participant at all.

The third possibility for alternation suggested above was language change. It could be assumed that, whatever the original use of *s* and *w* was, only one of them was originally used with verbs such as *pit-* 'sleep', and that language change is leading to the other appearing there also. The most logical a priori suggestion here is that these verbs originally only occurred with *s*, and that *w* is extending its range, perhaps from marking agents to marking Subjects, with

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[9]There are also languages which add an affected argument through the use of an applicative construction — here, however, there is usually an extra applicative morpheme in the verb complex, indicating the change in the verb valency.

these intransitive verbs now taking *w* by analogy with the many intransitive verbs which have an agent as their single argument. This would, in fact, make the postulated "original" system very similar to the northern Colombian language Ika, which has a basically nominative/accusative cross-referencing system, but a very small group of about twelve intransitive verbs cross-reference their subjects in the same way as transitive verbs cross-reference their objects (Frank 1990:22); the Ika system is, however, a cross-referencing system, with the person marking only used to mark participants.

Of course it could be considered that a change in the system is a response of semi-speakers acting under the influence of a largely nominative/accusative system in Awa Pit and a completely nominative/accusative system in Spanish. There are two reasons to reject this analysis, one language-internal and one theoretical. Language-internally it is clear that the system of marking is very unusual in itself, and there seems to be no reason to assume that this apparent additional peculiarity is in any way a language death phenomenon, rather than simply a fact of the system. And while the evidence from changing case-marking systems in language death situations is rather scanty, this phenomenon has been studied for Dyirbal, where an originally ergative system is replaced by accusative marking (Schmidt 1985a, Schmidt 1985b). In this case, however, individuals were not found to be varying from one form to another, but rather "each individual was highly consistent in his/her response" (Schmidt 1985a:382) as to the form and use of ergative marking. This contrasts markedly with the Awa Pit situation, where the same speaker alternates between one form and another. The situations are slightly different, of course, in that in the hypothesized "original" Awa Pit system there are only a few verbs with unusual marking, while in Dyirbal an entire structural system is altering.

For the moment the precise synchronic and historical value of these Awa Pit markers will be left open. The possibility that these alternations between *s* and *w* are inherent to the system will be taken up again when this system is compared with similar systems in other languages and in discussing the origin of the system, where it will be seen that the alternation is a likely synchronic outcome of a potential historical change.

8.3.3   Non-locutor marking

The third suffix in the Past person-marking system, *zi*, is the default "elsewhere" marker, stating that there was no Locutor participant in the activity and that no Locutor entity was affected by the activity.[10] The first of these options is, of course, syntactic — if there is a Locutor Subject or Object the verb is necessarily marked with *w* or *s*. The second, no Locutor element affected by the activity, is more a matter of speaker choice. If it rained, a speaker may state simply this fact:

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[10]The same marker, *zi*, is also one of the markers in the non-Past system, and indicates precisely the same concept.

(402)   *pina alu   ki-ma-ti-zi*
          very rain(1) rain(2)-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
          'It rained heavily.'

Alternatively, as above, speakers may indicate that this rain affected them:

(403)   *pina alu   ki-ma-ti-s*
          very rain(1) rain(2)-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
          'It rained heavily on me.'

Other examples of the use of the Non-locutor marker are:

(404)   *anshik   kata-ti-zi,*   cigarrillo
          yesterday bring-PAST-NONLOCUT cigarette
          'Yesterday he/she brought cigarettes.'

(405)   *nu=na   Juan=ta   pyan-ti-zi*
          2SG.(NOM)=TOP Juan=ACC hit-PAST-NONLOCUT
          'You hit Juan.'

(406)   *na-wa=na   min=ma   pyan-ti-zi?*
          1SG-ACC=TOP who=INTER hit-PAST-NONLOCUT
          'Who hit me?'

8.4   The non-Past paradigm

In the previous section the Past person-marking system was discussed. That system is only used together with a Past tense marker. When there is no Past tense marker, the non-Past system is used, regardless of what actual time is being referred to.

The non-Past system has only two marking possibilities, as opposed to the three in the Past system. Essentially, the distinction between the Locutor Subject and Locutor Undergoer markers is collapsed, so that there is one marker, Locutor, used when there is a Locutor entity involved in any way in an action or state or affected by an action; and a separate marker, Non-locutor, when there is no Locutor in an action or state.

These two markers have a variety of allomorphs, listed in Table 8.3. Some of this allomorphy is relatively clear. It appears possible that, in origin, the person markers here are derived from the forms of the copula verb *i*, which is *i* in the Non-locutor and *is* in the Locutor, although it is unclear then why the Locutor form after a vowel is *s* rather than *is*.[11] The forms *i*, *y* and zero (after /i/) can easily be internally reconstructed to *i*. The zero forms after *ma* and *na* are unclear (but see section 8.4.1 below). The form *zi* is the most complex. This form occurs in the non-Past system only following the Future tense marker *ni*, and it could consequently be considered to be a specific future allomorph; but

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[11]The change from VVC to VC is, of course, a common change across languages.

Locutor	*is*	after a consonant or glide
	s	after a vowel
Non-locutor	*i*	after a consonant or glide
	Ø	after /i/, *ma* 'Q.PAST' and *na* 'IRR'
	y	after /a/ and /u/
	zi	after /ɨ/

Table 8.3: Allomorphs of the person markers in the non-Past system

this has not been done for two reasons. First, while this marker occurs in the *non-Past* system only following *ni* (there are no other cases where a non-Locutor person marker follows /ɨ/), there is an identical form in the Past system, with precisely the same meaning — and there it follows the Past tense marker *ti*, which also ends in /ɨ/. And secondly, while the origin of the *z* is unknown, it is worth noting that something unusual must occur after /ɨ/, as the combinations /ɨi/ or /ɨy/ are not phonotactically possible in Awa Pit.[12]

The Locutor forms can thus be used when the sentence has a Locutor participant as either Subject or Object:

(407) *tuk-shi-s*
       smoke-DESID-LOCUT
       'I want to smoke.'

(408) *pala   ku-mtu-s*
       plantain eat-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I am eating plantains.'

(409) *shi=ma   ki-mtu-s?*
       what=INTER do-IMPF-LOCUT
       'What are you doing?'

(410) *tɨlawa   a-n   sa-s?*
       tomorrow come-INF Q:UNSURE-LOCUT
       'Will you come tomorrow?'

(411) *na-wa=na   Santos tittu-mtu-s*
       1SG-ACC=TOP Santos spy:on-IMPF-LOCUT
       'Santos is spying on me.'

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[12]It is perhaps possible that this goes some way to explaining the absence of person marking after the Terminative morpheme *ti* — *i* or *y* are not possible, and *zi* would create ambiguity between *ti-zi* (Past Non-locutor) and **ti-zi* (Terminative Non-locutor); and in the Locutor forms between *ti-s* (Past Locutor Undergoer) and **ti-s* (Terminative Locutor).

(412) shi=ma   (nu-wa)   ish-tu-s?
       what=INTER   (2SG-ACC) hurt-IMPF-LOCUT
       'What hurts? How are you sick?'

Clearly, of course, the "unusual" alternation found in the Past system between Locutor Subject and Locutor Undergoer marking is not possible in the non-Past. When a Locutor entity is a Subject and an undergoer in the non-Past, there is no contrastive marking as there is in the Past system: a form *kwayzh-tu-s* 'I am getting tired' simply indicates some Locutor involvement, not whether the Locutor is being treated as a (grammatical) Subject or a (semantic) undergoer.

The Locutor form is also used in the non-Past system in a fashion similar to the Locutor Undergoer in the Past system, to indicate that a Locutor entity was affected by an activity or state in which they were not a participant. Once again this occurs with active or stative intransitive verbs and with copula verbs:

(413) pina ii   ki-mtu-s
       very be:hot(1)   be:hot(2)-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I feel it's hot.'

(414) nyam way-is
       salt lack-LOCUT
       'I feel that salt is lacking.'

(415) alizh i-s
       angry be-LOCUT
       'He is angry at me.'

(Note that while in the context in which it was used this last example meant 'he is angry at me', in other contexts the same form could also mean 'I am angry'.)

The Non-locutor form in the non-Past system is, unsurprisingly, used in all other cases — where there is no Locutor participant, and the speaker does not wish to indicate that a Locutor entity was affected:

(416) nu=na   pala   ku-mtu-y
       2SG.(NOM)=TOP   plantain eat-IMPF-NONLOCUT
       'You are eating plantains.'

(417) nashka alu   ki-ni-zi
       later   rain(1)   rain(2)-FUT-NONLOCUT
       'It will rain later.'

(418) tilawa=na   Hugo=na   Ricaurte=ta puz-na
       tomorrow=TOP   Hugo=TOP   Ricaurte=in go:out-INF
       ki?
       Q.(NONLOCUT)
       'Will Hugo go to Ricaurte tomorrow?'

(419) *(us=na)*   atal   ayna-mtu-y
       (3SG.(NOM)=TOP) chicken cook-IMPF-NONLOCUT
       'He/she is cooking chicken.'

8.4.1 Person marking on non-verb constituents

Perhaps one of the most unusual features of the person-marking system is the appearance of person marking on words which are not, by other criteria, verbs: the negative particle *shi* (see section 12.6), the semblative postposition *kana* (section 5.4.12), and the question markers *sa* and *ki* (section 12.3.2).

As these elements are not verbs, they are never marked with tense, and consequently the person system found is that of the non-Past, with a Locutor versus non-Locutor distinction only. It is interesting to note that all these words have an opposition between a Locutor *s* form and a Non-locutor zero form — while this is the expected form for stems ending in *i*, it is not the form that verbs ending in a take (normally *y*), except for the negative suffix *ma* and the irrealis *na*. This suggests that these non-verbs may originally have only been marked with Locutor when a Locutor element was present, rather than strictly marked for Locutor and Non-locutor.

(420) *paas akkwihsh mij*   *kana-s*
       two   mother   have.(IMPFPART) like-LOCUT
       'It's like I have two mothers (I'm like having two mothers).'

(421) *na=na*   *inkal*   *awa*   *shi-s*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP mountain person NEG-LOCUT
       'I am not a mountain person (ie. I am not an Awa).'

(422) *tilawa*   *a-n*   *sa-s?*
       tomorrow come-INF Q:UNSURE-LOCUT
       'Would you be coming tomorrow?'

In fact it could be maintained that, historically at least, the other two forms with no Non-locutor *y* are also non-verbs, and there are other factors which seem to support this. The question suffix *ma* (see section 12.3.1) has no possibility of combination with tense marking, for example, suggesting it may have earlier been a separate particle, grammaticalizing to suffix status. Similarly the counterfactual marker *na* (section 10.3.6) appears in an unusual position (being placed *after* tense marking), and as was suggested in section 7.2.3 may have originated as the Infinitive suffix, which while verbal is non-finite and hence would not be expected to mark person.

The feature which unites these non-verb elements which can be marked with person is their occurrence in sentence-final position. In the case of the semblative postposition and the negative particle (and the complementizer use of *sa*, assuming that the complementizer (section 10.2.2) and the question marker are the same), these words can be used in sentences where they are non-final,

or in subordinate clauses, and in these cases it is impossible for them to mark person. However in other constructions they are sentence-final, and can then be marked with *s* to indicate a Locutor element in the sentence.

8.5   Discussion and comparisons

Having exemplified the system of person marking in Awa Pit, we can now turn to an examination of this system in theoretical terms, and also compare it with a variety of systems that exist in other languages. There are two factors which require explanation — the Locutor/Non-locutor distinction itself, and the preferential marking of Locutor entities regardless of their grammatical function or semantic role. These two factors could be explained by separate devices, but in fact it will be suggested that they have a unitary source in an experiential evidential system.

After a return to the importance of maintaining a distinction between person marking and cross-referencing, elements of the Awa Pit system will be compared with inverse alignment systems and passive constructions. Then a variety of similar phenomena in different languages will be examined, together with the proposed explanations for these phenomena. Finally it will be shown that the best way of accounting for the Awa Pit system (and the similar system in Lhasa Tibetan) is to consider it as the "grammaticalization" of an experiential evidential system.

8.5.1   Person marking, but not cross-referencing

The terms 'person-marking system', 'cross-referencing system' and 'bound pronoun system' are often used in an interchangeable fashion, to refer to the same sort of system, one where some morpheme or portion of a portmanteau morpheme affixed or cliticized to the verb indicates something about the person (and perhaps other features) of one of the arguments of the verb. Of course person marking tends to be used when the information being conveyed is first, second or third person only, while cross-referencing systems can convey a much broader range of information (including person). Thus, for example, in her article on "Person marking and discourse in North Arawak languages", Aikhenvald (1995) uses 'person marking' and 'cross-referencing' interchangeably: the section "Person marking and discourse organization in Bare" begins "Here I shall consider the correlation of cross-referencing and discourse-pragmatic properties in Bare", and so on.

In most of its uses, the Awa Pit person-marking system appears to be a cross-referencing system, with clauses containing a verb suffix agreeing in person with one of the verbal arguments. The details are quite complex, as explained above, but in the following two sentences, ignoring details, the final *w* "cross-references" the first person Subject pronoun *na*, and the final *s* "cross-references" the first person Object pronoun *nawa*; the verb suffixes "agree" with the nominal arguments:

(423)   *anshik=na*   *na=na*   *maza* arroba *piya*
        yesterday=TOP   1SG.(NOM)=TOP   one   arroba corn
        pay-ta-w
        buy-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'Yesterday I bought one *arroba* (unit of measurement) of corn.'

(424)   *Libardo   na-wa   pyan-ti-s*
        Libardo   1SG-ACC   hit-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'Libardo hit me.'

This appears to be a simple case of cross-referencing — the person features marked on the verb are identical to those of verbal arguments (ignoring the fact that in the first sentence the features are those of the Subject while in the second sentence they are those of the Object).

However as noted earlier there are reasons for considering that, in fact, the verb suffixes indicating person are *not* acting as cross-referencing. To begin with, person marking occurs on impersonal verbs — that is, person marking can occur on verbs which do not have arguments. If this marking is "cross-referencing" this is completely unexpected, as there are no arguments for the verb marking to cross-reference:

(425)   *wat   kin-ma-ti-zi*
        good   dawn-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'It dawned well (ie. the weather was fine).'

Equally, there are sentences where person marking occurs parallel to that in sentence (424) above, but a first-person Object pronoun (that is, an argument) is impossible:

(426)   *(*na-wa)   pa   mal-tu-a-s*
        (1SG-ACC)   sun   shine-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'The sun was shining on me.'

This marking is person marking, as it indicates something about the person involved in the action or state (for example, 'on me' in the last sentence), but is not cross-referencing, as it does not necessarily refer to any complement or adjunct in the sentence.[13]

Only one of the four elements of the person-marking system does, in fact, always cross-reference an argument. If the Locutor Subject marking appears, then the grammatical Subject of the clause is, necessarily, a Locutor argument. However the three other markers are not necessarily coreferential with any argument. The Locutor Undergoer (in the Past system) and the Locutor (in the non-Past system) can occur to indicate that there is an involved non-participant entity; and the Non-locutor (in both systems) can occur with zero-argument

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[13]The idea of 'on me' in the sentence above cannot be represented through the use of a complement or adjunct; it could be expressed through a circumlocution, such as 'it was shining; I got warm' or 'it was shining; I was working outside'.

verbs. This latter phenomenon could, of course, be accounted for by introducing a "default" option or a "dummy subject", as is often done in analyzing verbs such as *llueve* 'rain-3sg' in Spanish, but this cannot account for the other cases, and will be avoided at this stage in favour of an analysis which accounts for all cases.

8.5.2 Inverses and passives

At first glance, the focus on a Locutor participant, regardless of its semantic role or grammatical function, puts one in mind of inverse alignment systems (to use Gildea's (1994) distinction between 'inverse alignment' and 'inverse voice') or passive constructions. As will be shown, however, there are too many differences between the Awa Pit system and these other phenomena to make the comparison viable; and, of course, these comparisons give no explanation for the Locutor/Non-locutor distinction.

Like an inverse alignment system, the Awa Pit system appears to make a distinction related to speech act participants (SAPs), and to mark the appearance of an SAP element above other elements, regardless of the grammatical function of the SAP. However there are many points of difference.

Many definitions of inverse insist that there should be some separate, clear inverse marker to consider something an inverse system, and Awa Pit does not have this — the person marker and the "inverse" marker are fused. Related to this is the fact that (at least in the Past where there is a distinction) the marker indicating the presence of a Locutor element is not the same — it varies between *s* and *w*, depending at least in part on the grammatical role of the Locutor element.

Even for those definitions which do not involve a clear inverse marker, Awa Pit fails as an inverse system. Inverse alignment systems necessarily have a constant distinction between SAPs and other elements, which is lacking in Awa Pit, as either second person (in statements) or first person (in questions) are treated on a par with non-SAPs. And finally while in some inverse alignment systems first person may be ranked above second person on the marking hierarchy, while in others second person is ranked above first person, this ranking is constant within each language; this is quite distinct from the Awa Pit system where the relative ranking depends on the speech act in question.

The same types of argumentation can be brought against considering that the distinction is somehow related to passive. In recent work, Shibatani (1997) has considered that active sentences are those where the action goes from the major participant (prototypically subject), while passive sentences are those where the action goes to the major participant. There is a hierarchy associated with this (linked to volition), where sentences involving a "first person" object are more likely to be able to be passivized than others — however Shibatani notes, on the basis of examples from, for example, Nepali, that this is first person in statements, second person in questions. It is not an enormous step to assume that the Awa Pit system can be considered a grammaticalization of this system, with obligatory passives when a Locutor element is (would be) an Object. There are two main problems with this line of analysis. Firstly, just as with the inverse

alignment hypothesis, there should be some independent marker of passive; and second, passives exist in contrast to actives, and in Awa Pit there is no possibility of a contrast.

Thus it is clear that while there are points of contact between the Awa Pit system and inverse alignment systems or passive constructions, it cannot be analyzed in these terms.

8.5.3   "Anticipation" and Sherpa

Turning from an examination of the focus of attention on Locutor entities to an examination of the Locutor/Non-locutor constrast, it can be noted that a less or more grammaticalized Locutor/Non-locutor contrast is found in a variety of languages, and different explanations of this phenomenon have been given for different languages by different authors. Of course it is possible for a variety of explanations to be appropriate for different languages — there may be a variety of phenomena leading to the same distinctions.

Perhaps the most obvious, but probably the least explanatory, "explanation" for Locutor/Non-locutor marking treats the distinction as, essentially, a first person versus non-first person split, with a peculiar "anticipation" occurring in questions. Thus Woodbury remarks in a footnote that

> The first versus nonfirst person distinction is widespread in Sherpa, but the term 'first person' is something of a misnomer. In the interrogative all so-called first person phenomena are associated with second person. This is because second person forms in questions anticipate the use of first person in the answer.

> (Woodbury 1986:192, footnote 3)

While perhaps descriptively adequate, this notion of "anticipation" does not explain anything — what determines whether a language will use "anticipation" in its person marking?

8.5.4   "Conjunct/disjunct" and Kathmandu Newari

Perhaps the first account to attempt a principled explanation of a Locutor/Non-locutor distinction was Hale's (1980) description of the conjunct/disjunct system of (Kathmandu) Newari. The system of marking in Kathmandu Newari has additional elements not found in the Awa Pit system. The conjunct/disjunct marking is not found with all verbs — Malla (1985:38) claims that "Copula Verbs, Attributive Verbs, and Impersonal Verbs do not inflect for the category of person at all", although the actual situation is more complex than this (see the discussion of epistemic authority below). However while the distinction is not made for all verbs, the contrast can be used in subordinate clauses, unlike in Awa Pit, and here the system depends on logophoricity.

A full discussion of logophoricity is unnecessary here, and only the essential ideas will be given. Hale (1980) shows that, in Newari, the same verb

marking which is used to signal a first person in statements and a second person in questions, the conjunct form, is used in some subordinate clauses such as indirect speech to indicate that the subordinate subject is coreferential to the matrix subject, while the disjunct form is used to signal a lack of coreferentiality, regardless of the precise grammatical person involved.[14] Thus schematically:

(427)
I	said(-Conjunct)	that I	went-Conjunct
I	said(-Conjunct)	that you	went-Disjunct
I	said(-Conjunct)	that he	went-Disjunct
You	said(-Disjunct)	that I	went-Disjunct
She	said(-Disjunct)	that I	went-Disjunct
He	said(-Disjunct)	that she	went-Disjunct
She$_i$	said(-Disjunct)	that she$_i$	went-Conjunct

Hale (1980) took this subordinate use of the conjunct/disjunct system as the "basic" distinction (and this is the reason for the terms 'conjunct' and 'disjunct'). He extended this use to main clauses by assuming that there was an unspoken abstract performative "matrix" clause above any main clause which varied for speech act. Essentially, statements and rhetorical questions are introduced by an unspoken "I say to you:" component, while true questions are introduced by an unspoken "I ask you:" component. For declaratives, coreference between the actor of the quote frame (the speaker) and the actor of the "subordinate" clause leads to conjunct marking, while for interrogatives the conjunct shows coreference between the goal of the quote frame (the hearer) and the actor of the "subordinate" clause.

While Hale's suggestion is ingenious, it does not, unfortunately, account for everything. It is not clear why coreference should be marked with actors in declaratives but goals in interrogatives. And it completely fails in Awa Pit in any case. The *dictum* of a Newari indirect speech sentence is a finite clause, in the sense that it is marked for (logophoric) person and the marking depends on coreference. In Awa Pit, in contrast, indirect speech involves the use of a non-finite subordinate clause (see section 10.2.3.1 for details), and consequently the subordinate clause is not marked for person. In the very few cases where subordinate clauses are finite in Awa Pit,[15] the person system is not logophoric in Hale's sense: all these subordinate clauses are statements, and a Locutor verb form indicates first person, Non-locutor indicates second or third person, just as in main clause statements. Thus the Awa Pit Locutor form is never used for third person reference, unlike the Newari conjunct and the introduction of an unspoken abstract performative matrix would lead to non-finite marking rather than Locutor/Non-locutor marking.

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[14]It should be noted that while Hale (1980) considers that this indicates the logophoric nature of person marking in Newari, others, such as Sells (1987), exclude this type of phenomenon from logophoricity; however what is important here is the phenomenon, rather than a label.

[15]Finite subordinate clauses are used for direct speech, complements to verbs of perception and cognition; see section 10.2.1.

8.5.5 "Interior states" in Japanese and Korean

Evans (1996) has noted that there are a variety of interesting interactions between person marking and predicate types. One of the least grammaticalized and most easily understandable of these interactions is found in a variety of languages, including Japanese and Korean. In these languages there are patterns of interaction between person and speech act with particular predicate types — 'private predicates', 'internal state predicates' or 'predicates of subjective authority', those predicates with meanings related to cognition, perception, bodily states or sensations. In Japanese, for example, a speaker can use a "simple" construction with *atu* 'hot' to refer to themselves, but not to others:[16]

(428) *atu-i*
       hot-NONPAST

       '[I] am hot.'

(429) **kare wa   atu-i*
        he   TOP   hot-NONPAST

To refer to the sensations of others, a more complex form involving *gar* (in the examples below, *gatteiru*) must be used, adding the idea of 'appears to be' or 'is behaving like'; this form cannot be used in first person:

(430) *atu-gatteiru*
       hot-GATTEIRU

       '[He/she] is hot, appears to be hot.'

(431) **watasi wa   atu-gatteiru*
        I   TOP   hot-GATTEIRU

However in questions the simple form is used to refer to second person, while the complex forms are for first and third person.

This split is not completely grammaticalized in Japanese and Korean: an "omniscient" narrator, for example, can say 'he/she is hot' rather than 'he/she appears to be hot'. The system is, in fact, semantically transparent. Speakers can only truly know their own internal state, not that of someone else; speakers can know (and hence say) that they themselves are hot, but about others they can only know (and hence say) that these others appear to be hot, act like they are hot, or claim that they are hot — unless, of course, the speaker is omniscient, as the narrator of a story may be within the world of the story.

It is not clear that the semantically transparent system of Japanese or Korean could develop into the Awa Pit Locutor/Non-locutor division. Not only would the system need to be fully grammaticalized, but it would need to extend from a relatively small number of interior state verbs, a well-defined semantic subclass, to cover all verbs in the language. However it does lead to an interesting idea, that a Locutor/Non-locutor distinction could be based on privileged access to knowledge.

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[16]Data from Aoki (1986); glosses modified.

8.5.6 "Epistemic authority" and Kathmandu Newari

This idea of privileged access to knowledge is formalized and explored more fully in Hargreaves's (1990, 1991) analysis of Kathmandu Newari. As noted earlier, in Kathmandu Newari only some verbs have a conjunct/disjunct contrast, but Hargreaves analyses this system as the interaction of two independent systems. There is a contrast between those verbs which imply an element of control, which operate with the conjunct/disjunct system, and those which have no element of control, which are always in disjunct form.[17] This control/non-control distinction must be set aside as being irrelevant in Awa Pit — Awa Pit uses the Locutor/Non-locutor distinction for all verbs, controlled or non-controlled. However the interacting Newari system, that of conjunct/disjunct, needs to be examined. Hargreaves explains this as being related to 'evidential authority' in discourse:

> From pragmatic theory we make the assumption that one of the pre-conditions for a declarative speech act is that the speaker has evidential authority for the information in the utterance; in contrast, one of the pre-conditions for an interrogative speech act is the assumption that the addressee has the evidential authority for the information in the utterance (cf. Gordon and Lakoff 1971).
>
> (Hargreaves 1991:381)

Hargreaves then defines a discourse role, that of 'epistemic authority' (Hargreaves 1991:381) or 'epistemic source' (Hargreaves 1990:189), which is assumed by the speaker in declarative utterances and by the addressee in (true) interrogative utterances.[18] He also notes that this explains the differential marking in true questions and rhetorical questions (Hargreaves 1990:189) — in a true question, it is assumed that the addressee has knowledge of the event; in a rhetorical question, the speaker has (or at least claims to have) knowledge of the event, just as in a statement.

This analysis, then, explains the "mysterious" Locutor/Non-locutor split not as a random peculiarity or "anticipation", but as a coherent system. Rather than marking person in a traditional sense, it singles out one participant in any speech act as being a source of knowledge for that event, as having the epistemic authority to make a claim about an event.

This assumption that Locutor/Non-locutor systems are related to (claims of) knowledge can account for the straightforward binary distinction found in a language such as Kathmandu Newari, but does not explain the unusual distribution of markers in Awa Pit, where an entity with knowledge is privileged above others, regardless of its grammatical function or semantic role. But a

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[17]The notion of 'control' is somewhat unusual — thus 'I felt/became angry' is controlled, while 'I felt/became surprised' is non-controlled. The precise definition of 'control' is unimportant here; see Hargreaves (1990, 1991) for details.

[18]'Epistemic authority' is also assigned to a subordinate participant in an indirect speech act who is coreferential to the matrix subject, although this is not relevant in Awa Pit, as noted above.

system based on marking knowledge suggests an evidential system, and indeed Locutor/Non-locutor systems are often found together with complex evidential systems.

8.5.7 "Evidentiality" and Akha

A Locutor/Non-locutor system is found in a complex interaction with an evidential system in Akha, a language of the Loloish branch of Tibeto-Burman, discussed in Thurgood (1986). Evidentiality is indicated in Akha through a series of sentence-final particles. There are three major evidential divisions, between a 'general' particle ə, a series of 'sensorial' particles (which indicate visual/non-visual evidence, an expected/non-expected event, taking place in the past/non-past), and a series of 'non-sensorial' particles (which indicate the expected/non-expected status of an event, and whether it is past/non-past). This final series has a further distinction between whether the subject is conjunct (first person in statements, second person in questions, coreferential in indirect speech) and disjunct (otherwise). Thus Akha has a conjunct/disjunct (Locutor/Non-locutor) distinction, for subjects only, and for those sentences which are not marked for visual or non-visual sensorial evidence or given the 'general' marker.

The precise use of the Akha non-sensorial particles is unclear from Thurgood's (1986) description. Introducing them he states that they "do not indicate the source of evidence for a statement" (Thurgood 1986:219), which makes them sound as though they are not evidentials at all; but later, discussing the expected conjunct non-sensorial particle, he cites personal communication from Inga-Lill Hansson that it means 'I know by experience that this is true'.

If we take this idea of experience one step further, an interesting pattern emerges. If there is an evidential meaning (in statements) 'I know by experience that this is true', when could such a particle be used? Clearly, in statements, only for events in which I was involved in some fashion. In questions, evidentials request the source of knowledge from the addressee, and hence in a question this evidential would mean 'do you know by experience that this is true?' — and would be restricted to questions about events in which the speaker believes the addressee was involved. Thus an experiential evidential of this type, with no explicit restrictions on its distribution, is necessarily restricted to statements of events in which the speaker was involved and questions about events in which (the speaker believes) the addressee was involved. Simply by its very meaning this evidential is restricted to Locutor contexts.[19]

In Akha there are a variety of other evidentials, such as visual and non-visual sensorial particles, which do not have a Locutor/Non-locutor distinction.[20] If however these other distictions collapsed into one, or there never had been these

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[19]Note that this is slightly different from a first-hand versus non-first-hand knowledge evidential split, where one does not need to have participated in an activity — seeing an activity happen counts in many systems as having first-hand knowledge.

[20]While Thurgood's (1986) description does not have a Locutor/Non-locutor distinction for these particles, it would seem likely that there are such restrictions. The use of a sensorial evidential in (many) Locutor contexts would seem odd: ?*I hit you, I know because I saw it".

choices, the system would be left with a simple Locutor/Non-locutor contrast created by the meaning of the experiential evidential itself, without any arbitrary person restrictions.

In Awa Pit, of course, the distinction is not quite binary. It is in the non-Past system, and there a straightforward experiential evidential system can be posited as the origin:

Locutor: Epistemic authority knows X because they are involved in it

Non-locutor: Epistemic authority knows X, but not because they are involved in it

Note that this accounts not only for the Locutor/Non-locutor split, but also the focus on the epistemic authority regardless of its grammatical function or semantic role. The three-way division in the Past can be accounted for by introducing not simply the idea of 'involvement', but some concept of agency:

Locutor Subject: Epistemic authority knows X because they did it

Locutor Undergoer: Epistemic authority knows X because they were involved in it but didn't do it

Non-locutor: Epistemic authority knows X, but not because they were involved in it

This description of the Locutor Undergoer may seem excessively complex, and perhaps should be replaced by 'epistemic authority knows X because it happened to them'. However this has not been done because of the use of this marker in sentences such as "Santos saw me". It is not clear here that anything 'happened to me', but I was involved in some fashion, and not agentively.

This evidential system would seem to underlie the Awa Pit person-marking system; synchronically, however, the system is clearly not evidential. The system is used whenever an appropriate Locutor/Non-locutor entity is present in a sentence, regardless of the evidential value which could be placed on this. If Santos had been spying on me, but I was not aware of this until Enma told me the next day, I could still say later:

(432) Santos *(na-wa)*   *tittu-mtu-ati-s*
       Santos (1SG-ACC)   spy:on-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
       'Santos was spying on me.'

The Locutor Undergoer can be used here, even though I *didn't* know this because I was involved, but because Enma told me. Equally it is unclear what the evidential status would be of a sentence such as:

(433) *pyan-tu-s*
       know-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I know.'

'I know that I know because I am involved'? Or for statements of such things as ethnic origin:

(434) na=na   awa   i-s
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   person be-LOCUT
       'I am an Awa.'

'I know I am an Awa because I am involved in it'? In Awa Pit the evidential nature of these suffixes — 'epistemic authority knows because' — has been lost, leaving only the final statement from the definitions above. But an origin as an evidential system of this type explains both the Locutor/Non-locutor distinction, as well as the distribution of forms.

If we assume an origin in this sort of evidential system, we can suggest that, in the original system, the Locutor Subject marker was in fact simply a Locutor Agent marker, and was only used when the epistemic authority had been truly agentive in the event. However with the loss of the evidential nature of the system, it has become a person-marking system, and much more akin to a cross-referencing system. While it makes no sense to talk about the alignment of an evidential system, a cross-referencing system can be talked about in terms of alignment — nominative/accusative, ergative/absolutive, direct/inverse, and so on. If we assume that the Awa Pit person-marking system is now "more" cross-referencing like than before, it is more likely to have an alignment. This could explain the alternations found with non-agentive intransitive verbs: as an evidential system based on agentivity and involvement, these would have been marked by the Locutor Undergoer evidential, as the Subject was non-agentive. However as the system has developed towards a cross-referencing system, it has also moved towards a nominative/accusative system, in line with the case-marking system of the language, and this has lead to these verbs at least sometimes taking the Locutor Subject marker, as would happen in a nominative/accusative system, rather than the Locutor Undergoer, as would have occurred in the evidential system.

Evidentiality is, of course, common in many Amazonian languages (see, for example, Aikhenvald & Dixon forthcoming). Closer to the region in which Awa Pit is spoken, the situation is less clear. Imbabura Quechua has a system of 'validators' which do distinguish between 'first-hand information', 'conjecture', 'doubt' and 'question element' (Cole 1985:164), but it is not clear that these are best treated as evidentials, being optional and attaching to the element to which they refer, rather than the sentence as a whole. One dialect of Guambiano, related to Awa Pit, has been analyzed as not having grammatical marking of evidentiality (Vásquez de Ruíz 1992); however another dialect appears to have a very unusual system, although without enough detail to make an analysis possible (Triviño Garzón 1992).

The area in which Awa Pit is spoken thus appears to have some elements related to evidential systems, though many are by no means straightforward evidential systems, and given the apparent ease with which evidential systems spread within linguistic areas, it is perhaps not surprising that Awa Pit should contain some type of evidential-like system.

	Volitional action	Non-volitional action
Locutor agent	Conjunct	Disjunct
Locutor undergoer	Conjunct	Disjunct
No Locutor element	Disjunct	Disjunct

Table 8.4: Conjunct and disjunct forms for Lhasa Tibetan imperfectives

	Volitional action	Non-volitional action
Locutor agent	Conjunct agent	Conjunct undergoer
Locutor undergoer	Conjunct undergoer	Conjunct undergoer
No Locutor (first-hand)	Disjunct	Disjunct
No Locutor (inferred)	Inferential	Inferential

Table 8.5: Conjunct and disjunct forms for Lhasa Tibetan perfectives

8.5.8 "Mirativity" and Lhasa Tibetan

In fact an alternative origin for a system very similar to the Awa Pit system has been offered by DeLancey (1992). DeLancey looks at the systems in Kathmandu Newari, Akha and Lhasa Tibetan, and suggests that the conjunct/disjunct opposition was a grammaticalization of a mirativity distinction, essentially old information or information well-integrated into someone's world-view versus new or unintegrated information.[21]

The system of "evidentiality" in Lhasa Tibetan is described by DeLancey in a number of works (e.g. DeLancey 1986, 1992), and is rather complex, involving not only a conjunct/disjunct system, but also a mirativity distinction and an inferential evidential. Simplifying the system by leaving aside some of these additional factors (and hence distorting it somewhat), the system is as follows. The copulas have a straightforward conjunct/disjunct pattern, with no additional parameters such as volition involved. Non-copula verbs have inflections which are based on the copulas with the addition of other elements. The imperfective (akin to a non-past) has a distinction for volitional verbs between conjunct and disjunct, but unlike in Kathmandu Newari this system is not dependent just on the subject: Locutor actors *and* Locutor undergoers of volitional actions lead to conjunct forms, other participants lead to disjunct forms in the verb (leaving aside mirativity contrasts), as in Table 8.4. For the perfective (similar to past) the distinctions are more complex. There is a marker of a Locutor agent of a volitional activity, another marking a Locutor undergoer of any action or a Locutor agent of a non-volitional action, and two markers for no Locutor participant, depending on whether the knowledge is first-hand or inferential; the system is shown in Table 8.5.

[21]See DeLancey (1997) for a fuller discussion of mirativity.

The Lhasa Tibetan system is particularly interesting here. If we ignore the volitional/non-volitional distinction, looking only at the volitional system, and collapse the evidential distinction between first-hand knowledge and inferential knowledge of actions in which no Locutor participant was involved, we have precisely the Locutor/Non-locutor system as it exists in Awa Pit — complete with the two-way marking in non-past (imperfective) and the three-way system in the past (perfective).

In his discussion of the various Tibeto-Burman conjunct/disjunct systems, DeLancey (1992:57) considers that three elements define the "true" conjunct/disjunct pattern: there is an evidential system including a mirative distinction (established versus new information); a grammaticalization of this distinction leading to the Locutor/Non-locutor system; and the use of this system to distinguish volitional and non-volitional action. DeLancey (1992:60) goes on to suggest that while this conjunct/disjunct system in Newari (and Monpa) may have been influenced by the system in Tibetan, the Akha system cannot be accounted for in this manner, and that "we apparently must accept the conclusion that the grammatical conjunct/disjunct pattern, peculiar as it may be, did indeed develop independently from an original evidential or mirative opposition at least twice" (DeLancey 1992:60).

However it is not clear that the Locutor/Non-locutor system did develop from a grammaticalization of mirativity. DeLancey relies on the "natural tendency" for "statements about 1st person to represent old, and about non-1st persons to represent new, knowledge" (DeLancey 1992:57); but it is not clear that this is, in fact, a "natural tendency".

With events which happened in the recent past, it seems at first reasonable to consider that, in general, those with which we were involved would have been more integrated into our established world-view than those which did not involve us. However this does not necessarily appear to be the case with more distant past events — it could be stated, for example, that those events which form part of our culture's history are more likely to be fully integrated into our world-view, whereas individual relatively unimportant events which happened to us a long time ago are not integrated, as they are not important. Even with recent events, it is not necessarily the case in fact, and not at all clear that it is even prototypically true: is a landslide which killed my neighbour likely to be "less integrated into my world-view" than a landslide which knocked me over and swept me down 100 metres? Equally it is not clear that this is true for future events: why should knowing that Juan is going to attack me be "more integrated" into my world-view, treated more as "old" knowledge, than the knowledge that Juan is going to attack Santos?

Indeed, in his later article on mirativity DeLancey (1997) notes that past events are most commonly old information, and considers that it is this fact which leads a form signalling "new information" in the present to often indicate an inference when used in the past. While an inferential form would not normally be used with a first person agent, there is no link between non-inferential and non-first person in this system which could lead to a Locutor/Non-locutor split.

DeLancey (1992) considers that the marking of Locutor/Non-locutor in Lhasa Tibetan has grammaticalized from the mirativity distinction, presumably because the same markers can be used to signal mirativity and this is a "less grammaticalized" usage. However in Awa Pit there is no evidence of a mirativity use of these markings — nor, indeed, is there in Kathmandu Newari or in Akha. In fact, in Akha there *is* a distinction between unexpected (unintegrated) and expected (old) knowledge, *but this distinction is entirely separate* from the conjunct/disjunct marking. If the marking developed from a mirativity distinction, we would not expect to find both operating independently, with conjunct/disjunct being marked in non-sensorial contexts, while expected/unexpected is marked across conjunct non-sensorial, disjunct non-sensorial and sensorial. It thus seems likely that mirativity is not, in fact, the origin of the conjunct/disjunct system.

A much more likely origin for the Locutor/Non-locutor system is one deriving directly from the experiential evidential nature of the system. In fact the Tibetan system, with the element of volitionality involved in it, can be simply generated from the earlier Awa Pit suggestions with minor changes. Ignoring the first-hand versus inferred knowledge distinction in sentences with no Locutor involvement, the imperfective and perfective systems could be hypothesized as originating in:

Imperfective system:

> Conjunct: Epistemic authority knows X because they are volitionally involved in it
>
> Disjunct: Epistemic authority knows X, but not because they are volitionally involved in it

Perfective system:

> Conjunct Agent: Epistemic authority knows X because they volitionally did it
>
> Conjunct Undergoer: Epistemic authority knows X because they were involved in it, but didn't do it volitionally
>
> Disjunct: Epistemic authority knows X, but not because they were involved

The system would now have developed on from this in two ways. In the imperfective, the volitionality element is now attached to the event rather than the epistemic authority (if a Locutor element is involved non-volitionally in a volitional event, it is marked); and mirativity has developed. Mirativity could be considered to develop from the volitionality element of this system: if you know something happened because you wanted it, it is likely to not be unexpected or new; if, on the other hand, it was not volitional on your part, it is more likely to be unexpected.

There is one further interesting similarity between the Awa Pit and Lhasa Tibetan systems. This is the use of a greater number of distinctions in the

Past/perfective than in the non-Past/imperfective, and this clearly requires some comment. DeLancey (1992) does not deal with this issue, as it is only present in the Lhasa Tibetan system not in the other Tibeto-Burman languages; but its existence in two (genetically) unrelated systems invites speculation. It would seem best to analyze this in terms of the determinacy of past events compared to present and future events. With a past event, the precise agency or otherwise of a participant can be evaluated: I can clearly and unequivocally state, for example, that I hit Santos. However with non-completed events, agency is very much less open to evaluation. I may be about to hit Santos, or planning to hit Santos, and I can be fairly certain that I will be involved in the activity — but if I set out to hit Santos, it is possible that, in fact, Santos will hit me instead or as well; and this may account for the lack of distinction between Locutor agent/Subject and Locutor undergoer marking in the imperfective/non-Past systems. It is interesting to note here that it is often considered that agents of completed (past/perfective) actions are more agentive than those of non-completed activities, having successfully carried out an action rather than being "potential agents".[22] This accords precisely with the greater focus on agentivity in Past/perfective systems in Awa Pit and Lhasa Tibetan than in non-Past/imperfective.

8.6 Summary

To summarize the Awa Pit person-marking system: There is a distinction between Locutor and Non-locutor throughout the system. This distinction is based on epistemic authority, with Locutor essentially corresponding to first person in statements and second person in questions, while Non-locutor covers first person in questions, second person in statements, and all third person. Following the Past tense marker there are three person markers. Locutor Subject shows that a Locutor element is the grammatical Subject of a verb; Locutor Undergoer shows that the action or state expressed by the verb affected a Locutor entity, whether this entity was directly involved in the action or state or more indirectly affected; and Non-locutor marking states that no Locutor element was involved or affected. Where person marking appears but no Past tense marker, there are only two person markers available: Locutor, which corresponds to both Locutor Subject and Locutor Undergoer in the Past system; and Non-locutor, identical to the Non-locutor marking in the Past system.

Both unusual elements of this system, the Locutor/Non-locutor split and the unusual distribution of markers with the focus always on a Locutor entity regardless of its grammatical function or semantic role, can be hypothesized as having developed simply and directly from an experiential evidential system. If this system involved sentence-final particles, the use of person marking on both verbs and some non-verb sentence-final elements could be explained. However the Awa Pit system is no longer an evidential system, but has rather changed into

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[22]See Dixon (1994:99) or Hopper & Thompson (1980) for ideas along these lines.

a true person-marking system, although it is still not, strictly speaking, a cross-referencing system. Together with this change from an evidential system towards a cross-referencing system has come an alternation in marking. As the system has moved towards a cross-referencing system, the idea of alignment has become relevant, and the person-marking system has the option of marking non-agentive intransitive verbs as it did under the evidential system (producing an alignment pattern of split-ergativity) or as they would be marked in a nominative/accusative system, the same alignment system as the case-marking.

Chapter 9

Simple tense, aspect and mood

9.1 Introduction

This chapter is a detailed examination of inflectional tense, aspect and mood in Awa Pit. The relatively straightforward system of three tenses is described first, then the three inflectional aspects are covered: Imperfective, Completive and Terminative. The derivational aspects — Prospective and Inceptive — were discussed in sections 6.4.2.2 and 6.4.2.3 respectively, and a discussion of the perfective aspects expressed through Serial Verb constructions is held off until section 11.6, after the general discussion of Serial Verbs. Many of the mood inflections are discussed in the present chapter as well, although a full discussion of counterfactuals is postponed until section 10.3.6, and interrogatives and negatives are discussed in depth in chapter 12.

9.2 Tense

There are two formal markers of tense in Awa Pit, the Past tense inflection and the Future tense inflection. These markers do not quite have a one-to-one correspondence to the notions of past events or states and future events or states, however. To begin with, they are only used when finite forms are called for, and consequently most subordinate clauses are not explicitly marked for tense, even if semantically they refer to past or future time. Equally, there are a variety of other ways that finite clauses can refer to time — Imperfective aspect can refer to a scheduled future, as can Necessitive mood, for example. However if the inflectional tense forms occur, the verb almost always refers to a past or future event; the only exception is the combination of the Past tense marker and the Completive aspect on stative verbs, which refers to present time (see section 9.3.2).

   Present tense exists in Awa Pit in contrast to Past or Future, but is not formally marked, being a covert category — if Past or Future inflections could occur, but do not, this signals Present tense.

9.2.1　Past tense

The Past tense marker *ti*, which is obligatorily followed by person marking, has a number of allomorphs, depending on the morphemes which precede or follow it:

ata	used before the Locutor Subject marker *w* either on stative verbs (except those ending in *a*) or after the Imperfective aspect marker *(m)tu*
ati	used on either stative verbs (except those ending in *a*) or after the Imperfective aspect marker *(m)tu*, except before the Locutor Subject marker *w*
ta	used before the Locutor Subject marker *w*, except where the conditions for *ata* are fulfilled
ti	used elswhere (not before the Locutor Subject marker *w*, when conditions for *ati* are not fulfilled)

The change from *i* to *a* before *w* is presumably phonetically motivated: the vowel *i* does not form any diphthongs with vowels or semivowels. The presence of the additional *a* after stative verbs and the Imperfective marker has a clear historical explanation, with these forms deriving from a postposed, tense-marked copula (see section 3.3.2).

Examples of the various allomorphs are:

(435)　anshik=na　　　paas　shitshu　izh-ta-w
　　　　yesterday=TOP　two　bird　　see-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
　　　　'Yesterday I saw two birds.'

(436)　Ecuador=mal　i-ta-w,　　　　　　　ma　kutnya　año
　　　　Ecuador=LOC　go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ　now　three　　year
　　　　paa-ma-ti
　　　　become-COMP-TERM
　　　　'I went to Ecuador three years ago.'

(437)　na=na　　　　　uŋ=ta　　pana-ta-w
　　　　1SG.(NOM)=TOP　there=in　stand-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
　　　　'I was standing there.'

(438)　na=na　　　　　kayl　　kway-ka=na,　　pashpa=na
　　　　1SG.(NOM)=TOP　return　DROP-WHEN=TOP　child=TOP
　　　　mij-ati-zi=ma
　　　　have-PAST-NONLOCUT=TEMP
　　　　'When I returned, she had a child.'

(439)　ashaŋpa　mij-ati-zi
　　　　woman　　have-PAST-NONLOCUT
　　　　'He had a wife.'

(440)   na=na   pueblo=ta-s   kayl   kway-ka=na,   kuzhu
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   town=in-from   return   DROP-WHEN=TOP   pig
        nak-tu-ati-zi
        skin-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'When I returned from town, he was skinning a pig.'

(441)   ashaŋpa=na   mij-ata-w,   ma=na   shi
        woman=TOP   have-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ   now=TOP   NEG
        mij   ki-s
        have.(IMPFPART)   be.NEG-LOCUT
        'I used to have a wife, now I don't.'

(442)   Demetrio   a-ka=na,   kal
        Demetrio   come-WHEN=TOP   work(1)
        ki-mtu-ata-w
        work(2)-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'When Demetrio came, I was working.'

(443)   paas   awa=na   Santos=ta   pyan-ti-zi
        two   man=TOP   Santos=ACC   hit-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Two men hit Santos.'

(444)   anshik=na   cigarrillo   kaa-ti-zi
        yesterday=TOP   cigarette   bring-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Yesterday he brought cigarettes.'

(445)   José   au=miza=na   pyan-na-ma-ti-s
        José   1PL=(1/2PL.)ACC=TOP   hit-PL:OBJ-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'José hit us.'

(446)   Demetrio   yal   ma=ki   pana-ti-zi
        Demetrio   house   beside=at   stand-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Demetrio was standing beside the house.'

If the sequence *ti* occurs after an *a* (whether this *a* is part of the verb stem, part of another affix or part of the Past marker itself) and before the Non-locutor person marker *zi*, the *ti* may be elided. The tense is still retrievable, as the person marker *zi* occurs only in Past and Future tenses, and the absence of the Future marker *ni* clearly signals Past tense. Thus the sequences *atizi* and *azi* are in free variation.

(447)   Libardo=na   min-a=ma   ta-zi?
        Libardo=TOP   who-ACC=INTER   pay-NONLOCUT
        'Whom did Libardo pay?'

(448)   Carmen=na   ap   punsih=mal   pana-zi
        Carmen=TOP   my   behind=LOC   stand-NONLOCUT
        'Carmen was standing behind me.'

(449)   *Santos=na*   *a-mtu*   *kizh-a-zi*
        Santos=TOP   come-IMPFPART   say-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'He said that Santos was coming.'

The Past inflection *ti* itself carries only an indication of Past tense, with no aspectual overtones. It may be used together with the Imperfective inflection *(m)tu*, as in sentences (440) and (442); and when used with stative verbs, which are inherently imperfective, the meaning is naturally imperfective, as in (437) and (446). When used with no aspectual inflections, as in sentences (436) and (443), it is usually interpreted as perfective, however this is not inherent to *ti*, but is rather the use of this inflection on its own contrasting with its use together with the Imperfective marker.

There is only one condition under which the Past inflection *ti* does not indicate a past event. This is the combination of stative verb, Completive aspect and Past tense, which carries the meaning of present tense. As this peculiarity appears most closely related to the Completive aspect marker, it will be discussed with this marker in section 9.3.2 below.

9.2.2   Future tense

In many ways the Future tense marking parallels that of the Past. The allomorphy of the Future inflection *ni* is similar to that of the Past inflection *ti*, with an additional a appearing after the Imperfective marker, and after most stative verbs — once again, this shows the origin of those forms as two separate words, the verb stem plus a following copula. As there are only two person-marking affixes for the Future, *s* and *zi*, both of which can phonotactically be preceded by *i*, there is no special form corresponding to *ta* in the Past:

> *ani*   with stative verbs (except those ending in a) and after the
>   Imperfective marker *(m)tu*
> *ni*   otherwise

For example:

(450)   *tilawa*   *a-mtu-ani-s*
        tomorrow   come-IMPF-FUT-LOCUT
        'I will come tomorrow.'

(451)   *Demetrio=na*   *ilapa=na,*   *akkwan*   *pampa*
        Demetrio=TOP   old=TOP   many   grandchild
        mij-ani-zi
        have-FUT-NONLOCUT
        'When Demetrio is old, he will have many grandchildren.'

(452)   *tilawa=na*   *uŋ=pa*   *pana-ni-zi*
        tomorrow=TOP   there=in(approx)   stand-FUT-NONLOCUT
        'Tomorrow he will be standing around there.'

(453) *tilawa*   *uŋ=ta*   *pana-ni-s*
       tomorrow   there=in   stand-FUT-LOCUT
       'Tomorrow I will be standing there.'

(454) *kaztila*   *kayl-ni-zi*
       day:after:tomorrow   return-FUT-NONLOCUT
       'He will come back the day after tomorrow.'

(455) *Demetrio=ta*   *namna-ni-s*
       Demetrio=ACC   follow/catch:up:to-FUT-LOCUT
       'I will catch up to Demetrio.'

The Future tense is not as clear as the Past with regard to its semantics. While the Past simply states that an event occurred before the reference time, by its very nature the future is uncertain, and hence the Future cannot simply state that an event will occur. The Future in Awa Pit can be used to indicate intention, especially about one's own actions, as in sentence (450) above. When used about the actions of others, however, intent is not a necessary part of the meaning. The speaker is always uncertain about these events, and indeed these sentences are often translated into Spanish with an additional *talvez* 'maybe' or *quizás* 'perhaps'. Sometimes an event appears likely to the speaker on the basis of some evidence:

(456) *nash-ka*   *alu*   *ki-ni-zi*
       afternoon-WHEN   rain(1)   rain(2)-FUT-NONLOCUT
       'This afternoon it may rain.'

On the other hand, sometimes the speaker makes a statement for which he or she has no justification at all:

(457) *tilawa*   *a-ni-zi*
       tomorrow   come-FUT-NONLOCUT
       '(He should have been here yesterday.) (Perhaps) he will come tomorrow.'

A variety of events in the future may also be encoded using the Imperfective (section 9.3.1), the Necessitive (section 9.4.2.2) or the Prospective aspect (section 6.4.2.2).

9.2.3 Present tense

As noted above, Present tense is indicated in Awa Pit through an absence of possible Past or Future inflection, rather than by an actual form. There are in fact relatively few situations in which this contrast is possible, although these few situations are the most commonly used verb forms in the language.

The (unmarked) Present contrasts with Past and Future after the negative marker *ki* (see section 12.5.3):

(458)   *shi*   *ayna-mtu*   *ki-s*
        NEG   cook-IMPFPART   be.NEG-LOCUT
        'I'm not cooking.'

(459)   *palanca* *shi*   *mil*   *ki-ata-w*
        shovel   NEG   have.(IMPFPART)   be.NEG-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I didn't have a shovel.'

In this case there is a complex interaction between the tense in which *ki* occurs and the form of the non-finite main verb. Thus a main verb in the non-finite Perfective Participle form may be followed by a Present tense *ki*, for example, with this combination indicating a reference to past time. These interactions are discussed in section 12.5.3.

After the Necessitive mood inflection (section 9.4.2.2), there is a contrast between the Past tense and the Present tense, with this contrast indicating a distinction between a past necessity and a current necessity.

The most common finite verb form is either an active verb with Imperfective aspect marking followed by Past, (unmarked) Present, or Future tense inflection, or a stative verb (inherently imperfective) followed by one of the three tense inflections. That is, with the exception of negative clauses and Necessitive clauses, verb forms (un)marked as Present are necessarily imperfective, either inherently (stative forms) or formally marked with an Imperfective aspect inflection (for active verbs). Thus this use of the Present is discussed together with the Imperfective aspect below.

9.3   Aspect

As noted earlier, aspect can be marked in Awa Pit clauses in three separate ways. There are a number of aspect inflections in Awa Pit, which will be discussed here. In addition to indicating aspect through inflection, other aspectual distinctions can be made using a variety of "auxiliary" verbs, discussed in section 11.6, or through aspectual derivations, discussed in sections 6.4.2.2 and 6.4.2.3.

9.3.1   Imperfective aspect

The Imperfective aspect is the most important aspect in Awa Pit. It is very frequently used, and for most speakers the citation form of verbs is imperfective, using either the Imperfective Present form or the Imperfective Participle. While other aspects are morphologically optional (although clearly not semantically optional), the Imperfective aspect is obligatory for indicative Present tense.

There are two main issues surrounding the Imperfective aspect in Awa Pit. The first is the distinction between the Imperfective aspect and the Imperfective Participle, two forms which are clearly related historically, and this distinction was dealt with in section 3.3.2. The other issue concerns stative verb stems. For an active verb stem, there is a distinction between Imperfective aspect

and unmarked/non-Imperfective, and this contrast is formally signalled by the presence or absence of the Imperfective aspect inflection *mtu* (or its allomorph *tu* after consonants). Stative verbs, on the other hand, have inherent imperfective meaning, and cannot take the Imperfective aspect inflection *mtu*. However the distributional and semantic properties of active verb stems with the inflection *mtu* and stative verb stems (without *mtu*) are identical. Thus to facilitate discussion and avoid repetition, stative verb roots will be considered to be obligatorily covertly marked for Imperfective aspect. That is, for example, a statement such as "an Imperfective form is followed by tense marking" indicates that an active verb stem suffixed with *mtu* is followed by tense inflection, and also that a stative verb stem (with inherent Imperfective) is followed by tense inflection.

It should be pointed out that while the inflectional form *mtu* cannot be used with stative verb stems, it is a true imperfective, not a progressive, as it can signal habitual activities, as will be discussed below.

The Imperfective aspect "inflection" has three forms. With stative verb stems, it is covert, with no formal marking. Following an active verb stem ending in a consonant the form is *tu*, while following an active verb stem ending in a vowel, it is *mtu*. This last form often undergoes assimilation in faster casual speech, being realized as [ndu] with a dental rather than a bilabial nasal.

The Imperfective aspect "inflection" and the main clause use of the Imperfective Participle (see section 3.3.2) are used to cover four different situations, all of which are some facet of imperfectivity: they encode on-going activities or states, habitual activities or states, planned future activities, and can be used to make generic statements.

9.3.1.1 On-going activities and states

The major use of the Imperfective is to encode on-going activities and states. Any event or state which is taking place at the moment of speech is necessarily on-going, and marked for Imperfective if active or covertly Imperfective if stative, with the absence of explicit tense marking showing Present tense:

(460)   shi=ma   ki-mtu-s?
        what=INTER   do-IMPF-LOCUT
        'What are you doing?'

(461)   profesora=ta   titizh-tu-s
        teacher=ACC   wait:for-IMPF-LOCUT
        'I am waiting for the teacher.'

(462)   atal   ayna-mtu-y
        chicken   cook-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        '(Smoke is rising from the house.) She is cooking chicken.'

(463)   Demetrio=na   banca=ta   tansha-y
        Demetrio=TOP   bench=in   be:sitting-NONLOCUT
        'Demetrio is sitting on the bench.'

(464)   *pala*   *way-i*
        plantain   lack-NONLOCUT
        'There are no plantains.'

The Imperfective can also be used with Past or Future marking to indicate an on-going state or action in the past or future. These forms can occur in simple sentences, but are commonly used in complex sentences or situations where a punctual action is located with respect to an on-going activity:

(465)   *anshik=na*   *shi=ma*   *ki-mtu-ata-w?*
        yesterday=TOP   what=INTER   do-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'What were you doing yesterday?'

(466)   *ap   aympihsh=ta   kal*   *ki-wayn-tu-ata-w*
        my   brother=ACC   work(1)   work(2)-HELP-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I was helping my brother work.'

(467)   *tilawa*   *a-mtu-ani-s*
        tomorrow   come-IMPF-FUT-LOCUT
        'I will come tomorrow.'

(468)   *Demetrio   a-ka=na,*   *kal*
        Demetrio   come-WHEN=TOP   work(1)
        ki-mtu-ata-w
        work(2)-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'When Demetrio came I was working.'

(469)   *na=na*   *pueblo=ta-s   kayl   kway-ka=na,*   *kuzhu*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   town=in-from   return   DROP-WHEN=TOP   pig
        nak-tu-ati-zi
        skin-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'When I returned from town, he was skinning a pig.'

(470)   *na=na*   *uŋ=pa-s*   *kayl   kway-ka=na,*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   there=in(approx)-from   return   DROP-WHEN=TOP
        kal   ki-mtu-ani-zi=ma
        work(1)   work(2)-IMPF-FUT-NONLOCUT=TEMP
        'When I return from there, [my friends] will already be working.'

9.3.1.2   Habitual activities and states

Imperfective forms can be used to show that a particular activity or state is, was, or will be habitually performed by someone:

(471)   *nash-ka=na*   *pina   alu   ki-mtu-y*
        afternoon-WHEN=TOP   very   rain(1)   rain(2)-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'It is raining every afternoon (at the moment).'

(472) mes=ayzhpa Ricaurte=ta puz-tu-s
       month=every Ricaurte=in go:out-IMPF-LOCUT
       'Every month I go out to Ricaurte.'

(473) pueblo=ta=na akkwan tabaco
       town=in=TOP many tabacco
       pay-nin-a-mtu-y
       buy-CAUS-PL:SUBJ-IMPF-NONLOCUT
       'In the town they sell many types of cigarettes.'

(474) *Carmen=na uŋ=ta tansha-y*
       Carmen=TOP there=in be:sitting-NONLOCUT
       'Carmen sits there (as a habit; ie. that's where Carmen sits).'

(475) anya=na, awa=na shi=kasa=ma payna
       before=TOP person=TOP what=with=INTER deer
       nak-tu-ati-zi?
       skin-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
       cuchillo=kasa nak-tu
       knife=with skin-IMPFPART
       'In earlier days (before), what did people skin deer with? They skinned
       them with knives.'

To refer to a habitual action, however, the adjectivizer $m(u)$ is also often used
(see section 10.4):

(476) anya=na, awa=na shi=ta=ma ayna-m?
       before=TOP person=TOP what=in=INTER cook-ADJZR
       wisha payl=ta=yŋ ayna-t ku-m
       white:person pot=in=REST cook-SV eat-ADJZR
       'In earlier days (before) what did people cook in? They cooked and ate
       in clay pots.'

9.3.1.3 Scheduled future

As with the English Progressive, the Awa Pit Imperfective can be used for sched-
uled future activities (this use has not been recorded with stative verbs). As
noted in section 9.2.2, the Future tense often carries an idea of probability or
possibility:

(477) *tilawa a-ni-zi*
       tomorrow come-FUT-NONLOCUT
       '(He should have been here yesterday.) (Perhaps) he will come
       tomorrow.'

In contrast to this future of possibility, to ensure the idea that a future action is
planned and therefore likely to occur (although not definite), the Present Imper-
fective may be used, together with the appropriate time reference:

(478)   *Demetrio ma   payu   a-mtu-y*
         Demetrio now   day   come-IMPF-NONLOCUT
         'Demetrio is coming today.'

(479)   *kutnya   payu=wa=na   i-mtu-s*
         three   day=in(approx)=TOP go-IMPF-LOCUT
         'I'm going in three days time.'

The Past Imperfective may be used in a construction equivalent to the planned future use of the Present Imperfective. This conveys the meaning that, at some point in the past, an activity was planned for the future. This activity was not, however, carried out — had it been carried out in the past, there would be no reason to indicate a "planned future" idea; if it was still to be carried out, then the Present Imperfective could be used, to indicate that it was still planned. The "planned future" use of the Past Imperfective, then, is used for an irrealis statement, and must be followed by an explicit statement showing that it was not true, as otherwise it would be taken simply as an ongoing activity in the past.

(480)   *na=na*   *martes=na*   *i-miz-tu-ata-w,*
         1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Tuesday=TOP   go-INCEP-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
         miercoles   i-ma-ti-mtu-s
         Wednesday   go-COMP-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT
         'I was planning to go on Tuesday, (but now) I am going to leave on Wednesday.'

It is interesting to note this usage of the Imperfective as a scheduled future. In their typological study of tense, aspect and modality, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:249–251) discuss four morphemes with the meaning of expected or scheduled future, and note that three of these are imperfectives with a present or progressive use. As their examples involve Latin, Modern Greek and Baluchi, they wonder about the distribution of such a combination:

> Whether all the instances of this use of imperfectives are in Indo-European languages because they tend to enjoy more comprehensive descriptions than non–Indo-European languages is unclear.

>   (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:251)

Thus it is cross-linguistically interesting to see this combination of meanings in one morpheme in a non–Indo-European language.

9.3.1.4   Generic statements

Generic statements, that is those statements which describe a general truth throughout time, can also be marked as Imperfective. Clearly these statements use Present tense rather than Past or Future.

(481) *inkal*   *awa=na*   *pala*   *waa-mtu-y*
        mountain person=TOP plantain sow-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'The Awa grow plantains.'

(482) *awa=na*   *piya=na*   *ti=kasa*   *waa-mtu-y*
        person=TOP corn=TOP stick=with sow-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'People (the Awa) sow corn with a stick.'

(483) *cielo=na* *kwash=pa*   *tu-y*
        sky=TOP above=in(approx) be:in:place-NONLOCUT
        'The sky is above [everything].'

It should be noted that while generic statements may be expressed through the use of the Imperfective, the more common way is through the use of the adjectivizer *m(u)*:

(484) *inkal*   *awa*   *tunya* *ku-m*
        mountain person rat   eat-ADJZR
        'The Awa eat rats (lit. the Awa are rat-eaters).'

9.3.2 Completive aspect

The Completive aspect, signalled by the suffix *ma*, is used to indicate that the speaker is talking about the culmination of an action, the point at which the action indicated in the clause is complete. However this meaning interacts with the inherent aspectual qualities of clauses in four ways, depending on whether the clause is (active) telic, (active) atelic, (active) inchoative or stative.

Some active verbs in Awa Pit are inherently telic, and cannot be used in an atelic manner. For example, the verb *say-* 'look for/find' has an inherent end-point — the finding of the object or the person in question. Other active verbs are inherently atelic, and cannot be used in a telic manner. For example the verb *paa-* 'fry' cannot be used in a telic fashion. Many active verbs are not inherently telic or atelic, and may be used in telic propositions or atelic propositions. For example *i-* 'go' is not inherently marked for telicity, but when combined with a final locational goal the proposition becomes telic, as the activity then has an inherent end-point: 'go' is not inherently telic or atelic, but 'go to Sydney' is telic. In other clauses the same verb may be atelic: 'I am going' does not have an inherent end-point, and is thus atelic.

Inchoative verbs are verbs like *kawi-* 'grow, ripen', and other verbs such as *paa-* 'become' can be used in inchoative propositions such as 'the sky became dark'. These inchoative clauses are not telic, in that there is no inherent end-point. If a fruit ripens, there is no particular point before which it is not ripe and after which it is ripe. But equally it is not atelic, as it is not the case that the action is the same at all points — while someone can be said to have run as soon as they start running, a fruit cannot be said to be ripe as soon as it starts ripening.

Stative verbs are different again. While these are atelic, in the sense that there is no inherent end-point, there is in fact no action involved in them.

The Completive aspect inflection cannot appear without some other tense or aspect inflection following it. Most commonly it is followed by either the Past tense or the Terminative aspect inflection; however in certain circumstances it can be followed by the Imperfective aspect inflection.

9.3.2.1   Completive aspect with telic clauses

In combination with a telic verb or a telic proposition, the Completive signals what would be expected of an inflection indicating completion — it indicates the reaching of the final telic point. In these cases, the Completive is followed by the Past tense or Terminative aspect:

(485)   *Santos=ta   namna-ma-ta-w*
       Santos=ACC   follow/catch:up:to-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I caught up with Santos.'

(486)   *us=na   Pialapí   pii   kwak-ma-ti*
       3SG.(NOM)=TOP   Pialapí   river   cross-COMP-TERM
       'She has crossed the Pialapí river.'

As would be expected of a form whose meaning indicates the point of culmination of an activity, verbs with a Completive marker do not combine with words or phrases expressing a period of time:

(487)   *mansuh   cuchillo   say-ta-w*
       all:day   knife   look:for/find-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I looked for the knife all day.'

(488)   **mansuh   cuchillo   say-ma-ta-w*
       all:day   knife   look:for/find-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

(489)   *cuchillo   say-ma-ta-w*
       knife   look:for/find-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I found the knife.'

It should be noted that verbs such as *say-* 'look for/find' and *namna-* 'follow/catch up to' are *not* polysemous in Awa Pit. They mean essentially 'find' or 'catch up to' but also include the process leading to this end-point. These verbs must be translated by two distinct words in English depending on the other aspect markers found with them, but have unitary meanings; the two translations arise from the combination of lexical and grammatical aspect in English versus those found in Awa Pit. In particular, the process leading up to a conclusion may be looked at in a more perfective fashion, as in sentence (487), or imperfectively:

(490)   *cuchillo   say-mtu-ata-w*
       knife   look:for/find-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I was looking for the knife (when you arrived).'

With telic propositions, then, the Completive aspect inflection has the expected function — it focusses attention on the most significant point of a telic activity, the end-point. This is the point at which one can say "now the action has happened".

9.3.2.2 Completive aspect with atelic clauses

Awa Pit also contains atelic verbs and propositions. There are verbs which are inherently atelic, and cannot be used in a telic fashion, such as *paa-* 'fry': it is impossible to a create a proposition in which something is frying, but is not considered to be fried until a particular point. Equally, many verbs which are unspecified for telicity lexically may be used in atelic propositions. While 'go' is telic in 'go to Sydney', it is atelic in 'I am going now', and hence *i-* 'go' may be used in telic or atelic sentences.

With (active) atelic situations, the activity may be considered to be complete as soon as it has begun. It would be possible for the activity to finish as soon as it had begun, and yet still consider that the activity had been carried out fully. Using the Completive with atelic propositions containing active verbs focusses on the point at which the action may be considered to be complete — the beginning of the activity. Thus contrasting with the sentences above, where the Completive focusses on the end-point of telic propositions, the following sentences use the Completive to focus on the starting-point of atelic propositions (compare, in particular, sentence (486), stating that the entire crossing has just finished, with sentence (491), stating that the beginning of the activity has just finished):

(491)   *ma=na*   *alu*   *ki-ma-ti*
now=TOP   rain(1)   rain(2)-COMP-TERM
'It has just started raining.'

(492)   *pina* *amta*   *pit-ma-ti-s*
very at:night sleep-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
'I fell asleep very late.'

(493)   *pit-shi-ma-ta-w*
sleep-DESID-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

'I began to want to sleep (ie. I got sleepy).'

(494)   *yak*   *ki-ma-ta-w*
be:hungry(1) be:hungry(2)-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'I got hungry.'

(495)   *Demetrio=ta=na*   *miza*   *pyan-a-ma-ti-zi*
Demetrio=ACC=TOP almost hit-PL:SUBJ-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
'They almost beat up Demetrio (almost started to hit).'

With active verbs, then, whether telic or atelic, the Completive indicates that the activity has been completely carried out. This explains the very common use of the Completive together with the Resultative construction (see section 11.2.2.2): the current state is caused by an activity (Resultative) happening completely (Completive):

(496) suna   kii-ma-t   i
       that:one marry-COMP-PFPART be.(NONLOCUT)
       'He is married.'

(497) na=na   ku-ma-t   i-s
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   eat-COMP-PFPART be-LOCUT
       'I have eaten.'

9.3.2.3 Completive aspect with inchoative propositions

In general, the Completive does not combine with Imperfective aspect (except in combination with the Terminative), however this is clearly semantically rather than formally motivated. The Completive usually focusses on a point in time, and a particular instantaneous event is unlikely to be viewed imperfectively. In fact, however, there are a small number of verbs which can combine with both Completive and Imperfective, because of their inherently inchoative semantics. These are the inchoative verbs such as *kawi-* 'grow, ripen' or many uses of the verb *paa-* 'become'. The semantics of inchoativity allow these verbs to combine both the Completive (indicating, for example, the ripe stage) and the Imperfective (indicating, for example, that the stage of becoming completely ripe is on-going):

(498) pala   kawi-ma-mtu-y
       plantain ripen-COMP-IMPF-NONLOCUT
       'The plantains are getting ripe.'

(499) kumpa paa-ma-mtu-y
       ready become-COMP-IMPF-NONLOCUT
       'It is becoming ready.'

That is, while with telic propositions and atelic propositions there is a particular point at which one can say "now the action has happened" (the end-point and beginning point, respectively), inchoative propositions are more complex. At the beginning of a fruit ripening, it is not ripe. But there is no particular point of time at which one can say "now the fruit is ripe"; rather than this being a particular point in time, it is a whole stage, and hence can be looked at as an on-going activity, through the use of the Imperfective inflection.

9.3.2.4 Completive aspect with stative propositions

Finally, *ma* may be used with stative verbs, and here the meaning departs from the previous uses. The Completive may be combined with stative verbs and the

Past tense or Terminative, with the total meaning indicating a present state:[1]

(500) *Carmen uŋ=ta pana-ma-ti-zi*
Carmen there=in be:standing-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
'Carmen is standing there.'

(501) *Demetrio=na inkal awa a-ma-zi*
Demetrio=TOP mountain person be-COMP-NONLOCUT
'Demetrio is an Awa (mountain person).'

(502) *sum-ma-ti*
be:crouching-COMP-TERM
'He is crouching down.'

This use of the Completive together with Past or Terminative on stative verbs to convey a present situation appears unusual, but there is a possible historical explanation, suggested by the discussion of anteriors with stative verbs found in Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:74–78). With active atelic verbs, the Completive focusses on the beginning of an action. If it is assumed that this was originally the case with stative (atelic) verbs such as *pana* 'be standing' in Awa Pit, then a verb such as *pana-ma-ti-zi* would originally have focussed on the beginning of the standing as being in the past. Through an inferential change, this could come to mean that, since the beginning of the standing was in the past, the state of standing continued into the present, and hence eventually come simply to convey present tense. That this idea is historical rather than synchronically relevant can be seen from sentence (501) above: in this case there was no initial change of state, as Demetrio has always been an Awa. While it is possible to hypothesize the origin of this construction, then, synchronically it is simply the case that together with stative verbs the Completive *ma* followed by Past or Terminative indicates a present situation.

9.3.2.5 Summary of the Completive aspect

The Completive aspect inflection focusses on that period of time when an action could be said to be complete. For telic propositions, the focus is on the end-point; for (active) atelic propositions, the focus is on the beginning-point; for inchoative propositions, the focus is necessarily on a period of time, not a single point; while with stative verbs there has been a slight shift in meaning, and a stative verb, Completive aspect and Past tense or Terminative aspect inflection focusses on a current state.

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[1]One of my informants did not spontaneously produce any forms of this type. When sentences such as these in Awa Pit were suggested to him, he would translate them into Spanish, then suggest a "better" way of saying them in Awa Pit, using the (unmarked) Present. However, his Spanish translation and suggested Awa Pit replacement always covered a present situation, not a past one.

9.3.3   Terminative aspect

The Terminative aspect inflection *ti* is somewhat restricted in its uses, being used only in atelic and telic propositions, never with inchoative verbs. It focusses on the end of the action expressed by the verb stem to which it attaches; however as it can follow the Completive aspect, the "end" on which it focusses may be the "end" (Terminative) of the beginning (Completive) of an atelic proposition. Its precise function depends on what other tense or aspect inflections are present, and consequently it will be discussed in a number of sub-uses: occurring alone, with Past, with Future, with Imperfective, and with Completive. The focus on the end of an activity also explains the use of the Terminative aspect inflection in forming the extended Perfective Participle, used in constructions such as the Resultative (see section 11.2.2.2).

Before examining its uses, it is necessary to establish the existence of the Terminative aspect inflection as a separate grammatical item. The inflection itself, *ti*, is formally identical to one of the allomorphs of the Past tense inflection. However there are three formal differences between these inflections. First, and most strikingly, the two inflections can be used together on one verb:

(503)   *ashaŋpa   az-ti-ti-zi*
         woman   cry-TERM-PAST-NONLOCUT
         'The woman had cried.'

Secondly, the Past tense inflection is obligatorily followed by person inflection, while when it occurs with no following tense or aspect inflection, person marking does not appear on the Terminative aspect (see below). And finally, when combined with the Imperfective aspect, the Terminative inflection appears before the Imperfective, while Past tense appears after Imperfective aspect.

9.3.3.1   Terminative aspect as a final inflection

When it occurs without Past or Future tense inflection, Imperfective aspect inflection, or in an extended Perfective Participle, the Terminative inflection is the final inflection on a word. As in this case an absence of inflection contrasts with Past and Future tense, it is considered to be (un)marked for Present tense. However, somewhat unusually, in this case there is no person marking found, and the person of participants must be established through context. The reason for this lack of person marking is unclear, although it does allow the disambiguation of the Terminative inflection *ti* (with no person marking) from the Past tense allomorph *ti* with obligatory person marking.

(504)   *pwitaylap-ti*
         tell:a:lie-TERM
         '[I] have lied.'

(505)   *payl-ti=ma*
         finish-TERM=TEMP
         '[I] have finished.'

(506)   *12000=ki*   *pay-nin-ti*
        12000=at   buy-CAUS-TERM
        '[He] has sold [it] for 12000 pesos.'

In this case, Terminative aspect indicates that an action (telic or atelic) has just concluded — it is equivalent to the immediate past usages of the English Present Perfect. In fact for reasons that will become apparent below in the discussion of the Terminative with Future and Imperfective, it seems best to state that the Terminative itself is focussing on the final point of the action. As it is basically impossible to state that something punctual (a final point) is happening at the moment of speech, the function has "slipped" slightly, and Present Terminative indicates an immediately past action.

9.3.3.2   Terminative aspect and Past tense

In combination with the Past tense, the Terminative gives the expected reading for a past version of the previous function. It indicates that, at some reference time in the past, the final point of an event happened. Just as with the Present Terminative, there is a slight "slippage" of time, and the Past Terminative indicates that at the past reference time, the event had just finished.

(507)   *na=na*   *kwa-ti-ta-w*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   eat-TERM-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I had just eaten (so I didn't want any).'

(508)   *ti*   *kwaa-ti-ti-zi*
        stick   fell-TERM-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'They had just felled the tree.'

9.3.3.3   Terminative aspect and Future tense

It might be expected that the combination of Terminative and Future would indicate that at some future time, an event would just have finished, however it does not. It rather conveys the idea that (the end of) something is (probably) just about to happen, and is best translated using English *must*, in the sense of 'surely this will happen soon':

(509)   *say-ti-ni-s*
        look:for/find-TERM-FUT-LOCUT
        'I must be about to find it.'

(510)   *kayl-ti-ni-zi*
        return-TERM-FUT-NONLOCUT
        'They must be about to return.'

(511)   *kaa-ma-ti-ni-zi*
        lose-COMP-TERM-FUT-NONLOCUT
        '[The path] is about to be lost (ie. vanish).'

It would seem that this meaning has developed from the focus of the Terminative on the end of an activity. By stating that the end of an activity is in the future, rather than simply saying that the activity as a whole is in the future, there is a strong implication that the activity is currently underway; and from this it is an easy step to a meaning that, as the event is currently underway, it will end soon.

9.3.3.4 Terminative aspect and Imperfective aspect

The Terminative aspect inflection can be followed by the Imperfective aspect inflection. Following this, of course, comes tense marking, but this tense marking simply places the "on-going end" of the activity in time. The Terminative aspect indicates that the speaker is focussing on the end of an activity, while the Imperfective states that, at the reference time indicated by the tense, the end of the activity was happening, it was in a stage of "winding down":

(512)   mesa=na   sa-ti-mtu-s
        table=TOP   make-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT
        'I am finishing making the table.'

(513)   nu=na   a-ka=na,   na=na
        2SG.(NOM)=TOP   come-WHEN=TOP   1SG.(NOM)=TOP
        pihshka-ti-mtu-ata-w
        sweep-TERM-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'When you came, I was just finishing sweeping.'

If the end of the activity described is truly punctual, this combination of aspects still describes the same type of situation, stating in a sense that all the factors leading to the end are coming together; thus the end itself is definitely about to happen:

(514)   us=na   kayl-ti-mtu-y
        3SG.(NOM)=TOP   return-TERM-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'He is about to return.'

This contrasts with the Terminative and Future tense, which has a stronger idea of probability rather than certainty (because of the 'probable' future idea of the Future tense, compared to the 'scheduled' future uses of the Imperfective).

9.3.3.5 Terminative aspect and Completive aspect

The Terminative aspect inflection often follows the Completive aspect inflection. This combination can then be used in any of the above ways — alone, followed by Past or Future tense, or the Imperfective aspect inflection (with tense marking) — and clearly, given the different functions of each of these combinations, the Completive plus Terminative has a variety of functions.

The Completive aspect inflection focusses on the end-point of telic propositions and the beginning of atelic activities, as explained in section 9.3.2, and

the Terminative then refocusses on this point. Used with no following inflection, the combination states that the end of a telic action has just happened:

(515) verano *payl-ma-ti*
       summer finish-COMP-TERM
       'Summer is over (has just finished).'

(516) *ap aympihsh=na shutta kaa-ma-ti*
       my brother=TOP hat   lose-COMP-TERM
       'My brother has lost [my] hat.'

Or it states that the beginning of an atelic action has just happened:

(517) *ma=miŋ   i-ma-ti   Carmen*
       now=REST go-COMP-TERM Carmen
       'Carmen has just gone.'

(518) *ma=na   alu   ki-ma-ti*
       now=TOP rain(1)   rain(2)-COMP-TERM
       'It has just started raining.'

One particularly important use of this combination is together with a time period and the verb *paa-* 'become'. This is used to indicate how much time has passed since something happened, how long ago it was:

(519) *kutnya año paa-ma-ti,   Ecuador=mal*
       three   year become-COMP-TERM Ecuador=LOC
       i-ta-w
       go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I went to Ecuador three years ago.'

The combination of Completive and Terminative together with Past and Future tense give the expected readings. With Past, it is stated that at some past point the end of a telic or beginning of an atelic proposition had just happened; while with Future, the end of a telic or beginning of an atelic proposition is about to happen.

The most complex forms are those with Completive, Terminative and Imperfective aspect inflections. The meaning is a combination of the aspects. For telic propositions, it states that the end-point of the activity is on-going or about to happen:

(520) *piya wan pak-ma-ti-mtu-s*
       corn all sow-COMP-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I am about to finish sowing all the corn.'

(521) *na=na   nukkul-ma-ti-mtu-s*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP stop-COMP-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I am going to stop here.'

For atelic propositions, the beginning of the activity is on-going or about to happen:

(522) na=na   i-ma-ti-mtu-s
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP go-COMP-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I'm going now.'

(523) ap su kayl kway-ka=na,   ap inkwa
       my land return DROP-WHEN=TOP my grandmother
       izh-ni-ma-ti-mtu-s
       see-PROSP-COMP-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT
       'When I go back to my home, I will go and see my grandmother.'

9.3.3.6 Summary of the Terminative aspect

The Terminative aspect thus essentially focusses on the end of an activity, although the precise function of the inflection depends on whether it is found alone, or together with other tense and aspect inflections. Alone (in Present tense) or with Past tense marking, the Terminative indicates that at the reference time given by the tense, the activity had just finished; with Future or Imperfective, the activity is just about to finish.

While these meanings are disparate, they could perhaps be explained if in origin the inflection was a verb meaning 'finish', although no diachronic evidence for this has been found. In this case in the Present it would mean 'I now finish Verb-ing', leading to an immediate past; with the Past likewise 'I finished Verb-ing then' would lead to immediate past at the reference time. The Future 'I will finish Verb-ing' is appropriate, although why it should be restricted to immediate future is not clear. The Imperfective also fits here: 'I am/was/will be finishing Verb-ing'. However this is purely speculative, though the meanings themselves are clear.

9.4   Mood

There are a number of verb affixes in Awa Pit which express mood and modality. Following Lyons (1977:848) and Palmer (1986:21–23), 'mood' is taken here as a label for a grammatical category expressed through inflection. As a consequence, two of the markers of modality in Awa Pit, expressing desire and ability, are not considered to be markers of mood, as they are derivational rather than inflectional suffixes — see sections 6.4.2.1 and 6.4.2.4 for a discussion of these affixes.

As well as this restriction on the mood inflections discussed here, an additional constraint has been used. Only those inflections which can be used in main clauses will be discussed. While the exclusion of subordinate markers from the category of mood is perhaps arbitrary, the various subordinating inflections are more easily discussed as a group in chapter 10.

This section deals then with inflections which are used in main clauses and give some indication of speaker attitude towards the proposition in question.

Apart from the unmarked indicative mood, these inflections mark obligation and necessity, potentiality (root possibility) and negative potentiality, counterfactual irrealis, and directives (imperatives, prohibitives and hortatives). The different mood inflections are mutually exclusive.

9.4.1 Indicative

The Awa Pit Indicative is a completely covert category — there is no special marking, simply an absence of any other mood inflection. The full range of tense and aspect inflections is available for the Indicative, while for other moods there are very severe restrictions on possible combination with tense and aspect inflections.

9.4.2 Obligation and necessity

There are two inflections which are used to indicate obligation and necessity, among other things. These are the Necessitive *npa/napa* and the Obligative *tpa/tawa*, with the first form in each case used after a vowel, the second after a consonant. It seems likely that these two markers are historically related, and consisted originally of two separate morphemes, the Infinitive *n(a)* and Perfective Participle *t(a)* respectively followed by a form *pa* (perhaps a postposition), although the short forms of these latter two non-finite inflections are found only with a small group of verbs (see section 7.2.8), not with any vowel-final stem, unlike the Obligative and Necessitive. Synchronically, however, the two (historically complex) morphemes are clearly separate, with different ranges of use, and also the distinction between the /p/ in one case, and the /w/ in the other. It is not clear why these two morphemes should have developed with these two different phonemes, although the relationship is clear: morphemes beginning with /p/ undergo a morphosyntactic process changing this /p/ to /w/ when they occur after a vowel. Presumably at the stage where this morphosyntactic rule was introduced, the Necessitive was already considered to be one morpheme, while the Obligative was still considered as two, so the /p/ of the first was retained as such, while in the latter the /p/ became /w/.

It should be noted that the Obligative and the Necessitive both have homophonous subordinating inflections, the After marker and the different-Subject purposive marker respectively. While these pairs of inflections are quite probably related historically, they are synchronically quite distinct, and the two subordinating inflections are discussed in sections 10.3.3 and 10.3.2 respectively. The probably historical paths taken by these morphemes are discussed there also.

9.4.2.1 Obligative

The Obligative carries the meaning that something has to be done. Most commonly the Obligative is used to refer to "universal" obligations. In these cases, the Obligative is used without person marking, indicating that an action must

be carried out, usually as a social or moral obligation, but with no indication of
who the agent should be:

(524)   ayna-tpa
        cook-OBLIG
        'Cooking has to be done; someone has to cook.'

(525)   ii-ka=na=ma,   kam-tawa
        die-WHEN=TOP=TEMP bury-OBLIG
        'When someone dies, they have to be buried.'

(526)   i-miz-tawa
        go-INCEP-OBLIG
        'It's time to go.'

While it is rarely used to indicate someone's personal obligation, this can
be done. In these circumstances the verb carries person marking:

(527)   tilawa=na   a-tpa-y
        tomorrow=TOP come-OBLIG-NONLOCUT
        'You must come tomorrow.'

The Obligative can thus occasionally be used with person marking, but is
more common without. It cannot be used with any tense or (inflectional) aspect
marking.

9.4.2.2   Necessitive

The Necessitive marker, npa/napa, has a variety of functions, covering a range
of concepts from necessity through to future. It can combine with Past tense,
although not with Future tense; the Necessitive is always found with person
marking; and when used for future time reference, it may be used together with
aspect marking, unlike other moods.

Npa/napa can convey the idea of necessity; here it is always the idea of
personal necessity, rather than the moral or social necessity indicated through
the use of the Obligative (see section 9.4.2.1), and the person who necessarily
will do something is the Subject:

(528)   na=na   sancocho   sa-miz-napa-s
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP meat:soup make-INCEP-NECESS-LOCUT
        'I have to make a meat soup (or else the meat will go off).'

(529)   Demetrio=na   alcalde=kasa   kwinta
        Demetrio=TOP mayor=with   talk(1)
        kizh-napa-ti-zi
        talk(2)-NECESS-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Demetrio had to talk with the mayor.'

This concept of "personal necessity" can extend to a situation of ordering; thus it is possible to order someone to do something by saying:

(530) tɨlawa=na   camisa pat-napa-y
       tomorrow=TOP shirt   wash-NECESS-NONLOCUT
       'You have to wash the clothes tomorrow.'

As well as necessity or orders, the Necessitive can be used to convey the idea of intention, especially with Locutor Subjects. Here there is no idea of necessity.

(531) tɨlawa=na   shi=ma   ki-npa-s?
       tomorrow=TOP what=INTER do-NECESS-LOCUT
       'What are you going to do tomorrow?'

(532) abril=ta=kima kwinta kizh-napa-s
       april=in=until   talk   do-NECESS-LOCUT
       'I will be talking until April.'

More commonly than the notions of necessity, orders or intentions, the Necessitive conveys some idea of a predictive future, a future which the speaker believes is likely, but not certain:

(533) Bogota=ta-s   kayl   kway-ka,   verano   payl-ma-t
       Bogota=in-from return DROP-WHEN summer   finish-COMP-PFPART
       a-npa-y
       be-NECESS-NONLOCUT
       'When I return from Bogota, the summer will have finished.'

(534) Demetrio tɨlawa   a-npa-y
       Demetrio tomorrow come-NECESS-NONLOCUT
       'Demetrio will come tomorrow.'

(535) alu   ki-ma-npa-y
       rain(1) rain(2)-COMP-NECESS-NONLOCUT
       'It's going to rain.'

(536) atal   camisa ku-ma-npa-y
       chicken shirt   eat-COMP-NECESS-NONLOCUT
       '(The chicken is pecking along towards the shirt.) The chicken will eat (ie. peck at) the shirt.'

While this morpheme is probably more commonly used for a predictive future than to mark necessity, it has been labelled the Necessitive as it appears likely that this use is diachronically prior. A number of cross-linguistic studies — for example Bybee & Dahl (1989:90–94), Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins (1991:26–29) and Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:258–264) — have suggested that a morpheme covering some idea of obligation often evolves to cover intention, and from there the idea of future can be developed; this appears to fit the range of uses of the Necessitive in Awa Pit.

9.4.3   Potential and Negative Potential moods

Depending on the sense intended, the English word *can* may be translated into Awa Pit in a wide variety of ways. The expression of ability is reported through the use of the adjectivizer *mu* (see section 10.4). A learned skill can be reported using the derivational suffix *kam* 'learn' (see section 6.4.2.4). The Potential mood inflection *sina* and the Negative Potential mood inflection *satshi* are only used to express root possibility, which "reports on general enabling conditions ... on general external conditions, such as social or physical conditions" (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:178).

Most commonly, the Potential and Negative Potential are unmarked for person, and express in this way a general truth about what is possible in the world. The Negative Potential cannot be sentence-final, and if it is not followed by anything else, it is followed by a suffix *wal*:[2]

(537)   *attihsh=ta*   escuela   *izh-sina*
         far=in   school   see-POT
         'The school can be seen from far away.'

(538)   *maza* caballo   *maza* carro   *tayŋ-sina*
         one   horse   one   car   pull-POT
         'A single horse can pull a car.'

(539)   *i-satshi*   *paa-ma-ti*
         go-NEGPOT   become-COMP-TERM
         '(It has got dark.) It has become impossible to walk.'

(540)   *pina   tilkul=na,*   camina   *ki-satshi-wal*
         very   dark=TOP   walk(1)   walk(2)-NEGPOT-PART
         '(When) it is very dark, one cannot walk.'

The Potential and Negative Potential can also be used with person marking. Here it is not a general truth that is being expressed, but rather some condition in the world which allows the Subject to perform the action (if he or she wishes).

(541)   *nyampi=kasa   pishkatu   ki-sina-y*
         hook=with   fish(1)   fish(2)-POT-NONLOCUT
         'You (the addressee) can fish with a hook (because the river is up).'

(542)   *na=na*   *azhpizh-satshi-s*
         1SG.(NOM)=TOP   open-NEGPOT-LOCUT
         'I cannot open it (it is stuck).'

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[2]The use of this suffix *wal*, which sometimes occurs elsewhere, is not understood, although it may be some type of participle form, as it is non-finite.

It is interesting to note that the Potential and Negative Potential cannot be used together with tense marking. They necessarily express either that the action is always possible or not possible under the specified conditions (no person marking), or that at the specified time the action is possible or not possible for the Subject because of external conditions (with person marking), with an optional time reference being added through adjuncts or adverbial clauses.

The Potential and Negative Potential can also be used in the apodosis ('then'-clause) of counterfactual clauses:[3]

(543)   *akki pana-t=na,*   *izh-sina=ma*
             here be:standing.(IMPFPART)-CNTRFC=TOP see-POT=TEMP
             'If he were here, we could meet.'

(544)   *na=na*   *Ricaurte=mal*
             1SG.(NOM)=TOP Ricaurte=LOC
             i-ma-t-at=na=ma,   *ma kwinta*
             go-COMP-PFPART-CNTRFC=TOP=TEMP ma talk(1)
             kizh-satshi-wal
             talk(2)-NEGPOT-PART
             'If I had gone to Ricaurte, we wouldn't be able to talk now.'

9.4.4   Counterfactual irrealis

The counterfactual irrealis inflection *na* appears to be used only in past counterfactual statements, and consequently will be discussed with counterfactuals in section 10.3.6. It may be preceded by Past tense and followed by person.

9.4.5   Directives

There are a wide variety of directive inflections in Awa Pit: imperatives, prohibitives and hortatives. These forms are only used with active verbs: it is impossible to use a stative verb as a command.

9.4.5.1   Imperatives

There are four markers of imperative in Awa Pit, each with a distinct function. Two are simple imperatives, a singular *ti* and a plural *tayŋ*. There is also a special marker *zha* which indicates both imperative mood and also that the Object is first person. There is also a polite imperative, *n(a)ka*, with only one form for singular and plural.

All of the imperatives may be used together with derivational suffixes, including the Inceptive aspect marker *miz*. They may also cooccur with the aspectual Serial Verb "auxiliaries". There is no special person marking on the imperatives, with second person being simply understood from the imperative forms themselves.

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[3]See section 10.3.6 for details.

Singular and Plural Imperative   The Imperative Singular *ti* and the Imperative Plural *tayŋ* are used as would be expected, to give commands to one or more people:

(545)   *pihshka-ti!*
        sweep-IMP.SG
        'Sweep!'

(546)   *ana   izh-ti!*
        this see-IMP.SG
        'Look at this!'

(547)   *tuk   kway-ti!*
        suck DROP-IMP.SG
        'Suck!'

(548)   *i-tayŋ!*
        go-IMP.PL
        'Go away!'

(549)   *i-miz-tayŋ!*
        go-INCEP-IMP.PL
        'Go away (at once)!'

Two verbs have been found which have alternative forms of the Imperative Singular, with the form ending in *t* rather than *ti*. These are the verbs *ku-* 'eat' and *sa-* 'make' (it is possible that there are other verbs which allow this form). The two alternatives of the Imperative Singular appear to be in free variation:

(550)   *aza   kwa-ti!*
        quickly   eat-IMP.SG
        'Eat up quickly!'

(551)   *shap   kwa-t!*
        ripe:plantain eat-IMP.SG
        'Eat [some] ripe plantain!'

(552)   *kwa-t,   kwa-t!*
        eat-IMP.SG eat-IMP.SG
        'Eat up, eat up!'

(553)   *wat   sa-t!*
        good   make-IMP.SG
        'Look after [it]!'

It appears most likely that a small number of verbs originally had a "short form" of the Imperative Singular, *t* rather than *ti*, but that the paradigm is now being regularized, so that the "long form" can be used with all verbs.[4]

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[4]Compare this with the short form of the Infinitive and Perfective Participle taken by a small set of verbs, including *ku-* 'eat'; section 7.2.8.

First Person Object Imperative Awa Pit has a special form of the imperative, *zha*, which replaces either of *ti* or *tayŋ* if the Object of the verb is first person, regardless of whether the Subject is singular or plural.

It is possible to use *zha* with an inherently transitive verb:

(554) *titizh-zha!*
       wait:for-IMP.1OBJ
       'Wait for me!'

(555) *kanpa-zha!*
       accompany-IMP.1OBJ
       'Come with me!'

However, for semantic reasons, this type of sentence is unusual. It is much more common to find *zha* indicating the Object of a ditransitive verb, or of a derived transitive or ditransitive verb:

(556) *an   kwin-zha!*
       more give-IMP.1OBJ
       'Give me more!'

(557) *pyal   sap-zha!*
       money receive-IMP.1OBJ
       'Take the money from me!'

(558) *pit-nin   kway-zha!*
       sleep-CAUS DROP-IMP.1OBJ
       'Let me get to sleep!'

(559) *ayna-wayn-zha!*
       cook-HELP-IMP.1OBJ
       'Help me cook!'

(560) *pan   pay-nin-zha!*
       bread buy-CAUS-IMP.1OBJ
       'Sell me [some] bread!'

(561) *sun   an-zha!*
       that pass-IMP.1OBJ
       'Pass me that!'

As the affix *zha* clearly indicates the Object of the verb, it is uncommon for it to cooccur with an explicit Object, however this can be done, and presumably indicates some extra emphasis on the Object:

(562) *na-wa=na   pit-nin-zha!*
       1SG-ACC=TOP sleep-CAUS-IMP.1OBJ
       'Let me sleep!'

Polite Imperative　The final of the four imperative forms is *n(a)ka*, the Polite Imperative. In fact, its use appears not so much to do with the relations between the speaker and the addressee, but rather with the content of the message. The Polite Imperative can be used to issue direct commands:

(563)　*aŋ=pa*　　　　　*a-nka!*
　　　 here=in(approx)　come-PLT:IMP
　　　 'Come here!'

(564)　*kuhsa-naka!*
　　　 get:up-PLT:IMP
　　　 'Get up!'

However it is also used to convey ideas much closer to suggestions — for example, when giving a friend or relative a gift of food which needs to be cooked, it is normal to say:

(565)　*ayna-t*　*kwa-nka!*
　　　 cook-SV　eat-PLT:IMP
　　　 'Cook and eat it!'

It is also the form which speakers tend to use when they are issuing a warning to someone, even to someone to whom they would issue an order using the normal singular or plural Imperative:

(566)　*wat=miŋ*　　*shaa-nka!*
　　　 good=REST　walk-PLT:IMP
　　　 'Watch where you're going! (walk properly!)'

(567)　*nijul-naka!*
　　　 remember-PLT:IMP
　　　 'Don't forget! (Remember!)'

The form of this affix is either *naka* or *nka*. The latter form is only used after a few verb stems ending in vowels, including *a-* 'come', *i-* 'go' and *ku-* 'eat'. These verbs are precisely those verbs which take the short form *n* of the Infinitive rather than the usual *na* (see section 7.2.8.1). It appears likely, then, that the Polite Imperative *naka* was originally two morphemes, the first of which is the Infinitive. It is also possible to speculate about the origin of the second part, *ka*.

Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:211) claim that "it is common for the forms used in imperative sentences to also occur in subordinate clauses, particularly the protases of conditional sentences". It will be seen in section 10.2.2 that subordinate indirect questions, similar in many ways to the protasis ('if'-clause) of a conditional sentence, are formed with the Perfective Participle (relative past), Imperfective Participle (relative present) or Infinitive (relative future), followed by a complementizer, either *ka* (non-future) or *sa* (future). In these constructions, the relative future Infinitive is only followed by the future complementizer

sa. However an imperative is irrealis, similar to future, but also non-future in intent. It is thus possible to speculate that the Infinitive and the non-future complementizer have fused in main clauses to create an imperative, with an unexpressed matrix clause "I'm wondering if you would ...". This unexpressed matrix clause would also explain the more polite, suggestive qualities of the Polite Infinitive.

9.4.5.2 Prohibitives

There are two Prohibitives in Awa Pit: Singular *mun* and Plural *man*. These negative imperatives are used as expected, to direct someone to not do something. They may be used with intransitive verbs, and with inherent or derived transitive and ditransitive verbs:

(568)   *kutku-mun!*
       tell:a:lie-PROHIB.SG
       'Don't lie!'

(569)   *man   ki-mun!*
       move(1)   move(2)-PROHIB.SG
       'Don't move!'

(570)   *na-wa=na   pyaŋta-mun!*
       1SG-ACC=TOP   kill-PROHIB.SG
       'Don't kill me!'

(571)   *tazh-nin-mun!*
       fall-CAUS-PROHIB.SG
       'Don't drop it! (Don't let it fall!)'

(572)   *kwin-mun!*
       give-PROHIB.SG
       'Don't give [him any]!'

(573)   *na-wa   pyan-man!*
       1SG-ACC   hit-PROHIB.PL
       'Don't hit me!'

(574)   *suna=kana   ki-man!*
       that=like   do-PROHIB.PL
       'Don't do (like) that!'

A special negative imperative form is not unusual in South America, where languages often have a variety of negation markers; and negative imperatives are found in a number of languages, for example Retuarã (Strom 1992:137).

9.4.5.3 Hortatives

There are two suffixes which are clearly hortative in Awa Pit: the Hortative
Dual *pay* and the Hortative Plural *shayŋ*. There is also a third suffix *tu* which
is perhaps best considered a singular hortative form, although it varies slightly
from the normal idea of a hortative.

The Hortative Dual and the Hortative Plural   The Hortative Dual and
the Hortative Plural are second person, addressed to the listener. The Dual form
inherently includes the speaker as well as the hearer, and is always translatable
by 'lets'. The Plural form normally includes the speaker, but it is possible to
find examples where the speaker is not included. Both hortatives are often used
together with the Prospective aspect derivational suffix *ni* (see section 6.4.2.2).

(575)   *ku-pay!*
        eat-HORT.DU
        'Lets eat!'

(576)   *i-ni-pay!*
        go-PROSP-HORT.DU
        'Lets go!'

(577)   *kwa-shayŋ!*
        eat-HORT.PL
        'Lets eat!'

(578)   *i-shayŋ!*
        go-HORT.PL
        'Lets go!'

(579)   *na-wa=na   kwin-shayŋ!*
        1SG-ACC=TOP give-HORT.PL
        'Give me [some]!'

(580)   *kwa-wayn-shayŋ!*
        eat-HELP-HORT.PL
        'Help [me] eat!'

First Person Hortative   The affix *tu* is perhaps best considered as a special-
ized variety of hortative, although an affix with a similar meaning in Barasano is
referred to as a first person present singular imperative (Jones & Jones 1991:79).
It is not commonly used, apart from with a few motion verbs — in part, perhaps,
because it is so easily confused, both formally and semantically, with the Imper-
fective Participle *(m)tu* in its main clause uses. Indeed Calvache Dueñas (1989)
simply considers *itu* and *atu* to be special forms of *imtu* 'be going' and *amtu* 'be
coming'.

However there are clear semantic differences between the Imperfective Participle in *(m)tu* and the First Person Hortative *tu*. The Imperfective Participle has a wide variety of uses, while the Hortative has only one:

(581)   *i-mtu*
go-IMPFPART
'I am (in the process of) going; I am going (now); I am going (tomorrow).'

(582)   *i-tu*
go-HORT.1SG
'I am going now, I'm off.'

The Imperfective Participle may be used to indicate that a process is underway (I'm on the path walking), or for a scheduled future (I'm about to go; I'll go tomorrow), among other uses. The First Person Hortative can only be used to state that an action is about to happen, or at least that that is what is planned (it is of course possible for someone to say *itu*, then for them to be distracted by something and stay longer).

For any verb stem ending in a consonant, the Imperfective Participle and the First Person Hortative are formally identical; and although they are semantically distinct, the Imperfective Participle (in its scheduled future use) includes the use of the First Person Hortative:

(583)   *nukkul-tu*
stay-IMPFPART
'[I] am staying (here at the moment).'

(584)   *nukkul-tu*
stay-HORT.1SG
'I'm stopping here.'

The First Person Hortative can be combined with the Completive marker *ma* (see section 9.3.2), where the Completive focusses on the commencement of activity for atelic verbs:

(585)   *i-ma-tu*
go-COMP-HORT.1SG
'I'm going now.'

(586)   *sal-ma-tu*
play-COMP-HORT.1SG
'I'm going to play now.'

In this case, however, it is easily confused with the Completive plus Past tense, which is *phonemically* distinct but *phonetically* often produced as the same string:

(587)   *nukkul-ma-tu*   [*nukulmaru ~ nukulmaro*]
        stay-COMP-HORT.1SG
        'I'm staying/stopping (here).'

(588)   *nukkul-ma-ta-w*   [*nukulmaraw ~ nukulmaro*]
        stay-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I stayed (here).'

The First Person Hortative is very infrequent, and this may perhaps be because of the possibility of confusing it with either the Imperfective Participle or the Past tense. It seems to be used almost exclusively with motion verbs, in particular in the very common expression *itu* 'I'm off now'.

Chapter 10

Subordinate clauses

10.1 Introduction

In Awa Pit, as in all languages, there are constructions in which one clause, a subordinate clause, is dependent on another clause, a matrix clause. These constructions must not be confused with main–auxiliary constructions, with which they share many features, or with Serial Verb or Conjoined Clause constructions: these latter three types of construction are dealt with in the following chapter, where the distinction between main–auxiliary constructions and subordinate constructions in particular is examined.

On a theoretical level subordinate clauses, the subject of this chapter, are often divided into three types: complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses (Longacre 1985:237), although in Awa Pit as in many other South American indigenous languages (see, for example, Moore 1989), a fourth type needs to be introduced, the clausal nominalization. In Awa Pit many of these distinct clause types share morphology: the two Participles are used in some complement clauses, adverbial clauses and clausal nominalizations; the Infinitive is used in complement clauses and adverbial clauses; and the Adjectivizer is used in relative clauses and clausal nominalizations.

Subordinate clauses in Awa Pit fall on a continuum. At one end, the subordinate clause is identical to a matrix clause, except for the fact that it is embedded — it retains all clausal properties, with the verb taking the usual number of arguments expressed in the normal fashion and order, any modifiers can be present, the verb shows the usual range of forms for tense, aspect, mood and person, and negation is expressed in the normal way. At the other end of the continuum are clause-types such as the relative clause, which is obligatorily without a Subject although other arguments and modifiers are expressed in the usual fashion, the verb has a fixed form with no indication of tense, aspect, mood or person, and if negation is present it is expressed outside the clause.

Relative clauses and adverbial clauses are straightforwardly defined, in that they are clauses which function in the same way as other nominal modifiers such as adjective phrases, or modify verbs or propositions in a similar fashion to adverb-like adjuncts. These two clause-types are examined in sections 10.4

Clause	Type	Subject	Tense	Aspect	Mood	Negation	Person	Stative
Complement clause 1	C	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Simultaneity	A	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
Counterfactual	A	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
Complement clause 2	C	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
Absolute	A	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
Complement clause 3	C	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
Different Subject purposive	A	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
After	A	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Concessive	A	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Complement clause 4	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Same Subject purposive	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Relative clause	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nominalization	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 10.1: Subordinate clauses and their type (Complement, Adverbial, Relative or Nominalization), together with whether they have Subjects, sentence-like tense, aspect, mood, negation and person, and can be used with stative verbs. The complement clause types are discussed in the following section.

and 10.3 respectively. However complement clauses and clausal nominalizations need to be examined and contrasted more fully.

Noonan (1985:42) defines complementation as "the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate", although he then immediately follows this by noting that "for our purposes, a predication can be viewed as an argument of a predicate if it functions as the subject or object of that predicate". Other definitions, such as that of Givón (1990:515), use a more restrictive definition immediately, with sentential complements being "propositions functioning in the role of either subject or object arguments of the verb". These more restrictive definitions will be argued against in section 10.2.3.2, where it will be claimed that, for Awa Pit, it is best to consider that complement clauses can be arguments of postpositions as well as verbs — but what is important here is that complement clauses are functionally equivalent to *noun phrases*, being used as arguments. They are discussed in section 10.2.

In addition to clauses of this type, however, Awa Pit has clauses which are functionally equivalent to *nouns*. Internally these clauses lack some clause-like features: they cannot have Subjects, and tense, aspect, mood, person and negation are not expressed. However the verb itself has not acquired noun-like features: it can still be modified by adverbs, and with the exception of the obligatorily unexpressed Subject, all arguments are shown in the usual way. But externally, the clause "acts like" a noun, not a noun phrase: it can be modified by adjectives, for example. These clausal nominalization structures are dealt with in section 10.5.

For the purposes of comparison, a quick summary of the various subordinate constructions is given in Table 10.1, together with their possibilities of taking Subjects, tense, aspect, mood, (clause-level) negation, and person, and indicating whether they can be used with stative verbs.

Clause	Subject	Sentence-like TAM	Participle	Infinitive	Complementizer
Complement clause 1	+	+	-	-	-
Complement clause 2	+	-	+	+	+
Complement clause 3	+	-	+	+	-
Complement clause 4	-	-	-	+	-

Table 10.2: Features of the four different complement clause types

10.2 Complement clauses

As noted in the previous section, complement clauses are those subordinate clauses which are arguments, either arguments of verbs or of postpositions. In Awa Pit there are four different complement clause structures: (1) a sentence-like complement, identical to a matrix clause; (2) a clause with a Subject, no aspect or mood, with relative tense shown by the two Participles and the Infinitive, and the usual clausal negation, with a clause-final complementizer; (3) a clause identical to the previous type, but without a complementizer; and finally (4) a clause with no Subject, no tense, aspect, mood or negation, and an Infinitive verb form. The relevant distinctions are shown in Table 10.2.

The majority of complement clauses in Awa Pit function as Objects, either of verbs or postpositions. There is only one construction with a non-Object complement clause, where the clause acts as the Subject (S) of a predicate.

In addition to these complement types, there is also another device which is used to convey meanings in Awa Pit which in other languages can be conveyed by complementation, and which in some theoretical senses can be considered notionally to fall under the classification of complementation. Awa Pit has a variety of derivational affixes which express meanings often covered through complementation, in particular the Causative *nin* 'make/let', the Auxiliative marker *payn* 'help' and the Desiderative *shi* 'want'. While in theoretical terms these may be considered as complementation where the matrix verb has 'co-lexicalized' (Givón 1990:538), been 'predicate-raised' (Givón 1980:338), or undergone 'lexical union' (Noonan 1985:75) with the subordinate verb, they will simply be considered as derivational affixes here — for further details on their syntax and semantics, see section 6.4.

10.2.1 Complement clause 1: Sentence-like complement

Sentence-like complements can be used with a number of different predicate types. They are always used to report direct speech; they are one of the options for the cognition verbs *pyan-* 'know' and *min-* 'think'; and they are always used for complements to verbs of perception:

(589)   Alfonso=na   [*"miimal*   *i-ti-mtu-s"*   ]   *kizh-ti*
      Alfonso=TOP   [Chucunés   go-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT   ]   say-TERM
      'Alfonso said, "I'm going to Chucunés".'

(590)   *na=na*   [*mamaz   i*   ]
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   [other   be.(NONLOCUT)]
        min-ta-w
        think-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I thought it was something else.'

(591)   *na=na*   [*Santos=na*   *Demetrio=ta*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   [Santos=TOP   Demetrio=ACC
        pyan-tu-a-zi   ] *izh-ta-w*
        hit-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT] see-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I saw Santos hitting Demetrio.'

In Awa Pit the sentence-like complement is identical to a fully formed sentence: from the above sentences it is possible to extract the subordinate clauses — *miimal itimtus* 'I'm going to Chucunés', *Santosna Demetriota pyantuazi* 'Santos was hitting Demetrio' and *mamaz i* 'it is something else' — and use them as full sentences. That there is truly subordination in the above sentences can only be seen from the positioning of the two clauses, one being embedded in the other, with the subordinate clause in the position appropriate for Objects of the matrix verb.

The correspondence between the tense of sentence-like complement clauses and their time reference depends on the particular type of complement-taking predicate. For direct speech and cognition complements, relative tense is used; for complements to verbs of perception, absolute tense is used.[1] That is, for direct speech and cognition complements, the tense used in the subordinate clause depends on the time reference of the complement event relative to the time of the matrix event. Thus in the first two examples above, the subordinate verb is in Present tense, showing that the complement event was cotemporaneous with the matrix event (both in the past, as shown by the Past tense matrix verb). For complements of verbs of perception, on the other hand, absolute tense is used: the tense indicates the time reference of the complement event relative to the moment of speaking. Thus in the third example above, the subordinate verb is in Past tense, as it occurred prior to the moment of speaking; the hitting clearly occurred cotemporaneously to the seeing, but this is not indicated by the tense marking.

While the above examples have the subordinate clause placed in the standard Object position in the matrix clause (after the matrix Subject and before the matrix verb), this positioning is in fact quite rare for sentence-like complements. Much more commonly, the subordinate clause is moved to sentence-final position, after the matrix verb, often with a pause between the verb and the complement (see also section 3.2):

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[1]See Chung & Timberlake (1985:210) for further discussion of the distinction between relative and absolute tense and its use cross-linguistically.

(592)   *anshik*   *kizh-ti,*   ["miercoles=na   *Ricaurte=mal*
       yesterday say-TERM   [Wednesday=TOP   Ricaurte=LOC
       shaa-ta-w"   ]
       be:around-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ]
       'Yesterday [he] said, "I was in Ricaurte on Wednesday".'

(593)   *na=na*   *izh-ta-w,*   [*Santos=na*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP see-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ [Santos=TOP
       Demetrio=ta   *pyan-tu-a-zi*   ]
       Demetrio=ACC hit-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT]
       'I saw Santos hitting Demetrio.'

(594)   *Demetrio=na*   *pyan-i=ma,*   [*na=na*
       Demetrio=TOP know-NONLOCUT=TEMP [1SG.(NOM)=TOP
       Santos=ta   *pyan* *kway-ta-w*   ]
       Santos=ACC hit   DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ]
       'Demetrio now knows [that] I hit Santos.'

Extraposition of a subordinate clause from Object position to sentence-final position is quite common in SOV languages (Noonan 1985:84), and can also be understood to aid comprehension in a language such as Awa Pit, which commonly ellipses arguments. For example, if sentence (593) were modified, so that Carmen, rather than I, saw the activity in question, it would become:

(595)   *Carmen=na*   *izh-ti-zi,*   [*Santos=na*   *Demetrio=ta*
       Carmen=TOP see-PAST-NONLOCUT [Santos=TOP   Demetrio=ACC
       pyan-tu-a-zi   ]
       hit-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT]
       'Carmen saw Santos hitting Demetrio.'

If the subordinate clause is in Object position, it is still be comprehensible:

(596)   *Carmen=na*   [*Santos=na*   *Demetrio=ta*
       Carmen=TOP [Santos=TOP   Demetrio=ACC
       pyan-tu-a-zi | *izh-ti-zi*
       hit-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT] see-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'Carmen saw Santos hitting Demetrio.'

However, at least one of Carmen, Santos and Demetrio was almost certain to have been in the preceding discourse, if this sentence occurred in natural speech, and one or more of these participants would normally be ellipsed (see section 3.2). If, for example, Carmen were ellipsed, it would be unclear where the boundaries of the subordinate clause were:

(597)   [*Santos=na*   *Demetrio=ta*   *pyan-tu-a-zi*   ]
       [Santos=TOP   Demetrio=ACC hit-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT]
       izh-ti-zi
       see-PAST-NONLOCUT
       '[Carmen] saw Santos hitting Demetrio.'

(598) *Santos=na*   [*Demetrio=ta*   *pyan-tu-a-zi*   ]
       Santos=TOP   [Demetrio=ACC   hit-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT]
       izh-ti-zi
       see-PAST-NONLOCUT

       'Santos saw [X] hitting Demetrio.'

Consequently the extraposition of sentence-like subordinate clauses to sentence-final position certainly reduces the possibility of ambiguity, and quite probably aids in the overall processibility of these sentences.

Complement clause type 1, as noted above, is always used for reporting direct speech. Other complement clause types can be used for reporting indirect statements (see section 10.2.3.1) and indirect questions (see section 10.2.2), but there is no method for reporting indirect commands, and consequently all directives (see section 9.4.5) are reported using direct speech, with the full morphology associated with the directive:

(599) [*"pyan-mun!"*   ] *kizh-ta-w*
       [hit-PROHIB.SG] say-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

       '"Don't hit [me]!", I said.'

The matrix verb for reporting direct statements or commands is always *kizh-* 'say', as is also the case for indirect statements.[2] Direct questions, like indirect questions, can be reported using *mima-* 'ask'.

Complements to verbs of perception are likewise only expressed using complement clause type 1. Complements to some verbs of knowledge and belief, on the other hand, can be expressed using either type 1 or type 2 complement clauses.

10.2.2   Complement clause 2: "Indirect questions"

Syntactically, the most complex of the Participle/Infinitive complements are those which contain a Subject and a complementizer. This complementizer is either *ka* or *sa*, and semantically these complements are, very approximately, indirect questions. They show that, at the time specified by the matrix clause, the matrix clause Subject did not know about the truth of the subordinate clause event. These clauses are the Object of verbs such as *mima-* 'ask', *min-* 'think', *mayŋ-* 'forget', and *pyan-* 'know'.

(600) *na=na*   *mayŋ-ta-w*   [*Santos*   *i-t*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   forget-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ   [Santos   go-PFPART
       ka   ]
       NONFUT:CPLTZR]

       'I forgot that Santos had gone.'

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[2]See section 10.2.3.1 for a discussion of the verb *kizh-*, and of some other speech verbs in Awa Pit.

(601)   *shi*   *pyan*   *ki-s*   [*alcaldía=ta-s*
       NEG know.(IMPFPART) be.NEG-LOCUT [mayor's office=in-from
       min=ma   *a-t*   *ka*   ]
       who=INTER come-PFPART NONFUT:CPLTZR]
       'I don't know who has come from the mayor's office.'

(602)   *na=na*   *min-tu-s*   [*us=na*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP think-IMPF-LOCUT [3SG.(NOM)=TOP
       kwa-t   *ka*   ]
       eat-PFPART NONFUT:CPLTZR]
       'I am wondering if he has eaten.'

(603)   *na=na*   [*kukum* *ka*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP [possum be:permanently.(IMPFPART)
       ka   ] *min-ta-w*
       NONFUT:CPLTZR] think-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I wondered if it was a possum.'

(604)   *na*   *shi*   *pyan*   *ki-s*
       1SG.(NOM) NEG know.(IMPFPART) be.NEG-LOCUT
       [*a-mtu*   *mizha=ma* *ka*
       [come-IMPFPART how=INTER be:permanently.(IMPFPART)
       ka   ]
       NONFUT:CPLTZR]
       'I don't know if he is coming or what.'

(605)   *na=na*   *Marcos=ta=na*   *mima-ta-w*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP Marcos=ACC=TOP ask-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       [*mizhaka=ma* *a-mtu*   *sa*   ]
       [when=INTER come-IMPFPART FUT:CPLTZR]
       'I asked Marcos when he would be coming.'

(606)   *kutnya* *domingo* *paa-ma-ti,*   *Santos=ta*
       three   Sunday become-COMP-TERM Santos=ACC
       mima-ta-w   [*Ricaurte=mal* *mizhaka=ma* *puz-na*
       ask-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ [Ricaurte=LOC when=INTER go:out-INF
       sa   ]
       FUT:CPLTZR]
       'Three weeks ago I asked Santos when he would go out to Ricaurte.'

All of the verbs which take this complement type can also be used with at least one other complement type, depending on meaning; the meanings expressed through the use of this complement type are those where the matrix clause Subject does not know the truth of the subordinate clause. Thus *min-* 'think' may be used with complement clause type 2, in which case it means something close to 'wonder whether'; for the meaning 'think that', the verb takes a sentence-like

complement; *min-* 'think' may also be used to mean something like 'intend', in which case it takes complement clause type 3. *Mayŋ-* 'forget' takes complement clause type 2 when it means 'forget that'; when it means 'forget to', it is used together with complement clause type 3. *Mima-* 'ask' can be used with complement clause type 1 to encode a direct question, or with complement clause type 2 for indirect questions. And the verb *pyan-* 'know' only takes complement type 2 when it is negated or desiderative; when the matrix Subject knows the truth of the subordinate clause, the sentence-like complement type is used.

The choice of Perfective Participle, Present Participle or Infinitive is, essentially, a relative tense choice (as it is for complement type 3). If, at the time signalled by the tense of the matrix verb, the subordinate event is over, the Perfective Participle is used (relative past); if the subordinate event is on-going or is in a scheduled future, the Imperfective Participle occurs (relative present); if the complement event is in an unspecified future at the time of the matrix event, the Infinitive is used (relative future). Thus it is possible to contrast sentences (600)–(602) with the Perfective Participle, sentences (603)–(605) with the Imperfective Participle, and sentence (606) with the Infinitive.

The two complementizers, *ka* and *sa*, are in complementary distribution. *Ka* is used as the complementizer when the subordinate clause is non-future, relative to the matrix clause (sentences (600)–(604)); *sa* is used when the subordinate clause is future, relative to the matrix clause (sentences (605) and (606)). Essentially, then, the distinction appears to be whether what is not known (the subordinate clause) can truly be known — if it has happened or is happening — or whether it can only be hypothesized as possible to know at some time in the future — if it has not yet happened.

It is important to note that the *ka/sa* difference is quite distinct from the usage of the different subordinate verbs to mark relative tense. The Perfective Participle, indicating relative past, is naturally only ever accompanied by *ka*, the non-future complementizer (sentences (600)–(602)); and likewise the Infinitive, indicating relative future, is only ever associated with *sa*, the future complementizer (sentence (606)).[3] However the Imperfective Participle can cover two times — either it is indicating that the subordinate action is on-going at the time indicated by the matrix verb, in which case the non-future complementizer *ka* is used, as in sentence (603); or it indicates that the event of the subordinate clause is future, but a scheduled future, in which case the future complementizer *sa* is associated with it, as in sentence (605).

Complement clauses type 2 sometimes occur in the usual Object position — after the matrix Subject, but before the matrix verb — as in sentence (603). Just as with sentence-like complements, however, they are more commonly extraposed, and occur in sentence-final position, as in all sentences above except (603).

While simple questions have a strong division between polar questions (those which ask about the truth of a statement) and content questions (those which ask about a particular item in a sentence), with entirely different syntax for

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[3]But see the discussion of the Polite Imperative in section 9.4.5.1 for a possible combination of the Infinitive and *ka*.

the two question types (see chapter 12), these indirect question complements do not make this distinction, with the same syntax used for all complements, whether what is unknown is the general truth of the subordinate clause (sentences (600), (602) and (603)), or a particular item (sentences (601), (605) and (606)). Indeed, an indirect question can even be formed on top of a multiple-choice tag question (sentence (604)).

10.2.3 Complement clause 3

10.2.3.1 Complement clause 3, complement of a verb

Unlike many Amazonian languages, which tend to use direct speech rather than indirect speech (Derbyshire & Pullum 1986b:19), Awa Pit has a separate construction used for indirect statements. The complements of these constructions in Awa Pit are quite similar to indirect question complements (type 2), with the same morphological possibilities, and marking relative tense in the same fashion. However unlike indirect question complements, indirect statement complements do not contain a complementizer.

Awa Pit has a number of different verbs which indicate some form of oral interaction. By far the most frequent of these is *kizh-* 'say', which can be used as a hyponym for a number of the others. This verb can take an Object and a Second Object: the person to whom the utterance was made (the addressee); and also the actual item of speech, usually as a subordinate clause, although a noun phrase such as an anaphoric or cataphoric *ana* 'this' is possible. In addition to this more general verb, there are other verbs: *mima-* 'ask', *pata-* 'speak', *kwinta kizh-* 'converse, chat, tell a story', *kanta kizh-* 'sing', *kutun-* 'advise'. However, with the exception of *mima-* 'ask', these verbs have different argument structures, and none of them can be used with a subordinate clause indicating the content of the original utterance. *Pata-* 'speak' refers to the physical act of speaking, and can be used intransitively to refer to whether someone spoke or not, or can be used with a language name as an Object to indicate the language spoken. *Kutun-* 'advise' may have an Object, the addressee, but the content of what was advised, if present, is indicated in a separate, juxtaposed, clause. *Kwinta kizh-* 'converse' and *kanta kizh-* 'sing' are both intransitive.[4]

Mima- 'ask' and *kizh-* 'say' are used to report direct or indirect questions or statements respectively. When they are used to report direct questions or statements, complement clause type 1 is used, as was discussed and exemplified in section 10.2.1:

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[4]It is perhaps an interesting cultural fact that the two words specifically used for "non-utilitarian" modes of speech, *kwinta kizh-* 'converse, chat, tell a story' and *kanta kizh-* 'sing' both involve borrowings from Spanish: *cuenta* 'he/she is telling a story' and *canta* 'he/she is singing'.

(607)   *Carmen=na*   *na-wa*   *mima-ti-zi*   [*"min=ta=ma*
        Carmen=TOP   1SG-ACC   ask-PAST-NONLOCUT   [where=in=INTER
        i-shi-mtu-s?"   ]
        go-DESID-IMPF-LOCUT   ]
        'Carmen asked me, "Where do you want to go?".'

(608)   *Gregorio=na*   [*"ap   ashaŋpa=na   az-tu-y"*   ]
        Gregorio=na   [my   woman=TOP   cry-IMPF-NONLOCUT   ]
        kizh-ti-zi
        say-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Gregorio said, "My wife is crying".'

When an indirect question is made using *mima-* 'ask', the indirect question complement is type 2, with a complementizer (see section 10.2.2):

(609)   *Carmen=na*   *na-wa*   *mima-ti-zi*   [*min=ta=ma*
        Carmen=TOP   1SG-ACC   ask-PAST-NONLOCUT   [where=in=INTER
        i-shi-mtu   *ka*   ]
        go-DESID-IMPFPART   NONFUT:CPLTZR   ]
        'Carmen asked me where I wanted to go.'

The only word which can be used for indirect speech, *kizh-* 'say', takes complement clause type 3, without a complementizer:

(610)   *Gregorio=na*   [*ashaŋpa=na   az-tu*   ]
        Gregorio=TOP   [woman=TOP   cry-IMPFPART   ]
        kizh-ti-zi
        say-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Gregorio said that his wife was crying.'

Just as with complement clause type 2, complement clause type 3 shows relative tense through the use of alternative non-finite forms. The Perfective Participle indicates that, at the reference time established by the matrix verb *kizh-*, the event discussed in the subordinate clause had already occurred; in contrast the Imperfective Participle shows that at the reference time the event was occurring or was planned to occur. The Infinitive indicates that at the reference time the subordinate event was in the future. This form with the Infinitive is seldom used, possibly because of the chance of confusion with the complement of intention (discussed in section 10.2.4.1), which can also involve the matrix verb *kizh-* and an Infinitive verb, although this construction obligatorily lacks a Subject. For indirect statements with a relative future speech clause, the Imperfective Participle is usually used instead, in its scheduled future reading.

Further examples of complement clause type 3 are:

(611)   *María=na*   [*miimal   puz-ta*   ]   *kizh-ti*
        María=TOP   [Chucunés   go:out-PFPART   ]   say-TERM
        anshik=na
        yesterday=TOP
        'María said yesterday that [X] had gone out to Chucunés.'

(612)   [*Demetrio*   *a-mtu*   ] *kizh-ti*   *Carmen=na*
         [Demetrio   come-IMPFPART] say-TERM   Carmen=TOP
         'Carmen has said that Demetrio is coming.'

(613)   *Eduardo=na*   [*tilawa*   *piya*   *pak-tu*   ]
         Eduardo=TOP   [tomorrow   corn   harvest-IMPFPART]
         kizh-tu-y
         say-IMPF-NONLOCUT
         'Eduardo says that [X] will harvest corn tomorrow.'

A few further points can be made about indirect speech. Both the matrix verb and the subordinate verb can have Subjects, as occurs, for example, in sentence (610). If one of the Subjects has already been mentioned in previous discourse, then it can be ellipsed, and this can lead to ambiguity. Thus sentence (611) is ambiguous, in a context-free situation. It can either be parsed as above, with María being the speaker (Subject of *kizh-* 'say'), and a previous discourse participant (X) being the Subject of the subordinate verb, or it could be analyzed as below, where the Subject of *kizh-* 'say' has been ellipsed, and María is the Subject of the subordinate clause:

(614)   [*María=na*   *miimal*   *puz-ta*   ] *kizh-ti*
         [María=TOP   Chucunés   go:out-PFPART] say-TERM
         anshik=na
         yesterday=TOP
         '[X] said yesterday that María had gone out to Chucunés.'

If the Subject of the matrix verb has been ellipsed, the sentence must stand as it is, and the two meanings must be disambiguated through context. If, however, the Subject of the subordinate clause is the ellipsed participant, the sentence can be disambiguated by placing the Subject of the matrix verb after the matrix verb itself — sentence (615) can only correspond to the analysis given for sentence (611), never that of (614).

(615)   [*miimal*   *puz-ta*   ] *kizh-ti*   *María=na*
         [Chucunés   go:out-PFPART] say-TERM   María=TOP
         'María said that [X] had gone out to Chucunés.'

This postposing of the matrix Subject is always an option, in fact, and is done in sentence (612), where it is not necessary for the purposes of disambiguation.

There is in fact a further ambiguity in sentences with only one Subject, which can only be resolved by context. Without context, sentences such as (613) are most likely to be interpreted as having the two Subjects coreferential — that is, the most likely translation is 'Eduardo says that he, Eduardo, will harvest corn tomorrow'. However this interpretation can be defeated by a sufficiency of context, as occurred, for example, in the original context of sentence (611), where it was clear that the person who went to town was someone other than María herself.

Adverbs are likewise open to rearrangement, and may appear after the verb to indicate that the adverb belongs to the matrix clause, rather than the subordinate clause. In sentence (611), once again, the adverb has been moved to sentence-final position, to indicate that the saying took place yesterday, rather than that the going to town occurred yesterday.[5] Had the word *anshik* 'yesterday' occurred directly before the subordinate clause, it would have been unclear which of the clauses it modified.

Complement types 3 and 4, with non-finite verbs and no complementizer, are necessarily physically positioned in the usual Object slot, directly before the verb, when they are Objects. This contrasts quite strongly with complement types 1 and 2, where the preferred ordering of constituents has the complement Object being extraposed to sentence-final position.

Finally, the similarities between the indirect statement construction and the optional hearsay evidential construction must be noted. The two constructions are closely associated — being translated identically into Spanish by speakers — and clearly the evidential construction has developed historically from the indirect statement construction. For further discussion, and the evidence that they are probably separate constructions, see section 11.4.

10.2.3.2 Complement clause 3, complement of a postposition

Awa Pit has a series of postpositions, discussed briefly in section 4.6 and exemplified more fully in section 5.4. Most commonly, the argument of a postposition is an NP:

(616) *Pueblo Viejo=ki=na*   cruz   *pana=na*
       Pueblo Viejo=at=TOP cross be:standing.(IMPFPART)=TOP
       'At Pueblo Viejo there is a cross.'

(617) *suna=akwa*   *i-ta-w*
       that=because go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I went because of that.'

(618) las   cinco=*kima* *kal*   *ki-ni-s*
       the five=until   work(1) work(2)-FUT-LOCUT
       'I will work until 5 o'clock.'

However in addition to having an NP as an argument, the postpositions can take an argument which is a complement clause of type 3: clausal features such as a full set of arguments and modifiers and clausal negation are expressed, but tense, aspect, mood and person are not — the verb has the choice of three non-finite inflections, the Perfective Participle expressing relative past, the Imperfective Participle for relative present, and the Infinitive for relative future, as is usual for type 3 complement clauses:

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[5]In fact, as only one sentence component can be moved to the sentence-final position, it seems likely that María, the Subject of *kizh-*, has not been moved to sentence-final position as the speaker decided that moving *anshik* 'yesterday' was more important for correct interpretation of the sentence.

(619) [us   ii-ta   ]=ki=na   cruz   pana=na
       [he   die-PFPART   ]=at=TOP   cross be:standing.(IMPFPART)=TOP
       'At the place where he died there is a cross.'

(620) [mamá   ish-tu   ]=akwa   i-ta-w
       [mother sick-IMPFPART   ]=because   go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I went because [my] mother was sick.'

(621) [Demetrio kayl-na   ]=kima kal   ki-ni-s
       [Demetrio return-INF   ]=until work(1)   work(2)-FUT-LOCUT
       'I will work until Demetrio returns.'

Since in these sentences a subordinate clause is appearing "in the place of" an NP, these subordinate clauses will be considered to be complement clauses. At a theoretical level it is in fact possible to consider postpositions as having predicate features and taking arguments, and hence to say that in this situation a "notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate" (Noonan's (1985:42) definition of a complement clause); this underlies the common usage of something being "the object of a preposition". This theoretical issue will not be taken up here, however: it will simply be noted that as these subordinate clauses are occurring where an NP "would be expected", they should be considered complement clauses, in a similar way to that in which Thráinsson (1979) treats Icelandic *that*-clauses and infinitival clauses in prepositional phrases as complement clauses.[6]

While these clause-plus-postposition elements correspond in meaning to adverbial clauses in many languages (such as English), this is not a sufficient criterion for considering them as adverbial clauses. In their survey of adverbial clauses, Thompson and Longacre note:

> it is crucial to point out that, although we have tried to identify the major types of adverbial clauses which we have found in the languages we have looked at, we are by no means claiming that a relationship which may be signaled by an adverbial subordinate clause in one language must be so signaled in every other.

> (Thompson & Longacre 1985:174)

Their examples of constructions with meanings corresponding to adverbial clauses involve juxtaposition and clause-chaining, however the same principle applies for complement clauses: just because in many languages the meaning intended corresponds to that of an adverbial clause (that is, in the terms used here, a non-argument clause), there is no reason that Awa Pit cannot use a complement clause (that is, a clause which is an argument to a verb or postposition) to encode this meaning.

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[6]Thráinsson (1979) actually argues that complement clauses *are* NPs; this is not the issue here, which is simply that for Icelandic, as for Awa Pit, there is no reason not to consider that complement clauses occur with adpositions.

It could be argued that while these words following clauses have the same form and meaning as the postpositions, they in fact belong to a separate class of subordinators, in the same way as English *until* in *until 6 o'clock* is considered a preposition but *until* in *until he finished* is considered a subordinator (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik 1972:318). However in English, unlike in Awa Pit, there are clearly a variety of words which are subordinators, used in adverbial clauses, which are not equivalent to prepositions: *while, as, if, although*, and so on. In Awa Pit on the other hand, adverbial clauses are always formed with special verb inflections. Equally, in English the form of the subordinate clause (for example, *he finished* in *until he finished*) is not a standard complement clause structure (**until that he finished*), while in Awa Pit the equivalent clause is.

There also seems to be no reason to separate the 'subordinator' and 'postposition' uses syntactically. Both uses have the same range of occurrence in sentence, whenever one occurs the other can, and the Topic marker can follow a 'subordinator' under precisely the same conditions in which it can follow an identical 'postposition' (see section 14.2.2).

It is true that not all postpositions listed in section 4.6 can be found after a clause. However this appears to be a semantic rather than a syntactic restriction. All locational and temporal postpositions can occur after a clause (*ki, ta, pa, mal, kima*), as can the causal *akwa* 'because (of)' and the similarity marker *kana* 'like'. Those which cannot be used as 'subordinators' are the human Object marker *ta*, the possessive *pa*, the comitative or instrumental *kasa*, and *patsa* indicating that something is like something else in size. These all require their argument to be a clearly defined person or object, and it appears that subordinate clauses cannot indicate this.

Although there thus appears to be no formal reason for separating the class of postpositions into 'postpositions' and 'subordinators', and it will not be done here, if this were done the subordinators could perhaps join a single class together with the two complementizers discussed in section 10.2.2. In the analysis chosen here, there are differences between these two groups of words — for example, the complement clause plus complementizer substitutes for an NP, while the complement clause before a postposition substitutes for an NP before that postposition. However there are similarities, with the same features in the two types of complement clause: both have Subjects and other arguments, clausal negation is possible, relative tense is shown by the Participles or Infinitive, and there is no aspect, mood or person marking.

The construction consisting of a clause and a postposition is thus being treated precisely as such — a complement clause, followed by a postposition:

(622)   [*shaa-t*   ]=*kana=yŋ*   *mitti*   *ish-tu-s*
         [walk-PFPART]=like=REST   foot   hurt-IMPF-LOCUT
         'My feet hurt as though I had walked.'

(623)   [*wakata* *nya* *ayna-mtu*   ]=*ta*=*na*   *Carmen*=*na*   *kuzhu*
           [cattle   meat cook-IMPFPART]=in=TOP Carmen=TOP pig
           mil-ti-zi
           take-PAST-NONLOCUT

           'Carmen took a pig to (where) [they] were cooking meat.'

(624)   [*ap* *mamá* *tayaz-tu*   ]=*akwa*=*na*
           [my mother miss-IMPFPART]=because=TOP
           i-ma-ti-mtu-s
           go-COMP-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT

           'I'm going [back] because my mother misses [me].'

(625)   [*taytta* *shi* *mij*   *ki*   ]=*kana*
           [father NEG have.(IMPFPART) be.NEG.(IMPFPART)]=like
           i-s
           be-LOCUT

           'I am like I don't have a father (It is as though I didn't have a father).'

(626)   [*kwata-na*]=*kima* *ku-ma-ta-w*
           [vomit-INF]=until eat-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

           'I ate until I vomited.'

10.2.4   Complement clause 4

10.2.4.1   Complement clause 4 as Object: "Intention"

Verbs such as *kizh-* 'say', *min-* 'think' and *mayŋ-* 'forget' have all been mentioned in previous sections. *Kizh-* 'say' and *min-* 'think' can be used with complement clause type 1 (see section 10.2.1); *kizh-* 'say' also has the option of complement clause type 3 (section 10.2.3.1); and *min-* 'think' and *mayŋ-* 'forget' take complement clause type 2. However all can also take a complement clause of type 4 as their Object.

Complement clause type 4 is without an explicit Subject, as the notional Subject is necessarily coreferential with the Subject of the matrix clause. The subordinate verb is in the Infinitive, which appears to be a syntactic rather than a semantic restriction. The subordinate event is necessarily after the matrix event in time, which suggests that the restriction to Infinitive could just be a semantic restriction to relative future — however in this case it would be expected that the subordinate verb could be an Imperfective Participle form in its schedule future usage (cf. section 10.2.2), and this is not possible, showing that the restriction to Infinitive is syntactic. This type of complement indicates that, at the reference time of the matrix event, the (matrix) Subject had the intention of carrying out the subordinate activity:[7]

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[7]Note that this complement type is identical in internal structure, and similar in meaning, to the same-Subject purposive (see section 10.3.1).

(627)   *Santos=na*   [*a-n*   ] *kizh-ti-zi*
        Santos=TOP   [come-INF   ] say-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Santos said that he would come.'

(628)   *Ángel=na*   [*tilawa*   *shappi*   *kii-na*   ] *kizh-ti*
        Ángel=TOP   [tomorrow   cane:juice   mill-INF   ] say-TERM
        anshik=na
        yesterday=TOP
        'Ángel said yesterday that he would mill cane juice tomorrow.'

(629)   *na=na*   [*martes=na*   *i-n*   ]
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   [Tuesday=TOP   go-INF   ]
        min-tu-ata-w,   miercoles
        think-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ   Wednesday
        i-ma-ti-mtu-s=ma
        go-COMP-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT=TEMP
        'I was planning to go on Tuesday, now I will go on Wednesday.'

(630)   *na=na*   [puerta   *sip-na*   ]
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   [door   shut-INF   ]
        mayŋ-ma-ti-s
        forget-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'I forgot to shut the door.'

The complement of intention necessarily occurs in the normal Object position before the verb, and it cannot be extraposed to final position.

10.2.4.2   Complement clause 4 as Subject: "Evaluative predicates"

The final use of complement clauses is as the Subject of an evaluative predicate. A Subject-less Infinitive complement, that is a complement clause of type 4, can act as the Subject of an evaluative predicate consisting of an adjective plus a copula, such as *wat i* 'is good' or *kwashmayŋ i* 'is tasty'; as would be expected, it is also possible to use this complement as the Subject of a non-finite verbless copula sentence (see section 3.3.2), with the Infinitive clause followed by the evaluative adjective. The verb in the Infinitive clause may, of course, have an Object or other argument, and various modifiers may be present. The Infinitive clause, as Subject of the matrix verb, is often followed by the Topic marker *na*, as is common for Subjects.

(631)   [*ashaŋpa=ta*   *pyan-na*   ]=na   *wat*   *shi*   *ki*
        [woman=ACC   hit-INF   ]=TOP   good   NEG   be.NEG.(NONLOCUT)
        'Hitting [one's] wife is not good.'

(632)   [*nul*   *kwa-n*   ]=na   *kwashmayŋ*
        [chontaduro   eat-INF   ]=TOP   tasty
        'Eating *chontaduro* (a fruit) is really enjoyable/tasty.'

(633) [ampu-tuzpa kal   ki-n   ]=na   pina wat
       [man-COLL   work(1) work(2)-INF   ]=TOP very good
       'Working among men is very good.'

This complement construction is unique, in that it is the only complement construction found in Awa Pit where the complement is a Subject, rather than an Object.

10.3 Adverbial clauses

As mentioned before, adverbial clauses are those subordinate clauses which "function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions" (Thompson & Longacre 1985:172). Cross-linguistically, these have functions such as: time, location, manner, purpose, reason, simultaneous and conditional (Thompson & Longacre 1985:177). As discussed in section 10.2.3.2, however, while these functions may be expressed through the use of adverbial clauses, various languages use different options to express some of them; in the particular case of Awa Pit, a number of them are expressed through complementation to a postposition.

Verb roots in Awa Pit are obligatorily followed by one of a variety of affixes (see chapter 7). In the case of non-subordinate verbs, these affixes are selected from aspect, tense, mood, person and number affixes. Verb roots in adverbial clauses likewise must be formally marked with an affix.[8] There are a variety of affixes which are possible in adverbial clauses (discussed in the following sections): some of these are only used under these circumstances, others are formally identical to affixes in matrix clauses, although there are semantic and combinatorial differences, and the affixes are treated as distinct (see section 3.3.2).

Adverbial subordinate clause verbs have one common feature — regardless of which affixes are present, all subordinate verb forms are non-finite, and have no marking of tense, mood, number or person. Unlike languages such as Imbabura Quechua, where many adverbial clauses have pairs of suffixes indicating same or different subject (Cole 1985:60–66), in Awa Pit there is only one pair, indicating same or different Subject for purposives. All other adverbial clauses are either necessarily same-Subject (the After construction) or can be used with both same and different Subjects (all others).

As noted above, some of the markers of adverbial clauses in Awa Pit are used with a variety of different functions, and indeed three can also be used to mark complement clauses: the Infinitive, the Imperfective Participle, and the Perfective Participle. In adverbial clauses, the Infinitive is used for same-Subject purposives and "no-Subject" purposives; the Imperfective and Perfective Participles can be used in an absolute construction.

There are two verbal affixes used in adverbial clauses which are formally identical to two main clause mood affixes. The first of these is *npa/napa*, which

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[8]The only apparent exception are stative verbs. Stative verbs, formally speaking, cannot be followed by the Imperfective Participle marker *-(m)tu*, and the Imperfective Participle form of a stative verb is formally identical to the verb root: for example, *i-* 'be', *i* 'be.IMPFPART'.

is used as a Necessitive mood marker in main clauses (see section 9.4.2.2), but as a different-Subject purposive in subordinate clauses. The other is *tpa/tawa*, used in subordinate clauses to mark subsequent time and marking obligation in main clauses (see section 9.4.2.1).

Finally there are three verb affixes which are only used in subordinate clauses, never in main clauses. *Ka* indicates, approximately, that two events are simultaneous; *at* marks the protasis ('if'-clause) of a counterfactual sentence; and *kikas* marks concessive clauses.

10.3.1   Same-Subject purposive

The Infinitive can be used to mark a same-Subject purposive (to form a different-Subject purposive, a different affix is used; see section 10.3.2). The clause which states the purpose for which something is done is marked with the Infinitive, and is obligatorily Subject-less, with the notional Subject of the Infinitive verb being coreferential with the matrix clause Subject;[9] the matrix clause is simply marked with mood, tense, aspect, number and person as any main clause. The purpose clause is most commonly placed after the main clause:

(634)   *Carmen   piya   kii-t   kway-zi,*   [*atal   pashpa*
        Carmen   corn   mill-SV   DROP-NONLOCUT   [chicken   DIM
        kwin-na]
        give-INF]
        'Carmen ground corn to give to the baby chickens.'

(635)   *na=na*   *tim=ta-s*   *utka-t*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   basket=in-from   take:out-SV
        kyan-ta-w,   [*ayna-t   kwa-n*   ]
        THROW-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ   [cook-SV   DROP-INF   ]
        'I took [the plantains] out of the basket in order to cook [them].'

(636)   *Demetrio=na*   *tilawa*   *a-mtu-y,*   [*si*
        Demetrio=TOP   tomorrow   come-IMPF-NONLOCUT   [firewood
        pyan-na]
        cut-INF]
        'Demetrio is coming tomorrow to cut firewood.'

While the purpose clause is normally placed after the main clause, it may be embedded within it.

(637)   *Carmen=na,*   [*na-wa   kwin-na,*]   comida
        Carmen=TOP   [1SG-ACC   give-INF   ]   food
        ayna-mtu-y
        cook-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'Carmen is cooking food in order to give [it] to me.'

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[9]Compare this structure with that of complement clause type 4 used as an Object (see section 10.2.4.1).

The Prospective aspect derivational marker *ni* developed from this embedded structure, with an Infinitive as purposive followed by the main verb *i-* 'go': literally it began as 'go in order to' (see section 6.4.2.2 for details).

There is one peculiarity with the use of the same-Subject purposive construction together with the First Person Object Imperative (see section 9.4.5.1). When an infinitival clause is used together with a matrix clause containing a verb in the First Person Object Imperative, the Subject of the subordinate verb is coreferential with the Object of the matrix verb; that is, it is first person.

(638)   limonada   *pay-nin-zha,*   [*tuk-na*   ]
        lemonade   buy-CAUS-IMP.1OBJ   [suck-INF]
        'Sell me lemonade, in order [for me] to drink!'

10.3.2   Different-Subject purposive

The Infinitive can be used to form a purposive construction, however this is necessarily a same-Subject purposive (see section 10.3.1). To form a purposive construction with a different Subject, the suffix *npa/napa* is used. The different-Subject purposive is obligatorily unmarked for person, although the Subject can be fully expressed in the clause. As with the same-Subject purposive construction, the different-Subject purposive clause most commonly follows the matrix clause, but it may precede the matrix clause or be embedded within it.

(639)   *na=na*   *si*   *pyan-ni-ma-ti-mtu-s,*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   firewood   chop-PROSP-COMP-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT
        [*Carmen   ayna-t   kwa-npa*   ]
        [Carmen   cook-SV   eat-DSPURP]
        'I'm going to chop firewood so that Carmen can cook and eat.'

(640)   *José=na*   *si*   *pyan-miz-a-zi,*
        José=TOP   firewood   chop-INCEP-PAST-NONLOCUT
        [*na=na*   *ayna-t   kwa-npa*   ]
        [1SG.(NOM)=TOP   cook-SV   eat-DSPURP]
        'José started chopping firewood so that I could cook and eat.'

(641)   [*yal=ta*   *i-npa,*   ] carpa   *namila-ta-w*
        [house=in   go-DSPURP] cape   lend-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I lent [Demetrio] a rain-cape so that [he] could go home.'

(642)   *Carmen=na*   [*paynya   nalpihsh   kwa-npa*   ]
        Carmen=TOP   [her   brother   eat-DSPURP]
        ayna-ma-ti-zi
        cook-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Carmen cooked, so that her brother could eat.'

It seems likely that the different-Subject purposive inflection has developed historically from the Infinitive (*n* or *na*) plus a following *pa.* Synchronically it

cannot be analyzed in this way, however, as the *npa* allomorph of the different-Subject purposive is used after any verb stem ending in a vowel, while the "short form" Infinitive *n* only occurs with a handful of verbs (see section 7.2.8.1). The existence of this *pa* as, originally, a separate morpheme is also suggested by the parallelism between the Necessitive *npa/napa* and the Obligative *tpa/tawa*. As was seen in section 10.2.3.2 above, the Infinitive marker *n/na* and the Perfective Participle *t/ta* contrast in a number of subordinate clauses directly before postpositions. The variation between *pa* and *wa* can be explained by assuming that the markers became unitary morphemes at different times — in the current stage of Awa Pit, any morpheme beginning with *p* undergoes a morphophonemic alteration to *w* when it is suffixed or encliticized. If *napa* was developed before this became a general rule, while *tawa* developed afterwards, this would explain the alternation.

The most likely origin of the *pa* ending of the different-Subject purposive inflection would appear to be the postposition *pa*, which can be locative or allative.[10] Haspelmath (1989:291–295) gives many examples of the development of purposives from allatives or benefactives (see also Austin (1981) and Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:223–224)).

It is interesting to consider the historical link between the different-Subject purposive and the formally identical Necessitive *npa/napa* (see section 9.4.2.2). The link between these two concepts, obligation and purpose, is not found only in Awa Pit: Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:229) list four languages with this particular polysemy, as well as common polysemies between purposive and intention, and purposive and future; and Dixon (1980:458) notes that the same affix used for purposive subordinate clauses in Australian languages is commonly used in main clauses to indicate need, obligation or desire (and that this affix is probably related to the nominal affix marking purposive, dative and genitive). If the origin of *npa/napa* is indeed the Infinitive followed by the postposition *pa*, it would seem likely that the obligation usage developed from the purposive usage, and "the main clause use would derive from the subordinate clause use, and not vice versa" (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:224), as a non-finite verb followed by a postposition could exist as a subordinate form, but hardly as a matrix verb.

The data from Awa Pit suggests that the obligation use of a marker developed from the purposive use of this marker; and this is precisely the path suggested by Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:223–224) based on Patz's (1982) data on Gugu-Yalanji. Oddly, in discussing the table of purposive markers containing the Gugu-Yalanji marker a few pages later, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:229) suggest that "agent-oriented [obligation, intention] and future uses are precursors to the purpose, complement clause and speaker-oriented uses, and the latter three uses develop in parallel", and hypothesize that "agent-oriented uses reflect the earliest meanings of modal grams, and that subordinate and speaker-oriented uses develop from these". Given the data from Awa Pit, it seems much more likely that the earliest use of at least some of these markers is as purposive markers, with the other uses, such as obligation, developing from this use.

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[10]See section 5.4.4; compare also the discussion of *tawa* in the following section.

10.3.3 After clauses

There are a variety of ways of expressing temporal sequence in Awa Pit. The most general of these, *ka*, will be examined in the following section (section 10.3.4); here the use of the marker *tpa/tawa* to mean 'after' will be looked at.

Parallel to the different-Subject purposive marker, the After inflection has two forms, *tpa* and *tawa*. The former is used after vowel-final verb stems; the latter after consonant-final verb stems. Just as the different-Subject purposive seems to be derived from the Infinitive plus a following *pa*, it seems likely that the After inflection is derived from the Perfective Participle plus a following *pa*.[11] Once again, it seems probable that the After inflection developed first in subordinate clauses, and only later became a main verb form indicating obligation (see section 9.4.2.1).

The After marker indicates that the activity of the matrix clause has occurred or will occur only after the activity expressed in the subordinate clause. If the matrix clause is past or present in reference, then the subordinate activity has necessarily occurred. If the matrix clause expresses a future action, then in fact there is no necessary statement that the subordinate clause activity (and hence the matrix clause activity) will occur; it is simply that the subordinate event must occur before the matrix clause activity can occur (see sentence (646) for an example where the there is no concept of the propositions necessarily becoming reality), and this is presumably the use which led to the development of this morpheme as a main clause Obligative.

(643) [*ayna-tpa=na,*   ] *au=na*   *kwa-ta-w*
       [cook-AFTER=TOP   ] 1PL.(NOM)=TOP   eat-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'After cooking, we ate.'

(644) [*na=na*   *kwa-tpa=na,*   ] *shihtti   kit*
       [1SG.(NOM)=TOP   eat-AFTER=TOP   ] finger   wash
       kway-ta-w
       DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'After eating, I washed my hands.'

(645) [camisa   *pat-tawa=na,*   ] *piikam-ta-w*
       [shirt   wash-AFTER=TOP   ] swim-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'After washing [my] shirt, I went for a swim.'

(646) [*na=kas*   *ashaŋpa say-tawa,*   ] *na=kas*
       [1SG.(NOM)=ADD   woman   find-AFTER   ] 1SG.(NOM)=ADD
       kii-miz-tu
       get:married-INCEP-IMPFPART
       'After/if/when I find a woman, I'll get married too.'

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[11]A similar origin has been suggested for a verbal suffix *tirã* meaning 'after' in Retuarã, which is hypothesized as consisting of the perfect suffix *ti* and a locative postposition *rã* (Strom 1992:168).

A subordinate clause marked with the After marker occurs, obligatorily, before the matrix clause. This contrasts with the purposive constructions discussed above, but is similar to the general temporal marker *ka*, discussed in the following section and is iconic. The Subjects of the two clauses must be coreferential:

(647) *[*Marcos=na*   camisa   *pat-tawa=na,*   ] *na=na*
      [Marcos=TOP   shirt   wash-AFTER=TOP   ] 1SG.(NOM)=TOP
      piikam-ta-w
      swim-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

Consequently it is unusual for both Subjects to be explicitly stated, although it is possible for emphasis (see sentence (646)). More commonly, the Subject is only stated once, although this may be in either of the clauses (compare sentences (643) and (644)); or else the Subject may be entirely ellipsed, if understandable through discourse factors or person marking on the matrix verb (sentence (645)).

In its subordinate use, the After inflection always occurs directly after the verb root plus any derivational suffixes, and neither tense nor aspect can be marked on the subordinate verb. The main clause Obligative is usually followed by person marking; this contrasts with the subordinate After inflection where, as with all subordinate adverbial clauses, there is no person marking. The subordinate clause as a whole is nearly always marked by a encliticized Topic marker.

10.3.4   Simultaneity clauses

The most commonly used marker of temporal sequence is the subordinate suffix *ka*, usually translatable as 'when'. *Ka* establishes simultaneity between the propositions of the subordinate clause which it marks and the matrix clause. However, as *ka* can be suffixed to a verb root, a verb root plus derivational markers, or a verb root plus aspect markers, and the matrix clause may have any verbal suffixes allowable in a main clause, a wide variety of possible temporal relations between the two clauses can be created by using distinct verbal marking in the two clauses. The subordinate clause often carries *na*, the Topic marker, and necessarily occurs before the matrix clause.

If the matrix clause is Past tense, then the propositions contained in the two clauses have occurred, and *ka* is appropriately translated by 'when':

(648) [*kin-ka=na,*   ] *na=na*   *Santos=ta*
       [dawn-WHEN=TOP   ] 1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Santos=ACC
       izh-ta-w
       see-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

       'At dawn (when it dawned), I saw Santos.'

(649) [*Santos   a-ka=na,*   ] *kula-ta-w*
       [Santos   come-WHEN=TOP   ] hide-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'When Santos came, I hid.'

If the matrix clause is Future or some non-indicative mood, the events have not occurred, and there is no necessity that the events will ever happen. If the event in the subordinate clause is necessarily going to happen (for example, it contains *nash-* 'afternoon'), or if it is likely to happen, it will usually be translated by 'when' in English; otherwise it will be translated by 'if'. There is, then, no distinction in Awa Pit in the encoding of a sequence of future events depending on the speaker's belief in their probability of occurrence.

(650) [*nash-ka*   ] *alu*   *ki-ni-zi*
       [be:afternoon-WHEN] rain(1) rain(2)-FUT-NONLOCUT
       'This afternoon it may rain.'

(651) [*ii-ka=na=ma,*   ] *kam-tawa*
       [die-WHEN=TOP=TEMP] bury-OBLIG
       'When someone dies, they have to be buried.'

(652) [*an   kih   ku-ka=na,*   ] *shi=ma*   *ki-ni-zi?*
       [this leaf eat-WHEN=TOP] what=INTER do-FUT-NONLOCUT
       'If [one] eats this leaf, what will happen?'

(653) [*a-t   kway-ka=na,*   ] *ayna-ni-s*
       [come-SV DROP-WHEN=TOP] cook-FUT-LOCUT
       'When/if she comes, I will cook.'

If the matrix clause is Present tense, there are a variety of meanings, corresponding to the variety of meanings of the Present (Imperfective). It cannot mean simple present, since then there would be no reason to indicate simultaneity, just as in English: *When I am coming, he is cooking.* The simultaneity of two activities may refer to a current habitual occurrence, a scheduled future activity, or a general truth:

(654) [*nash-ka=na*   ] *pina alu*
       [be:afternoon-WHEN=TOP] very rain(1)
       ki-mtu-y
       rain(2)-IMPF-NONLOCUT
       'It is raining every afternoon (in this season).'

(655) [*dios izh-ka=na,*   ] *kayl-tu-s*
       [god   see-WHEN=TOP] return-IMPF-LOCUT
       'If God is watching, we will return.'

(656) [*shutshu sa-ka=na,*   ] *ishan-tu-y*
       [breast   touch-WHEN=TOP] laugh-IMPF-NONLOCUT
       'When [one] touches [women's] breasts, they laugh.'

While the use of *ka* sets up the simultaneity of the subordinate and matrix proposition, by including aspectual marking in one or the other clause, a variety

of differing temporal relations can be established. An Imperfective in one or the
other clause establishes that the activity encoded in that clause was on-going at
the time at which the event in the other clause occurred:

(657)   [*Demetrio   a-ka=na,*   ] *kal*
        [Demetrio   come-WHEN=TOP] work(1)
        ki-mtu-ata-w
        work(2)-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'When Demetrio came I was working.'

(658)   [*na=na*   *uŋ=pa-s*   *kayl*
        [1SG.(NOM)=TOP   there=in(approx)-from   return
        kway-ka=na,   ] *kal*   *ki-mtu-ani-zi=ma*
        DROP-WHEN=TOP] work(1)   work(2)-IMPF-FUT-NONLOCUT=TEMP
        'When I return from there, [my friends] will already be working.'

(659)   [*na=na*   *Ricaurte=ta-s*   *a-mtu-ka=na,*   ]
        [1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Ricaurte=in-from   come-IMPF-WHEN=TOP]
        maza   kwizha   izh-ta-w
        one   dog   see-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'When I was coming from Ricaurte, I saw a dog.'

The aspect markers *ma* and *ti*, the Completive and the Terminative, can be
used to focus more precisely on temporal relations, either individually or jointly.
When it occurs before *ka*, *ma* indicates that the activity in the subordinate clause
had either just begun (if atelic), as in sentences (660) and (663), or just finished
(if telic), as in sentence (661). The Terminative *ti* indicates that the two events
were closely linked in time, with the subordinate event having just finished when
the matrix event took place, as in sentences (662) and (663).[12]

(660)   [*kutshu=ta*   *puz-ma-ka=na,*   ] *alu*
        [San Isidro=in   go:out-COMP-WHEN=TOP] rain(1)
        ki-ma-ti-zi
        rain(2)-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'When I had just left to go to San Isidro, it rained.'

(661)   [*ap   kwankwa*   *ii-ma-ka=na,*   ] *ap   aympihsh*
        [my   grandmother   die-COMP-WHEN=TOP] my   brother
        kii-ma-t   *a-zi*
        get:married-COMP-PFPART   be-NONLOCUT
        'When my grandmother [finally] died, my brother was [already]
        married.'

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[12]These meanings are the usual meanings for these suffixes; see sections 9.3.2 and 9.3.3 for
more details and a closer examination of these meanings.

(662)   [*waz*   *tazh-ti-ka=na,*   ] *kwizha* siente
         [bowl   come:down-TERM-WHEN=TOP   ] dog   hear
         ki-ti-zi
         do-PAST-NONLOCUT
         'When the bowl fell, the dog heard it.'

(663)   [*ish-ma-ti-ka=na,*   ] médico   *izh-ni-tpa*
         [be:sick-COMP-TERM-WHEN=TOP   ] doctor   see-PROSP-OBLIG
         'When [you] get sick, it's necessary to go and see the doctor.'

It is also possible to use various aspect markers in the matrix clause, of course. In addition, the Resultative or the Past Anterior constructions (see sections 11.2.2.2 and 11.2.2.1 respectively) can be used to state that, by the time the action in the subordinate clause occurred, the action in the matrix clause had already occurred. To state the opposite, that the action in the matrix clause occurred after the action in the subordinate clause, the verbal suffix *tpa* is used, rather than *ka* (see section 10.3.3).

(664)   [*na=na*   pueblo=*ta*   *a-t*   *kway-ka=na,*   ]
         [1SG.(NOM)=TOP   town=in   come-SV   DROP-WHEN=TOP   ]
         alcalde *ii-ma-t*   *a-ti-zi*
         mayor   die-COMP-PFPART   be-PAST-NONLOCUT
         'When I arrived in the town, the mayor was dead.'

(665)   [*Bogotá=ta-s*   kayl   *kway-ka,*   ] verano
         [Bogotá=in-from   return DROP-WHEN   ] summer
         payl-ma-t   *a-npa-y*
         finish-COMP-PFPART   be-NECESS-NONLOCUT
         'When I return from Bogotá, the summer will be over.'

(666)   [*na=na*   *namna-ka=na,*   ]
         [1SG.(NOM)=TOP   follow/catch:up:to-WHEN=TOP   ]
         uspa=na   *wakata*   *kan-ma-t*
         3PL.(NOM)=TOP   cattle   tie-COMP-PFPART
         ma-ti-zi
         ANTER-PAST-NONLOCUT
         'When I caught up, they had tied up the cattle.'

(667)   [*Carmen=na*   pueblo=*ta-s*   *a-t*   *kway-ka=na,*   ]
         [Carmen=TOP   town=in-from   come-SV   DROP-WHEN=TOP   ]
         Santos=ta   *pyan-ma-t*   *ma-zi*   Demetrio
         Santos=ACC   hit-COMP-PFPART   ANTER-NONLOCUT   Demetrio
         'When Carmen arrived back from town, Demetrio had hit Santos.'

10.3.5 Concessive clauses

Concessive constructions are those for which one might think, given the subordinate clause, that the matrix clause is not true, but in fact it is. In Awa Pit these constructions consist of a matrix clause marked in the usual fashion, and an associated concessive subordinate clause, where the verb root is marked by the concessive mood suffix *kikas*.[13] The concessive clause necessarily precedes the associated matrix clause.

Neither tense nor aspect can be marked in the subordinate clause. This does not usually create problems in comprehension, as the concessive clause refers to the same time as the matrix clause — for example, in sentence (668) the clauses are past, in sentence (669) the clauses are future.

(668) [*say-kikas,*   ] *shi   say-ma-s*
       [look:for/find-CONCESS] NEG look:for/find-NEG-LOCUT
       'Although I looked for [it], I didn't find [it].'

(669) [*Laureano a-kikas,*   ] *kal   ki-mtu   shi*
       [Laureano come-CONCESS] work(1) work(2)-IMPFPART NEG
       ka-s
       be:permanently-LOCUT
       'Even if Laureano comes, I won't work with him.'

This simultaneity of clauses is the assumption, if there is nothing in the sentence or context which contradicts this assumption. In order to be more specific, it is always possible to add a lexical time specification to the subordinate clause:

(670) [*Carmen ma   payu=na   a-t   kway-kikas,*   ]
       [Carmen now   day=TOP   come-SV DROP-CONCESS]
       tilawa=na   i-ti-mtu-s
       tomorrow=TOP   go-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT
       'Even if Carmen comes today, I'll go [to town] tomorrow.'

(671) [*Carmen anshik=na   a-t   kway-kikas,*   ]
       [Carmen yesterday=TOP come-SV DROP-CONCESS]
       tilawa=na   i-ti-mtu-s
       tomorrow=TOP   go-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT
       'Even though Carmen came yesterday, I'll go [to town] tomorrow.'

10.3.6 Counterfactual clauses

The protasis ('if'-clause) of counterfactual sentences in Awa Pit is marked with the verb suffix *at*, which takes the form *t* after *a*. Counterfactual clauses in Awa

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[13]It is interesting to note that the standard of comparison in a comparative construction can be signalled by a formally identical morpheme, *kikas*. The two morphemes are clearly historically related, as will be discussed in section 13.7.

Pit are unusual in that the morphology marking the protasis is not added to the verb stem, but rather to the Imperfective or Perfective Participle form.[14] The protasis may either be simultaneous with the apodosis ('then'-clause), in which case the Imperfective Participle form is used; or the protasis may temporally precede the apodosis, in which case the Perfective Participle is used.

The apodosis is marked differently depending on whether the counterfactual statement is something which was not true in the past, or something which is not true now, will not be true in the future, or is not true in general. In the first case, a past counterfactual, the matrix verb is marked with the Past affix or with a Perfective Serial Verb, followed by the irrealis marker *na*, followed by person marking, *s* for Locutor, zero for Non-locutor (see section 8.4.1). If it is not a past counterfactual, then the Potential or Negative Potential mood marker is used on the main verb, followed by person marking. The protasis is always stated before the apodosis, which is a perfectly iconic ordering, and the protasis is normally marked with the Topic marker.

(672)   [*Laureano=na*   *kii-mtu-at=na,*   ] panela *pay-t*
        [Laureano=TOP   mill-IMPFPART-CNTRFC=TOP   ] *panela* buy-SV
        kway-ni-ti-na-s
        DROP-PROSP-PAST-IRR-LOCUT
        'If Laureano had been milling, I would have gone to buy some *panela* (sugar).'

(673)   [*akki*   *pana-t=na,*   ] *izh-sina=ma*
        [here   be:standing.(IMPFPART)-CNTRFC=TOP   ] see-POT=TEMP
        'If he were here, we could meet.'

(674)   [*piya*   *waa-t=na,*   ] arepa   *sa-t*
        [corn   there:is.(IMPFPART)-CNTRFC=TOP   ] pancake   make-SV
        kway-na-s
        DROP-IRR-LOCUT
        'If there were any corn, I would have made pancakes.'

(675)   [*Demetrio=na*   *anshik*   *a-t-at=na,*   ]
        [Demetrio=TOP   yesterday   come-PFPART-CNTRFC=TOP   ]
        ma=na   *i-ti-na-s*
        now=TOP   go-PAST-IRR-LOCUT
        'If Demetrio had come yesterday, I would have left today.'

(676)   [*kii-ta-t=na*   ] *wat-a-na*
        [mill-PFPART-CNTRFC=TOP   ] be:good-PAST-IRR.(NONLOCUT)
        'If [he] had milled, it would have been good.'

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[14]This suggests that, historically, *at* was probably a separate word (perhaps a postposition) following a complement clause.

10.3.7   Absolute clauses

The final type of adverbial subordinate clause in Awa Pit is the absolute clause. These clauses are marked as being subordinate, by the presence of the Imperfective or Perfective Participle or the Infinitive form of the subordinate verb, but no futher specification is made as to their function in the sentence. They either indicate a temporal, causal or conditional idea (through either Participle), the idea of an "accompanying circumstance" (through the Imperfective Participle only), or a "no-Subject" purposive (through the Infinitive).

It is worth noting that while the Absolute constructions have been treated here as adverbial clauses, in semantic intent the first two types are very similar to T-relatives and NP-relatives in Hale's (1976) interpretation of 'adjoined relative clauses' in Australian languages.

10.3.7.1   Temporal, causal or conditional absolute clauses

Absolute clauses marking a temporal, causal or conditional idea contain either a Perfective Participle (if the subordinate event occurs prior to the matrix event) or an Imperfective Participle (if the two events are cotemporaneous). The absolute clause is identical in structure to a matrix clause (with the exception of the verbal markings), and may contain an explicit Subject. Most commonly, the (notional) Subjects of the two clauses are the same, and if there is an explicit reference to the Subject this can occur in either the main or the subordinate clause. If the Subjects of the two clauses are coreferential, the absolute clause may be embedded within the matrix clause, although initial position is more common. It could be claimed that in fact absolute clauses are never embedded, and that in an example such as sentence (677) it is simply the case that *ampu*, the Subject, is expressed in the subordinate clause rather than in the matrix clause; however that this is not the case can be seen from sentence (684), where the initial element *pueblo* clearly is an argument of the matrix clause, and not the subordinate clause.

As well as same-Subject absolute clauses, it is also possible to have subordinate absolute clauses which, while they do not have the same Subject as the matrix clause, do not explicitly have a Subject at all. These clauses have either an indefinite Subject (as in sentence (680)) or an impersonal verb (as in sentence (681)).

As there is no precise specification of the relationship between the adverbial clause and the matrix clause, it is often difficult to tell whether an absolute clause is intended to be temporal, causal or conditional. This is especially the case, of course, as the explicit marking corresponding to a temporal subordinate clause, *ka*, marks future temporal and conditional relations, and causal relations are often difficult to distinguish from temporal relations. Examples of absolute clauses used in causal, temporal and conditional ways are:

(677)   *ampu* [*pyan-ta=na*   ] *tayaz-tu-ati-zi*
         man   [hit-PFPART=TOP] be:sorry-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
         'Having hit [his wife] the man was sorry.'

(678) [*na=na*   *Bogotá=ta-s*   *kayl-ta=na,*   ]
       [1SG.(NOM)=TOP Bogotá=in-from return-PFPART=TOP]
       kal   *ki-na*   *a-mtu-s*
       work(1) work(2)-INF come-IMPF-LOCUT
       'When I have returned from Bogotá, I will come and work.'

(679) [*wiya*   *ki-mtu*   ] *tit*   *kway-ti-zi*
       [fight(1) fight(2)-IMPFPART] cut   DROP-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'While fighting they cut [each other].'

(680) [*kal*   *ki-t=na*   ] *pyal*   *waa-y*
       [work(1) work(2)-PFPART=TOP] money there:is-NONLOCUT
       'When one works, then there's money/After working, you get money.'

(681) *alu*   *ki-mtu,*   *kin-ma-ti-zi*
       rain(1) rain(2)-IMPFPART dawn-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'It dawned raining.'

(682) [*shi*   *i-t*   *ki=na*   ] *pantalón*
       [NEG go-PFPART be.NEG.(IMPFPART)=TOP] pants
       pat-miz-tu-s
       wash-INCEP-IMPF-LOCUT
       'If I don't go (to Pueblo Viejo), I'll wash my pants.'

As seen in these examples, the absolute clause may be negated in the usual clausal fashion, and an absolute clause often has an associated Topic marker.

10.3.7.2 Accompanying circumstance absolute clauses

Accompanying circumstance clauses are those clauses which simply add additional information about the Subject — something else that the Subject was doing. They are necessarily associated with the Subject of the matrix clause, and necessarily coreferential, with no explicit Subject. As the two clauses are cotemporaneous, only the Imperfective Participle is used in these clauses.

(683) [*akkwan* libro *mij=na*   ] *pashpa* *escuela=ta*
       [many   book have.(IMPFPART)=TOP] child   school=in
       a-mtu-y
       come-IMPF-NONLOCUT
       'The child came to school carrying/with a lot of books.'

(684) pueblo=*ta* [*pyal*   *shi*   *mij*
       town=in   [money NEG have.(IMPFPART)
       ki=na   ] *a-ta-w*
       be.NEG.(IMPFPART)=TOP] come-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I came to town, without (not having) any money.'

10.3.7.3   No-Subject purposive absolute clauses

The Infinitive *na* is used in a "no-Subject" purposive construction. The main
verb in these sentences expresses a proposition which is true under certain con-
ditions, and the conditions under which it is true are expressed by the infinitival
clause. These conditions are not simple conditions, however, but rather express
a particular activity which one may wish to carry out:

(685)   [*maas yal   sa-na=na,*   ] *akkwan ti   waa-y*
        [new   house make-INF=TOP] many   stick there:is-NONLOCUT
        'To make a new house, there is much wood (much wood is needed).'

(686)   [palanca *sa-na=na,*   ] chonta *wat*
        [crowbar make-INF=TOP] *chonta* good
        '*Chonta* wood is good for making crow-bars.'

These no-Subject purposives are distinguishable from same-Subject pur-
posives (section 10.3.1), although both use the Infinitive to mark the adverbial
clause. They tend to appear in different positions: in same-Subject purposives,
the subordinate clause normally follows the matrix clause; in no-Subject purpos-
ives, it normally precedes. More clearly, they are distinguished by the use of the
topic marker, as same-Subject purposive clauses cannot be marked with the topic
marker, while no-Subject purposives are usually topic-marked. Additionally, the
notional Subject of same-Subject purposives is coreferential with the matrix Sub-
ject; in no-Subject purposives, the notional Subject of the subordinate clause is
indefinite.

10.4   Relative clauses

In Awa Pit there are a number of constructions which fulfil the same semantic
role as relative clauses in many languages, but only one or two of these construc-
tions truly fit the more common definitions of relative clauses, and even these
constructions have a number of somewhat unusual features.[15] Before turning to
an examination of these constructions, the various definitions of relative clauses
developed separately and together by Keenan and Comrie will be looked at.

In their original paper, Keenan and Comrie state that they consider any
syntactic object to be a relative clause

> if it specifies a set of objects (perhaps a one-member set) in two
> steps: a larger set is specified, called the *domain* of relativization,
> and then restricted to some subset of which a certain sentence,
> the *restricting* sentence, is true. The domain of relativization is
> expressed in surface structure by the *head NP*, and the restricting
> sentence by the *restricting clause*, which may look more or less like

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[15]See also absolute clauses, section 10.3.7, which could be treated as 'adjoined relative
clauses'.

a surface sentence depending on the language.

(Keenan & Comrie 1977:63–64)

Comrie (1981:136–137) modifies this definition slightly, and extends its use. He considers that his definition is "a characterization of the prototypical relative clause, rather than a set of necessary and sufficient conditions for the identification of relative clauses", and notes that "in order to say that a language has relative clauses, it should be the case that there is some construction or constructions correlating highly with the definition":

> A relative clause then consists necessarily of a head and a restricting clause. The head in itself has a certain potential range of referents, but the restricting clause restricts this set by giving a proposition that must be true of the actual referents of the over-all construction.

(Comrie 1981:136)

However he believes that English sentences such as non-finite constructions (*passengers leaving on flight 738 should* ...) and those involving restrictive attributive adjectives (*the good students all passed the examination*) are included in the definition of relative clauses.

Keenan (1985:142) has essentially the same semantic definition as the other two works. However, the presence of a restrictive clause (S_{rel}) is considered to be the defining feature of a relative clause. Under this definition,

> there are structures we consider relative clauses which lack a domain noun, in which case the domain of relativization is the class of objects of which it makes sense to assert the restrictive clause.

(Keenan 1985:142)

While accepting these as relative clauses, Keenan bases his classification on relative clauses which contain a domain noun, and has no further discussion of relative clauses without such a noun.

In Awa Pit there are various constructions which fulfil at least some of the requirements for relative clauses. Three of these — the lexical nominalizations, the deverbal adjectives and the purposive adjectives — lack so many clausal features and have such a variety of idiosyncratic restrictions that they are considered to be derivational processes, forming nouns or adjectives from verbs, rather than being (relative) clauses, and hence these processes were discussed in sections 5.2.1, 5.2.3.1 and 5.2.3.2 respectively. There are also similarities between relative clauses and the agentive clausal nominalizations discussed in section 10.5, but, as will be explained there, there are sufficient differences to consider this construction as quite distinct from a relative clause.

This leaves two constructions as relative clauses, one formed with the Positive Adjectivizer *m(u)*, the other with the Negative Adjectivizer[16] *kayŋ*, although

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[16]The Negative Adjectivizer is similar in function to the habitual negative in Epena Pedee, discussed in Harms (1994:135–136).

the two differ in distribution. Examining the Positive Adjectivizer first, it appears to fulfil all the requirements for relative clauses (looking only at the more inclusive clause here):

(687)   [[*kal*   *ki-m*   ]=*ta*   *ta-mu*   ] *awa*   *pyal*
        [[work(1)   work(2)-ADJZR]=ACC   pay-ADJZR] person   money
        kaa-ma-ti-zi
        lose-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'The person who pays the workers lost the money.'

In this sentence there is a head noun in the matrix clause (*awa* 'person'), plus a clause which restricts the head noun to a more limited range of referents. The relative clause occurs in the usual place for nominal modifiers, before the head.

There are strong restrictions on the use of these constructions. The head can be in any position in the matrix clause, but is necessarily coreferential with the (non-expressed) Subject of the relative clause. This restriction of the co-referential noun to Subject position in the relative clause is not unknown cross-linguistically, occuring for example in Malagasy, and being in perfect accord with Keenan & Comrie's (1977:69–70) hierarchy for relativization. However there is a strong difference between Malagasy and Awa Pit in this respect. Malagasy, unlike Awa Pit, also has a system for promoting any major constituent to subject position, and thus through, for example, passivization, what would otherwise be an object can be relativized (Keenan & Comrie 1977:69). In Awa Pit this is simply not possible.

In addition there is a restriction on the tense/aspect concepts expressed by these constructions in Awa Pit. These subordinate clauses necessarily describe a general or habitual state of affairs, never a one-off event. That is, the constructions can be used for something like 'the man who is always hitting me', but not for 'the man who hit/is hitting/will hit me'. This does not necessarily exclude these from being relative clauses, as they still fit the definition, restricting the set of possible referents, but it is a strong semantic restriction on their use.

The existence of a single NP containing both the relative clause and the head noun can be seen from the occurrence of the relative clause directly before the head noun, and the impossibility of Topic-marking the relative clause.[17] The relative clause verb itself can be ditransitive (as in the example above), transitive or intransitive, and may have any modifiers and adjuncts; it is necessarily an active verb.

(688)   *na=na*   [*kal*   *ki-m*   ] *awa*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   [work(1)   work(2)-ADJZR] person
        'I am a person who works (a worker).'

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[17]These facts distinguish the relative clause construction from the clausal nominalization — see section 10.5.

(689)   *na=na*   [*kwisha* *attihsh=ta* *shaa-m*   ] *awa*
          1SG.(NOM)=TOP [very   far=in   walk-ADJZR] person
          i-s
          be-LOCUT
          'I am a person who habitually walks to very far (I'm used to walking a long way).'

Just as with lexical adjectives, the noun head of the noun phrase can be ellipsed if it is clear from context what is under discussion. This is especially common with relative clauses, and the noun head is often ellipsed without having been previously mentioned in the discourse, provided that it is clear to whom the relative clause refers. Thus, for example, the head noun *awa* 'person' is often left off following an relative clause where the verb could only refer to a human actor, as in the first occurrence of *m(u)* in sentence (687) above, and in:

(690)   [*wakata* *walku-m*   ]=*ta*   *pyan-ta-w*
      [cattle   steal-ADJZR]=ACC hit-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      'I hit the cattle thief.'

While these examples with no noun head in Subject or Object position in the matrix clause still appear to fit the definition of relative clauses, the situation becomes less clear when non-headed relative clauses are used as Copula Complements (either with or without an *i* or *ka* copula).

(691)   [*shutta* *put-mu*   ] *ka-y*
      [hat   plait-ADJZR] be:permanently-NONLOCUT
      'She weaves hats (is a hat weaver).'

In this example it could be considered that there is an ellipsed *awa* 'person' as the head noun, but this solution becomes less likely with the use of this construction as a straightforward method of expressing generic statements:

(692)   *shitshu* [*pil-mu*   ] *i*
     bird   [fly-ADJZR] be.(NONLOCUT)
     'Birds fly (birds are flyers).'

(693)   *inkal*   *awa*   [*tunya* *ku-m*   ]
     mountain person [rat   eat-ADJZR]
     'The Awa eat rats (the Awa are rat-eaters).'

Even more interesting is the fact that the Negative Adjectivizer can only be used in this sort of copula statement, to make either a specific habitual claim about someone or something, or to make a more generic claim:

(694)   *na=na*   [*wakata* *ii-ta=na*   *shi*
     1SG.(NOM)=TOP [cattle   die-PFPART=TOP NEG
     ku-kayŋ   ]
     eat-NEGADJZR]
     'I don't eat dead cattle (ie. cattle which died mysteriously).'

(695) an   caballo=na   [shi   shaa-shi-kayŋ   ]
       this   horse=TOP   [NEG   walk-DESID-NEGADJZR   ]
       'This horse doesn't like walking.'

(696) na=na   [Awa   Pit   shi   pata-kayŋ   ]
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   [person   language   NEG   speak-NEGADJZR   ]
       ka-s
       be:permanently-LOCUT
       'I don't speak Awa Pit.'

(697) anya=na   [trabaja   shi   ki-kayŋ   ]
       before=TOP [work(1)   NEG   work(2)-NEGADJZR   ]
       a-ta-w,   domingo=na
       be-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ   Sunday=TOP
       'We didn't used to work on Sundays.'

The Negative Adjectivizer simply cannot be used with a head noun. To express this concept the Postive Adjectivizer and a following (clause-external) negative are used:

(698) [pata-m   ] shi   pashpa=na
       [speak-ADJZR   ] NEG   child=TOP
       'She is a child who can't [yet] speak.'

The two Adjectivizers are thus treated here as forming relative clauses, as they fulfil many of the requirements for relative clauses. However there are very strong syntactic requirements which the two constructions must have, and the Negative Adjectivizer in particular cannot be used in the "normal" relative clause construction, with a head noun. In addition, there are very strong semantic restrictions, as these relative clauses must refer to a habitual or generic situation.

The lack of other relative clause constructions in Awa Pit is not, perhaps, surprising. It could be considered a factor related to language death, as the frequency of relative clauses has been found to reduce markedly in such situations (Hill 1989:149). However Awa Pit does have a strong and productive system of nominalizations, discussed in the next section, and a variety of languages have been found to lack relative clauses but use nominalizations in their place — for example Macushi (Abbott 1991:70–71) and Barasano (Jones & Jones 1991:149–153). Equally, Awa Pit has an absolute subordinate clause construction (section 10.3.7), highly reminiscent of Australian 'adjoined relative clauses'.

10.5 Nominalizations

As was briefly mentioned in section 5.2.6, there are two suffixes which may be attached to adjectives to change them into nouns, one singular, mika, and one collective plural, tuz, where the collective plural can only be used if the entities referred to are acting together for a common purpose. The derived noun is necessarily animate in both cases.

(699)   *ilapa-mika*
        big-NMLZR.SG
        'the older one (brother)'

(700)   *kutnya-tuz*   *kal*   *ki-mtu-y*
        three-NMLZR.PL work(1)   work(2)-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'The three are working together.'

(701)   *yawa-tuz=ma*   *kal*   *ki-mtu-y?*
        how:many-NMLZR.PL=INTER   work(1)   work(2)-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'How many are working together?'

In addition to the use of these nominalizers with adjectives, they can be used as clitics to form clausal nominalizations. The subordinate clause has the same argument structure as a main clause except that it is obligatorily without a Subject; the nominalization may also contain verbal modifiers such as adverbs. The subordinate verb is either in Perfective Participle form, signalling that the "subordinate event" was over at the matrix event time; in the Imperfective Participle form, showing that the "subordinate event" was on-going at the time of the matrix event; or the verb is suffixed by the Positive Adjectivizer, used when the "subordinate event" is habitual. The nominalized clause carries the meaning of "the one/ones who carry/carried out the action in the subordinate clause".

(702)   [*wakata*   *pay-nin-ta=mika*   ]=*na*
        [cattle   buy-CAUS-PFPART=NMLZR.SG   ]=TOP
        az-tu-y
        cry-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        'The one who sold cattle is crying.'

(703)   [*Juan=ta*   *pyan-ta=mika*   ]=*na*   *katsa*
        [Juan=ACC   hit-PFPART=NMLZR.SG   ]=TOP   big
        'The one who hit Juan is big.'

(704)   [*ap*   *aympihsh=ta*   *pyan-ta=mika*   ]=*na*   *na-wa*
        [my   brother=ACC   hit-PFPART=NMLZR.SG   ]=TOP   1SG-ACC
        tit-ma-ti-s
        cut-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'The one who hit my brother cut me.'

(705)   [*anshik*   *a-t=mika*   ]=*na*   *wiya*
        [yesterday come-PFPART=NMLZR.SG   ]=TOP   fight(1)
        ki-ma-t   *ma-ti-zi*
        fight(2)-COMP-PFPART   ANTER-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'The one who came yesterday had fought.'

(706)   [*Juan=ta*   *pyan-tu=mika*   ]=*na*   *katsa*   *awa*
        [Juan=ACC   hit-IMPFPART=NMLZR.SG   ]=TOP   big   person
        'The one who is hitting Juan is big.'

(707) [*Cumbal=ta-s*   *a-mtu=tuz*   ]=*na*   "guerrilla
       [Cumbal=in-from come-IMPFPART=NMLZR.PL]=TOP guerrilla
       shaa-y"   *kizh-a-zi*
       be:around-NONLOCUT say-PL:SUBJ-NONLOCUT
       'The ones coming from Cumbal said that the guerrilla are around."

(708) [*kal*   *ki-m=mika*   ] *ka-y*
       [work(1) work(2)-ADJZR=NMLZR.SG] be:permanently-NONLOCUT
       'He/she is a worker.'

As seen in these examples, a nominalized clause as Subject is usually Topic-marked, as is common for lexical Subjects. While these clausal nominalizations are most often used in Subject role, they can be used in other roles, and in this case the nominalization is followed by appropriate postpositions to mark the grammatical role:

(709) *na=na*   [*pishkatu* *pay-nin-tu=mika*   ]=*ta*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP [fish   buy-CAUS-IMPF=NMLZR.SG]=ACC
       pyan-ta-w
       hit-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I hit the one who was selling fish.'

These clauses are clearly nominalizations rather than, for example, complement clauses, as the nominalization can be accompanied by modifiers such as adjectives at the level of the matrix clause in exactly the same way as any lexical noun:

(710) *sun* [*a-t=mika*   ]=*na*   *ii-ma-ti*
       that [come-PFPART=NMLZR.SG]=TOP die-COMP-TERM
       'That one that came has died.'

Thus the clause forms the functional equivalent of a noun, not a noun phrase.

Given that in Awa Pit it is possible to ellipse a head noun, it could be maintained that the clauses marked with *mika* or *tuz* are in fact modifiers rather than nouns in their own right, and that the head noun has been ellipsed. Indeed, there are sentences which contain both a *mika/tuz* clause and a noun, which would appear to support this analysis:

(711) [*na-wa*   *sula*   *kwa-t=mika*   ] *kwizha* *nya*
       [1SG-ACC bite(1) bite(2)-PFPART=NMLZR.SG] dog   meat
       walkwa-ti-zi
       steal-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'The dog which bit me stole the meat.'

However there are a variety of reasons for considering that sentences such as this contain two separate noun phrases, both referring to the same entity, in an appositional relationship.[18]

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[18]The same type of appositional relationship is found between nouns and clausal nominalizations in Macushi (Abbott 1991:93–96) and Barasano (Jones & Jones 1991:149–153).

To begin with, the order of the "head noun" and the "modifier" are not fixed. In contrast to the previous sentence, where the clause marked with *mika* occurs before the noun, there are sentences where the noun precedes the clause:

(712) *kwizha* [*a-t=mika*   ]=*na*   *ii-ma-ti*
       dog   [come-PFPART=NMLZR.SG]=TOP die-COMP-TERM
       'The dog which came has died.'

Indeed, when there is both a noun and a clause marked with *mika/tuz*, these are most commonly separated, with one or the other occurring after the matrix verb.[19] Thus one of the informants translated and then "repeated" the sentence *the dog which came died*, with the noun and the clause first being placed together, and then with one and then the other placed after the verb:

(713) [*a-t=mika*   ]=*na*   *kwizha* *ii-ma-ti*
       [come-PFPART=NMLZR.SG]=TOP dog   die-COMP-TERM
       'The dog which came has died.'

(714) *sun*   *kwizha* *ii-ma-ti=ma*,   [*a-t=mika*
       that   dog   die-COMP-TERM=TEMP   [come-PFPART=NMLZR.SG
       ]=*na*
       ]=TOP
       'That dog has died, the one that came.'

(715) *sun*   [*a-t=mika*   ]=*na*   *ii-ma-ti*,
       that   [come-PFPART=NMLZR.SG]=TOP die-COMP-TERM
       kwizha=na
       dog=TOP
       'That one that came has died, the dog.'

These alternate positioning of the elements — together in either order, or with one or the other placed after the matrix verb — is precisely the situation which occurs when two separate noun phrases referring to the same entity are in apposition (see section 5.5).

As well as these distributional reasons for considering the noun and the clause marked with *mika/tuz* to form two separate noun phrases in apposition, there are also morphological reasons for this conclusion. Both the "head noun" and the clause marked with *mika/tuz* may be marked with the Topic marker, and any postpositional case marking must be present on both items.

(716) [*a-mtu=mika*   ]=*na*   *ashaŋpa=na*   *wan*
       [come-IMPFPART=NMLZR.SG]=TOP woman=TOP   all
       pyan-ti-zi
       hit-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'The woman who was coming hit everyone.'

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[19]This discontinuity is also common in Macushi (Abbott 1991:93–96).

(717) [*Santos=ta*   *pyaŋta-ta=mika*   ]*=ta*
       [Santos=ACC kill-PFPART=NMLZR.SG]=ACC
       pyan-ta-w,   *ashaŋpa=ta*
       hit-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ woman=ACC
       'I hit the one who killed Santos, the woman.'

This indicates that there must be two noun phrases, in apposition, as the Topic marker and case marking can only be marked once on each noun phrase within the sentence.

Agentive nominalizations are clearly quite close semantically to relative clauses. However they do not, in fact, comply with the conditions set by many definitions of relative clauses, as there is no domain noun which is further restricted by a subordinate clause. Even when the "domain noun" is explicitly expressed, it is placed in apposition to the nominalization, and thus is not in the same noun phrase. This construction is thus not a relative clause according to the definitions of Keenan & Comrie (1977) or Comrie (1981), which both require a domain noun in the same noun phrase as the restrictive clause. Keenan (1985:142), on the other hand, takes the defining feature of relative clauses to be the presence of a restrictive clause, and considers that a domain noun is not necessary in a relative clause construction — and under this definition, this construction is perhaps a relative clause, although the use of identical morphology on adjectives is somewhat disturbing in this case.[20]

There are a variety of languages where a nominalization functions as a "relative clause" modifying a head noun. For example, Davis (1973:211) gives the following sentence from Luiseño, where the presence of locative marking on the verb 'make' shows it has been nominalized:

(718) *Kuʔá·l-up* *nivéʔ-qa*   *wíw-ŋa*   *nu-sŋáki* *pu-lóʔxa-ŋa*
       fly-PRES   be:in-PRES acorn:mush-LOC my-wife   her-make-LOC
       'There is a fly in the acorn mush my wife made.'

While this example is not structurally identical to the Awa Pit nominalizations with an apposed noun (for example, in Luiseño the possessive prefix *nu* is only possible on nouns), there are clear similarities, with the "head noun" and the nominalization both separately case marked. In fact, all elements of an NP in Luiseño are normally case-marked, however in addition to this, while the "head noun" is usually found immediately before the nominalization, this is not necessarily the case, and the two elements can be found in a variety of places through the sentence (Davis 1973:206). It is thus not entirely clear whether the head noun and the nominalization in Luiseño are in the same NP or in apposition.

In their discussion of nominalizations being used as "relative clauses", Comrie & Thompson (1985) make the following comments which are highly relevant to Awa Pit:

> It is not difficult to understand how a nominalization can function
> as a relative clause: the nominalization and the noun with which it

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[20]See section 10.4 for more explicit descriptions of the various definitions of relative clauses.

is in construction can be thought of as two juxtaposed nominal elements [NOM][NOM], the modifying relationship between them being inferred by the language-users (rather than being specified by the grammar, as it is in languages with specific relative clause morphology).

(Comrie & Thompson 1985:394)

While it is possible to consider the construction with *mika/tuz* to constitute a relative clause construction, at least under some definitions of relative clauses, it is perhaps unnecessary in terms of developing the simplest possible grammar of a language. If this structure is considered a nominalization — functioning as it does without a domain noun, to create an agentive nominalization — then other grammatical structures, such as apposition, can be invoked to allow speakers to interpret sentences containing a nominalization and a head noun in apposition in the same way in which an English speaker would interpret a domain noun plus restrictive clause construction. Furthermore, by adopting this analysis of these constructions it is unnecessary to construct a restriction on this type of clause formation in Awa Pit to explain why the relativized constituent is necessarily the Subject of the subordinate clause: by analyzing this structure as an agentive nominalization, the restriction is inbuilt.

The conclusion, then, is that while these agentive nominalization constructions can be invoked to cover some of the same areas as relative clauses in English (and other languages), there is no reason to consider them relative clauses in their own right: the grammar is simpler and clearer if they are simply considered nominalizations.

It is interesting to hypothesize about the history of these agentive nominalizations. If one simply examines the nominalizations involving *mu*, and compares them with the relative clauses involving *mu* (see section 10.4), it seems that it would be possible to consider that *mika* and *tuz* are, essentially, dummy nouns, equivalent to the English *one*, simply on the basis of structural equivalency:

(719) na=na   [*kal*   *ki-m*   ] awa
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   [work(1)   work(2)-ADJZR   ] person
       'I am a person who habitually works.'

(720) [*kal*   *ki-m=mika*   ] *ka-y*
       [work(1)   work(2)-ADJZR=NMLZR.SG   ] be:permanently-NONLOCUT
       'He is one who habitually works.'

This structural equivalency would suggest that the sequence *kal ki-m* in the latter example should be considered as the restrictive clause part of a relative clause construction, with a head noun *mika*.[21] Pursuing this analysis, on the basis of a sentence such as

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[21]This is essentially one of the analyses which has been applied to Classical Nahuatl relative clauses (Langacker 1975; but compare Rosenthal (1972) and Karttunen (1976).

(721)   [a-t=mika   ]=na   ii-ma-ti
        [come-PFPART=NMLZR.SG]=TOP die-COMP-TERM
        'The one who came died.'

one would expect to be able to form a sentence with a lexical noun in place of
the "dummy noun" mika:

(722)   *a-t   kwizha=na   ii-ma-ti
         come-PFPART dog=TOP   die-COMP-TERM

Unfortunately, informants reject this sentence in favour of the various options
given above, which all involve two noun phrases, one containing kwizha 'dog',
and the other containing a nominalized clause.

Historically, it is possible that ungrammatical sentences such as that given
above were grammatical, and the Perfective Participle, the Imperfective Parti-
ciple, and mu could all be used to form true relative clause constructions. How-
ever in modern Awa Pit the two Participles cannot be used in relative clause
constructions, but only in agentive nominalizations, and only the adjectivizer mu
functions to form a true relative clause.

Chapter 11

Complex non-subordinate clauses

11.1 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the wide range of subordinate clause types in
Awa Pit. In addition to subordination, however, there are a variety of other
constructions in Awa Pit which involve the use of more than one verb under a
single intonation contour — that is, constructions which use more than one verb
in a sentence, but do not involve a main clause and a subordinate clause. These
constructions are the focus of this chapter.

Probably the most obvious complex construction of this type involves the
use of a main verb and an auxiliary verb within a single clause. In Awa Pit, all
the auxiliary verbs are stative, and are used together with non-finite main verbs.
The syntax and semantics of main–auxiliary constructions are examined first.

There are a variety of strategies used to negate propositions in Awa Pit,
and these are described fully in the next chapter, together with the related inter-
rogative constructions. However a brief analysis of one of these negative construc-
tions is given in this chapter, showing why this particular construction should be
treated as a main–auxiliary construction.

While there is no clear data showing the existence of a grammaticalized
evidential system in Awa Pit, there is some interesting data suggesting that a
hearsay evidential may be developing from a construction involving a non-finite
lexical verb and a speech verb, and this is examined here.

Under certain conditions, Awa Pit allows two lexical verbs to appear to-
gether within a clause, with neither one being subordinate to the other. This
construction, very similar to a serial verb construction, is discussed here, as is a
formally almost identical construction involving a lexical verb and a verb showing
aspectual information. The same morphology used in the Serial Verb construc-
tion appears in the Conjoined Clauses construction, but with different syntactic
properties. This construction, with a meaning somewhat akin to conjunction, is
also described in this chapter.

Finally the discussion turns to juxtaposition of clauses, a very common
technique in Awa Pit, used to show a variety of relationships such as conjunction,
disjunction and setting.

11.2 Main–Auxiliary constructions

There are a number of constructions which involve a main verb in the Imperfective Participle form or extended Perfective Participle form, followed by a fully inflected stative verb used as an auxiliary:

(723)   *Venancio tu*   *ka-y*
         Venancio be:in:place.(IMPFPART) be:permanently-NONLOCUT
         'Venancio really is [here].'

(724)   *Doris pit-ti-t*   *tu-y*
         Doris sleep-TERM-PFPART be:in:place-NONLOCUT
         'Doris is (lying down) asleep.'

At first glance these appear to be absolute adverbial subordinate clauses (see section 10.3.7), which use the Imperfective Participle or Perfective Participle form:

(725)   *ampu pyan-ta=na*   *tayaz-tu-ati-zi*
         man   hit-PFPART=TOP   be:sorry-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
         'Having hit [his wife] the man was sorry.'

(726)   *wiya ki-mtu*   *tit kwa-ti-zi*
         fight(1) fight(2)-IMPFPART   cut   DROP-PAST-NONLOCUT
         'While fighting, they cut [each other].'

However there are clear differences between the two constructions.

There is a morphological distinction, to begin with. In the absolute construction, the Perfective Participle (or the Imperfective Participle) is used, while in the main–auxiliary construction the extended Perfective Participle, with the addition of either the Completive or the Terminative inflection to the Perfective Participle, always occurs. A second difference is that auxiliary verbs are always stative, while in the absolute construction both verbs can be active or stative. Additionally, the verb of an absolute clause may be followed by the Topic marker *na*, which cannot be found attached to a main verb in a main–auxiliary construction. And most tellingly, the absolute adverbial clause (when it has the same Subject as the main clause, as here) can be either embedded after the Subject or placed in initial position before the Subject; the main verb in a main–auxiliary construction is necessarily only found directly before the auxiliary.[1]

It seems likely the the origin of the main–auxiliary construction is to be found in the absolute construction, but the two have diverged syntactically, morphologically and semantically. Syntactically the main verb and the auxiliary verb cannot be separated, and morphologically the main verb is an extended Perfective Participle, rather than just the Perfective Participle of the absolute construction. A main–auxiliary construction is, in fact, treated syntactically and morphologically as a single verb. The two are always found together with no morphological

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[1]The negative particle *shi* may occur between the two.

material between them (except the negative marker *shi*). The pair of verbs have a Subject, and may have an Object or NPs in other grammatical functions. The pair take the suffixes appropriate for stative verbs.

11.2.1 Imperfective Participle and auxiliaries

The various uses of Imperfective aspect (expressed through the Imperfective aspect inflection and the Imperfective Participle) were examined in detail in section 9.3.1: on-going activity or state, habitual activity or state, scheduled future and generic statements. These same notions are expressed by the Imperfective Participle with auxiliaries, although additional information is also conveyed.

There are two types of auxiliary used with the Imperfective Participle. These are the "pseudo-copula" *ka* and the locational/postural verbs.[2] With the postural verbs, the auxiliaries are sometimes used, as might be expected, to indicate the physical position of the Subject during the activity in question:

(727) ap   aympihsh=na   cama=ta   pit-tu   tala-y
       my   brother=TOP   bed=in   sleep-IMPFPART   be:lying-NONLOCUT
       'My brother is (lying) asleep in bed.'

However the use of the auxiliaries appears to have extended somewhat, so the following sentence, for example, does not indicate that the Subject is sitting, but rather seems to imply that the illness is prolonged:

(728) ish-tu   uz-is
       be:sick-IMPFPART   be:sitting-LOCUT
       'I am sick.'

Unfortunately relatively few of these examples were recorded, and the exact semantics of the different postural auxiliaries is unknown. While these postural auxiliaries appear not to be used as widely as in some other languages, it would be interesting to compare the extensions of meaning of the various different postural verbs with those of other languages. Many other languages in South America use postural verbs either as auxiliaries, as in Urubu-Kaapor (Kakumasu 1986:386–387); or in compounding structures, as in Barasano (Jones & Jones 1991:47); and often these have developed extensions of meaning, to mark aspect, as in Guambiano (Vásquez de Ruíz 1988:126–127); or even more diverse meanings, as in Sikuani (Queixalós 1992), where the auxiliaries have extended to such diverse uses as an affective marker ('lying'), a permanency marker ('sitting'), a durative marker ('standing') and a diffusive marker ('hanging'). In some languages these verbs have even developed into verb suffixes marking tense, aspect or mood (Doris Payne 1990b:223–226).

Much more common is the use of *ka* as an auxiliary.[3] This auxiliary implies an emphasis being placed on the event,[4] which can either indicate that

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[2]See Table 4.8 in chapter 4 for a list of these.

[3]It is interesting to note that forms similar to *ka* are found as copulas and auxiliaries in a variety of South American languages (David Payne 1990).

[4]Compare the Emphasis marker *ka*, section 14.7.

the activity is permanent, or else a contrastive idea, that the statement really is true despite what you might think.

(729) escuela *izhkwak=ki* cancha   *tu*
      school   opposite=at   sports:field be:in:place.(IMPFPART)
      ka-y
      be:permanently-NONLOCUT
      'There's a sports field opposite the school.'

(730) *maza aympihsh=ma mij*   *ka-s*
      one   brother=TEMP   have.(IMPFPART) be:permanently-LOCUT
      'I have only one brother.'

(731) *cigarrillo=na waa*   *ka-y*
      cigarette=TOP   there:is.(IMPFPART) be:permanently-NONLOCUT
      'There are cigarettes.'

Given the use of the "pseudo-copula" *ka* as an auxiliary, it might be expected that the copula *i* could be used as an auxiliary with the Imperfective Participle, especially given its use with the Perfective Participle (see below). This is not possible however:

(732) **a-mtu*   *i-s*
      come-IMPFPART be-LOCUT

As was explained in section 3.3.2, rather than the *i* copula being used as an auxiliary, which it probably was historically, in the modern language it would seem that the main verb inflection and the auxiliary *i* have fused together, and in place of this main–auxiliary pair Awa Pit has the finite Imperfective aspect forms and inflections.

11.2.2 Extended Perfective Participle and auxiliaries

The extended Perfective Participle consists of an active verb stem, the Completive (*ma*) or Terminative (*ti*) aspect inflection, and the Perfective Participle inflection (*t*). The two forms (with Completive and Terminative) appear to be interchangeable; there is presumably some subtle semantic difference between the two, although this has not been determined.

This extended Perfective Participle can be used with auxiliaries in two entirely different constructions. One, the Past Anterior, can be used with all active verbs, and involves an "honorary stative" verb *ma*; this construction does not affect the valency of the verb. The other construction, the Resultative, is formed with a variety of stative auxiliaries, but is restricted to those main verbs which imply a change of state; it reduces the valency of transitive main verbs.

11.2.2.1 The Past Anterior

The Past Anterior construction consists of the extended Perfective Participle followed by a Past form of the verb *ma*. The origin of this auxiliary *ma* is unknown, and as in this construction it is always immediately followed by Past tense inflection, it is not even clear whether this auxiliary should be considered active or stative. However because of the apparent parallelism with other, stative, auxiliaries, this form is treated as a stative verb. In fact, it is possible that this auxiliary is related to the active verb *ma-* 'remain', as in their cross-linguistic study, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:64) list one language, Maithili, an Indic language, as having an anterior construction using a verb 'remain'. Perhaps even more suggestive is the fact that Maithili's anterior is one of only eight anteriors in the survey which was restricted to past reference, as is Awa Pit's.

Anteriors are used to establish that "the situation occurs prior to reference time and is relevant to the situation at reference time" (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:54). The Anterior in Awa Pit is obligatorily Past,[5] and consequently the reference time is always established as before the time of speaking:

(733) na=na   namna-ka=na,   uspa=na
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   follow/catch:up:to-WHEN=TOP   3PL.(NOM)=TOP
       wakata   kan-ma-t   ma-ti-zi
       cattle   tie-COMP-PFPART   ANTER-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'When I caught up, they had tied up the cattle.'

Unlike the Resultative discussed in the following section, the Past Anterior has few restrictions on its use. It cannot be used with stative verbs, but may be used with all active verbs, whether they express a change of state or not:

(734) Carmen   ishan-ma-t   ma-zi
       Carmen   laugh-COMP-PFPART   ANTER-NONLOCUT
       'Carmen had laughed.'

Also unlike the Resultative, the Past Anterior does not affect the grammatical relations within a sentence, with semantic roles being assigned to grammatical relations in the same way as for the Present Imperfective:

(735) uspa=na   miimal   i-ti-t   ma-zi
       3PL.(NOM)=TOP   Chucunés   go-TERM-PFPART   ANTER-NONLOCUT
       'They had gone to Chucunés.'

(736) Carmen=na   pueblo=ta-s   a-t   kway-ka=na,
       Carmen=TOP   town=in-from   come-SV   DROP-WHEN=TOP
       Santos=ta   pyan-ma-t   ma-zi   Demetrio
       Santos=ACC   hit-COMP-PFPART   ANTER-NONLOCUT   Demetrio
       'When Carmen arrived back from town, Demetrio had hit Santos.'

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[5]As discussed in section 9.2.1, the Past inflection *ti* is often "deleted" after /a/ and before *zi* (although the presence of the morpheme *zi* allows its recovery), and thus the sequences /atizi/ and /azi/ are in free variation. This seems especially common in the Past Anterior, with /mazi/ much more frequent than /matizi/, although the latter does occur.

(737) na=na   a-ka=na,   Santos=ta=na
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP come-WHEN=TOP Santos=ACC=TOP
       tit-ma-t   ma-ti-zi
       cut-COMP-PFPART ANTER-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'When I came, they had cut Santos.'

(738) pyan-ti-t   ma-ti-s
       hit-TERM-PFPART ANTER-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
       'They had hit me.'

The same idea as is expressed through the Past Anterior construction can be expressed through the use of a non-finite main clause extended Perfective Participle:

(739) Laureano paynya kuzhu pyaŋta-ma-t
       Laureano his   pig   kill-COMP-PFPART
       'Laureano had killed his pig.'

While it could be claimed that this is simply a Past Anterior construction with ellipsis of the auxiliary, this has not been done for the reasons outlined in section 3.3.2.

11.2.2.2   The Resultative

The Resultative construction is formed from a main verb in its extended Perfective Participle form, followed by a stative auxiliary. The auxiliary can be a locational/postural verb (see Table 4.8) or the "pseudo-copula" ka, as with the Imperfective Participle; however for Resultatives the commonest auxiliary is the i copula.

The Resultative "denotes a state that was brought about by some action in the past" (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:63). The Completive/Terminative aspect marker plus Perfective Participle denotes that the action has fully taken place by the reference time, while the tense marking on the copula verb indicates the reference time at which the state holds. As with the Imperfective Participle, the postural auxiliaries indicate more complex ideas that simply the physical position of the Subject.

(740) Doris pit-ti-t   tu-y
       Doris sleep-TERM-PFPART be:in:place-NONLOCUT
       'Doris is (lying) asleep (is in a state of having fallen asleep).'[6]

(741) Carmen=na alizhkul-ma-t   tu-y
       Carmen=TOP annoy-COMP-PFPART be:in:place-NONLOCUT
       'Carmen is annoyed (is in a state of having got annoyed).'

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[6]Note that the stative verb tu 'be in a place' is formally and probably historically related to the active verb tu- 'lie down'; and at times tu 'be in a place' has a meaning element of 'be lying down'.

(742)   *kwa-ti-t*   *ka-y*
        eat-TERM-PFPART   be:permanently-NONLOCUT
        'He has eaten (is in a state of having eaten).'

(743)   *iiŋ*   *kwi-ma-t*   *i*
        flame   go:out-COMP-PFPART   be.(NONLOCUT)
        'The flame is extinguished (is in a state of having gone out).'

(744)   *na=na*   *pishkatu*   *ayna-shi-ka=na,*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   fish   cook-DESID-WHEN=TOP
        pit-ma-t   *a-ti-zi*
        rot-COMP-PFPART   be-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'When I wanted to cook the fish, it was rotten (was in a state of having rotted).'

(745)   *nash-ka=na,*   *pal-ma-t*
        afternoon-WHEN=TOP   stop:raining-COMP-PFPART
        a-ni-zi
        be-FUT-NONLOCUT
        'By the afternoon it will have stopped raining (will be in a state of having stopped raining).'

(746)   *Bogotá=ta-s*   *kayl*   *kway-ka,*   *verano*   *payl-ma-t*
        Bogotá=in-from   return   DROP-WHEN   summer   finish-COMP-PFPART
        a-npa-y
        be-NECESS-NONLOCUT
        'When I return from Bogota, the summer will be over (will be in a state of having finished).'

This construction is necessarily only used with verbs which denote some form of change of state, as the Resultative indicates a current state brought about by the action covered by the verb. While Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:54) suggest that a resultative may only be used with telic verbs, this is clearly not the case in Awa Pit, as there are change of state verbs which are not telic, and these can be used together with the Resultative — for example *pit-* 'rot' in sentence (744) above, or *ayna-* 'cook' in:

(747)   *ayna-ma-t*   *i*
        cook-COMP-PFPART   be.(NONLOCUT)
        'It is cooked (is in a state of having been cooked).'

While the non-use of the Resultative with verbs which do not denote a change of state is a semantic restriction, it also clearly means that this construction never occurs with stative verbs, as these never indicate a change of state. Equally, none of the ditransitive verbs recorded in Awa Pit (for example, *kwin-* 'give', *naka-* 'take from') denote a change of state, and hence no ditransitive verbs may be used in the Resultative.

The Resultative always focusses on the entity which has undergone a change of state, and consequently this construction causes a change in the assignment of semantic roles to grammatical relations for transitive verbs. For intransitive change of state verbs in non-Resultative constuctions, the entity undergoing the change of state is the grammatical Subject, and this entity remains the Subject for the Resultative of an intransitive verb:

(748)   alcalde=na   *ii-mtu-y*
        mayor=TOP   die-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        Subject   V

‘The mayor is dying.’

(749)   *na=na*   *pueblo=ta*   *a-t*   *kway-ka=na,*   alcalde
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   town=in   come-SV   DROP-WHEN=TOP   mayor
                                                                            Subject

        ii-ma-t   *a-ti-zi*
        die-COMP-PFPART   be-PAST-NONLOCUT
        V   Aux

‘When I arrived in the town, the mayor was dead (was in a state of having died).’

However for a transitive change of state verb, in non-Resultative uses the entity undergoing the change of state is the Object:

(750)   *Demetrio=na*   *Santos=ta*   *kil-tu-y*
        Demetrio=TOP   Santos=ACC   hit-IMPF-NONLOCUT
        Subject   Object   V

‘Demetrio is hitting Santos.’

When these transitive change of state verbs are placed in a Resultative construction, the semantic patient is expressed as Subject, and the agent is obligatorily unexpressed:

(751)   *Santos=na*   *kil-ma-t*   *i*
        Santos=TOP   hit-COMP-PFPART   be.(NONLOCUT)
        Subject   V   Aux

‘Santos has been hit (is in a state of having been hit).’

This change in the correspondence between semantic roles and grammatical relations of transitive verbs in resultative constructions is common in the languages of the world (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:54).

A final point to note is that the semantic notion of resultativity can be conveyed by a non-finite main clause extended Perfective Participle:

(752)   *tim=na*   *wan*   *azhpyan-ma-t*
        basket=TOP   all   destroy-COMP-PFPART

‘The basket is completely destroyed.’

The reasons for not considering this construction as a Resultative with ellipsed auxiliary are examined in section 3.3.2.

It may be thought that using a main clause extended Perfective Participle to correspond to either a Past Anterior or a Resultative construction could cause ambiguity. In fact, for transitive verbs there is clearly no ambiguity — in the Past Anterior construction there are two core arguments, the agent is Subject and the patient is Object, while in the Resultative there is only one core argument, a patient Subject. And for intransitives, the distinction is relatively unimportant:

(753)　*uspa=na*　　　*i-ti-t*
　　　 3PL.(NOM)=TOP　go-TERM-PFPART

　　　 '(When I arrived,) they had gone (Past Anterior)',
　　　 '(When I arrived,) they were gone (Resultative)'

11.3　Negatives

One of the constructions which can be used to indicate negation involves the use of two verbs.[7] The construction consists of a main verb conveying the action or state being negated, which is in a participial or Infinitive form, and a following auxiliary verb *ki*.

(754)　*Santos=na*　　*shi*　*i-t*　　　*ki*
　　　 Santos=TOP　NEG　go-PFPART　be.NEG.(NONLOCUT)

　　　 'Santos hasn't gone.'

It clearly needs to be established that this construction does consist of a main verb and an auxiliary verb in one clause, rather than a biclausal structure with a matrix negative verb and a subordinate clause indicating the negated proposition. To enable an unprejudiced discussion of the constructions, *ki* will be referred to as the negative verb, while the verb conveying the action or state being negated will be referred to as the lexical verb. The issue is thus to decide between two competing analyses of utterances like those above: either the lexical verb is a main verb while the negative verb is an auxiliary, parallel to the main–auxiliary constructions; or the negative verb is a matrix verb, with the lexical verb forming part of a subordinate complement clause, parallel to the complement clauses of section 10.2. Both of these possibilities have been found occurring in the world's languages (John Payne 1985:207–222).

To begin with, it is clear that if this construction does involve subordination, it is not simply the negative verb in the matrix clause and an entire subordinated proposition, with the structure:

(755)　[Subject (Object) Verb] *ki*

The negative verb shows person marking corresponding to the Subject, indicating that the Subject is the grammatical Subject of the negative verb. However it

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[7]See section 12.5.3 for details.

would still be possible to claim that the Subject has been "raised" from the subordinate clause to the matrix clause, but that the remainder of the clause is still subordinated:

(756)   Subject [(Object) Verb] *ki*

There is a further fact which cannot be accounted for in this way, however. In these negatives, in addition to the final negative verb, the negative particle *shi* appears. The particle occurs directly before the lexical verb — that is, in the heart of the supposed subordinate clause:[8]

(757)   Subject [(Object) *shi* Verb] *ki*

This shows that the subordinate clause analysis must be discarded in favour of a main–auxiliary analysis.

However it must be noted that the aspectual notions carried by the main verb and the tense carried by the auxiliary verb are free to vary independently and meaningfully (see section 12.5.3), unlike in languages such as Fijian, where only one of the main verb and the auxiliary verb is marked for concepts such as tense or person (John Payne 1985:210).

It seems clear that historically the negative construction with *ki* was biclausal, with a complement clause being subordinated to a negative copula, synchronically still *ki*.[9] At some point, however, the construction has come to be monoclausal. It is interesting to speculate on the role that the change from a system of evidentiality to a system of person marking may have played in this. It was hypothesized in chapter 8 that Awa Pit originally had a system of sentence-final evidential markers. At that stage the appearance of one of these markers sentence finally, after *ki*, would be perfectly coherent with a biclausal analysis — the markers were showing the evidential status of the utterance. However once these markers began to be used to show person rather than evidentiality, their occurrence on *ki* would be more difficult to account for, synchronically, if the participants in the activity were all in a subordinate clause, and this could lead to the blurring of the clause boundaries.

Whatever the reasons for a change from biclausal to monoclausal interpretation in the case of *ki*, the synchronic situation is that these negative utterances involving *ki* are monoclausal, consisting of a main verb in a non-finite form, together with an inflected auxiliary *ki*.

11.4   The hearsay evidential

In the hypothesized change from an existential evidential system to a person-marking system (see chapter 8), Awa Pit lost its earlier system of marking evidentiality. Synchronically, Awa Pit is without evidential markers, but there is a construction which could be analyzed as an incipient hearsay evidential.

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[8]This could perhaps be treated as negative concord; but the fact that *ki* can never be used on its own to indicate negation seems to go against this suggestion.

[9]An alternative is that this *ki* is in origin the active verb *ki* 'happen, do'; in this case the structure would perhaps have meant 'it didn't happen that ...'.

As is discussed in section 10.2.3.1, indirect speech in Awa Pit is signalled by a matrix clause containing an inflected form of the verb *kizh-* 'say', and a subordinate clause indicating what was said, with its verb being either an Imperfective Participle or a Perfective Participle. When the Subject of the matrix verb *kizh-* is plural, and the act of speech is in the Past, there are three possible ways of stating this:

(758)   *(kutnya ampu=na)* [*Enrique kamta pyaŋta-ta*]
           (three   man=TOP) [Enrique snake kill-PFPART]
           kizh-ti-zi
           say-PAST-NONLOCUT
           'The three men said that Enrique killed a snake.'

(759)   *(kutnya ampu=na)* [*Enrique kamta pyaŋta-ta*]
           (three   man=TOP) [Enrique snake kill-PFPART]
           kizh-a-ti-zi
           say-PL:SUBJ-PAST-NONLOCUT
           'The three men said that Enrique killed a snake.'

(760)   *(kutnya ampu=na)* [*Enrique kamta pyaŋta-ta*]
           (three   man=TOP) [Enrique snake kill-PFPART]
           kizh-a-zi
           say-PL:SUBJ-NONLOCUT
           'The three men said that Enrique killed a snake.'

The first of these options is the most common, with the verb unmarked for the number of the Subject. In the second utterance, the verb is marked for the plurality of the Subject; as it is in the third, with the additional optional deletion of the Past tense inflection after an /a/ (see section 9.2.1). Naturally, in any of these sentence, the Subject NP can be ellipsed.

When hearsay is reported, that is when people make statements for which no initiator is known or the speaker does not wish to indicate the initiator of the knowledge, the third of the forms is invariably used:

(761)   *Enrique kamta pyaŋta-ta   kizh-a-zi*
           Enrique snake kill-PFPART say-PL:SUBJ-NONLOCUT
           'They said/it is said that Enrique killed a snake.'

The other two forms are simply not used in these circumstances. This invariant choice of one of three apparently possible forms suggests that the form *kizhazi* is being used as a synchronically simple marker of hearsay, although it is, of course, still synchronically analyzable.

If this is indeed the case, Awa Pit parallels the nearby language Imbabura Quechua, which has developed a hearsay evidential in the same way, although without the use of a plural marker.[10] In Imbabura Quechua, however, there is

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[10]See Jake & Chuquin (1979) and Cole (1985:14) for full details.

a clear synchronic separation between the indirect speech construction and the hearsay evidential construction — the Object status of the complement clause containing the reported speech is formally marked through the obligatory use of the accusative marker *ta* (examples here and below from Jake & Chuquin (1979)):

(762) *huarmi* *yanu-shca-ta*   *wambra-ca* *ni-n*
        woman   cook-PAST.NOM-ACC   boy-TOP   say-3
        'The boy says the woman cooked.'

(763) **huarmi* *yanu-shca*   *wambra-ca* *ni-n*
        woman   cook-PAST.NOM   boy-TOP   say-3

When the "verb" *nin* is used to mark hearsay, however, the accusative marker cannot be used:

(764) *huarmi* *yanu-shca*   *ni-n*
        woman   cook-PAST.NOM   say-3
        'It is said the woman cooked.'

(765) **huarmi* *yanu-shca-ta*   *ni-n*
        woman   cook-PAST.NOM-ACC   say-3

Thus the Awa Pit situation appears to parallel the Imbabura Quechua, with the important difference that in Imbabura Quechua there is a clear formal difference between the indirect speech construction and the hearsay construction; in Awa Pit there is no clear formal difference, but there is the obligatory choice of one particular construction when expressing hearsay, while this construction is one of three options for indirect speech.

11.5   Serial Verbs

Awa Pit has a particular construction, called the Serial Verb construction here, which has specific morphological and syntactic properties. The label 'serial verb' has been applied to a great many different constructions (cf. Sebba (1987:1–36), Zwicky (1990)), and the Awa Pit construction does not, in fact, fit many definitions of serial verb constructions, being in some ways more similar to 'conjoined verb' constructions. The label 'Serial Verb construction' has been used to distinguish this from the Conjoined Clauses construction discussed in section 11.7, and because of its similarities to serial verb constructions, with two verbs joined together apparently to form a single predication.

Unfortunately, the Serial Verb construction does not occur very often in the data. This is probably more indicative of the data collection technique than the actual frequency of Serial Verbs in Awa Pit, however. The data was generally elicited, rather than being spontaneous, and as Spanish does not have a serial verb construction, the elicitation of Serial Verbs relied on either the informants choosing to encode a single verb in Spanish through a more natural Serial Verb construction in Awa Pit, or to encode a Spanish sentence involving two verbs

joined with the Spanish conjunction *y* 'and' with a Serial Verb, and the latter was often translated by preference using a Conjoined Clauses structure. Some additional information was collected through asking informants for grammaticality judgements on suggested sentences, but this method is, of course, fraught with problems.

The exact range and frequency of use of Serial Verb constructions has thus not been established, and this area of the grammar of Awa Pit requires much more work. Despite this, a number of facts about the Serial Verb construction have been ascertained.

The Serial Verb construction unites two verbs to create what is essentially a single idea. The first verb, which denotes an event which is either chronologically prior to or simultaneous with that denoted by the second verb, is expressed in form of a bare stem, if consonant-final, or a stem suffixed with *t*, if vowel-final. The second verb has the usual inflectional possibilities available to a simple verb.

(766) gato=na   tunya pizh   ku-mtu
       cat=TOP   rat   grab   eat-IMPFPART
       'The cat is grabbing and eating the rat.'

(767) sancocho=na   sa-t   kwa-tpa
       meat:soup=TOP   make-SV   eat-OBLIG
       'It is necessary to make and eat soup.'

The two verbs involved in a Serial Verb construction are strongly bound together, and (with the exception of the *t* marking a serial construction) no morphological material can appear between them, except the negative particle (see below). Of particular interest is the fact that any semantic modification applies necessarily to both verbs — thus they cannot differ for features such as polarity. They act, externally, as a single verb, and can be used, for example, in a subordinate clause:[11]

(768) si   pyan-ni-ma-tu   pala   ayna-t   kwa-n
       firewood cut-PROSP-COMP-HORT.1SG   plantain   cook-SV   eat-INF
       'I'm off to cut firewood to cook and eat food ("plantains").'

The fact that the two verbs in a Serial construction necessarily have the same polarity is even more interesting given the placement of the negative particle — it comes between the two verbs, but applies to both (*ta* 'GIVE' in this example will be discussed in the following section; here it can be treated as an aspectual "suffix" on *kwa-* 'eat'):

(769) ayna-t   shi   kwa-t   ta   ki=na,
       cook-SV NEG   eat-SV   GIVE.(IMPFPART)   be.NEG.(IMPFPART)=TOP
       ii-mtu
       die-IMPFPART
       'Not cooking and eating, [one] dies (ie. if you don't eat, you die).'

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[11]While Serial Verbs can occur in subordinate clauses, they contrast in this with the Conjoined Clauses construction, which can only be used in main clauses.

This is perhaps simply an extension of the fact that all morphology in these constructions is associated with the second verb.

As noted above, there are strong restrictions on the verbs which can be used in a Serial construction. Both verbs must be active, and must have identical subcategorization frames. That is, they must require the same grammatical relations as complements. Consequently, only two active intransitive verbs or two active transitive verbs can be used in a Serial construction, for example; an intransitive and a transitive verb cannot be united, even if the Object of the transitive verb is unexpressed:[12]

(770) *Carmen=na   a-t   ayna-ti
        Carmen=TOP   come-SV   cook-TERM

(771) *Santos=na   kih   kwa-t   ii-ma-ti
        Santos=TOP   leaf   eat-SV   die-COMP-TERM

This restriction on shared arguments holds only for complements; adjuncts can be added even though they (appear to) associate with only one of the verbs:

(772) Juan=na   kukum   iyaŋpa=kasa   payŋta-t   ku-mtu
        Juan=TOP   possum   shotgun=with   kill-SV   eat-IMPFPART
        'Juan killed and ate a possum with a shotgun.'

In many ways the Serial Verb construction corresponds to definitions of serial verbs in the literature. For example, it fits the majority of the criteria suggested by Aikhenvald (1996a) and Durie (forthcoming): it has the properties of a single predicate, referring to a single event, with the two verbs semantically sharing tense, aspect, mood and polarity, sharing all arguments, and apparently having the intonational properties of a monoverbal clause.[13]

The issue which separates the Awa Pit construction from serial verbs is the presence, after a vowel-final first verb, of the morpheme t. In general, definitions of serial verb constructions suggest that they "contain two or more verbs without overt markers of coordination or subordination" (Sebba 1987:86). This is, however, a little unclear: in Awa Pit many of the Serial Verb constructions (those in which the first verb stem is consonant-final) contain no overt markers; and in the case of the vowel-final roots, it is not clear that t should necessarily be treated as an overt marker of coordination or subordination, since it is not used elsewhere, except with the Conjoined Clauses construction.

While the Serial Verb construction of Awa Pit would thus probably not be considered as a true serial verb construction by many, it is perhaps worth indicating that, if it was treated as such, it would be a symmetrical construction in Foley & Olsen's (1985) terms,[14] in that both verbs are from open classes, with the order

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[12]This restriction to identical subcategorization frames does not hold for the use of the Serial Verb construction in forming perfective aspect; see section 11.6.

[13]The precise intonational properties of Awa Pit clauses have not been analyzed; impressionistically, the Serial Verb construction has monoclausal intonation.

[14]Unlike the Serial Perfective construction, which is asymmetrical.

of verbs being iconic; it would be nuclear rather than core serialization (Crowley (1987:58); cf. Foley & Olsen (1985)), in that the verbs must share all arguments; and in Durie's (forthcoming) terms, it is contiguous non-incorporating, with the verbs always being together, but forming two separate phonological words.

There are presumably strong semantic restrictions also on what types of verbs can be united in a Serial Verb construction. Unfortunately these cannot be established on the basis of the available data. It should be noted, however, that some of the more "usual" serialization uses — to add an instrument or benefactive to a clause, for example — are never found in Awa Pit. However other combinations, such as the ubiquitous 'cook-eat' in Awa Pit, are found commonly in languages with clear serial verb constructions.

The Awa Pit Serial Verb construction thus consists of two active verbs with identical subcategorization frames, which are obligatorily adjacent and occur in a temporally iconic order. The normal range of morphological and syntactic possibilities is open to the clause, with any inflection occurring on the second verb stem. The first verb stem is either bare (if consonant-final) or suffixed with *t* (if vowel-final). Any modification, such as negation, applies semantically to both verbs, but is indicated formally on the second verb.

11.6 Perfective aspect through Serial Verbs

The Serial Verb construction described in the previous section is used to indicate that two events happened simultaneously, or one event preceded another, and there are strong syntactic restrictions on the two verbs used in a Serial construction — the two verbs must have the same complement structure. However an apparently identical construction is used with a different set of syntactic restrictions and a different semantic outcome with three rather unusual verbs, *kway*, which is used very commonly, and *kyan* and *ta*, which are rather rare. These verbs are used to express an aspectual quality, similar to perfectivity. Unfortunately, because of the few examples with *kyan* or *ta*, no differences between the three could be determined.

Structurally, the Serial Perfective construction is almost identical to the Serial Verb construction, although the construction is asymmetrical rather than symmetrical in the terms of Foley & Olsen (1985), as the second verb necessarily comes from a very small, closed class. The first verb, which carries the lexical content, is either a bare stem (if consonant-final) or suffixed by the Serial Verb inflection *t* (if vowel-final), and the second verb (*kway*, *kyan* or *ta*) is fully inflected.[15] As can be seen in the third and fourth examples below, the Past tense allophone *ti* is often elided following *kway* and *ta*.[16] The normal range of syntactic and morphological possibilities is open to the Serial Perfective construction, including, for example, imperatives and subordinate constructions.

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[15]The glossing of the second verb as DROP, THROW or GIVE will be explained below.

[16]This is especially interesting following the form *kway*, as the Past tense marker is usually only elided after vowels. As will be noted below, however, the word *kway* is almost alway pronounced as [kwe].

(773)   *shutta   say-t   kway-ta-w*
         hat   look:for/find-SV   DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
         'I found the hat.'

(774)   *na=na   ti=na   kwa-t   kyan-ta-w*
         1SG.(NOM)=TOP   tree=TOP   fell-SV THROW-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
         'I felled [this] tree.'

(775)   *Demetrio=na   i-t   kway-zi*
         Demetrio=TOP   go-SV   DROP-NONLOCUT
         'Demetrio left.'

(776)   *pa   azh   kway-zi*
         sun   shine   DROP-NONLOCUT
         'The sun shone out.'

(777)   *ya-t   kway-ti*
         proceed-SV   DROP-IMP.SG
         'Continue past!'

(778)   *pwin   ta-naka*
         hide   GIVE-PLT:IMP
         'Hide!'

(779)   *na   a-t   kway-ka=na,   kal*
         1SG.(NOM)   come-SV   DROP-WHEN=TOP   work(1)
         ki-mtu-ata-zi
         work(2)-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
         'When I arrived, you were working.'

However while the usual verb inflections are possible, a further inflectional form
not available to active verbs is also possible — Present tense with no Imperfective
aspect.

(780)   *a-t   kway-is*
         come-SV   DROP-LOCUT
         'I arrived.'

(781)   *ma=na   a-t   kway*
         now=TOP   come-SV   DROP.(NONLOCUT)
         'She just arrived.'

This behaviour implies that the verbs used in the Serial Perfective construction
are stative verbs;[17] but they are also found in combination with the Imperfective
aspect suffix, which is impossible for stative verbs, and is perhaps surprising,
given their meaning as indicating perfective aspect:

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[17]The zero-marked Imperfective Participle form of the Serial Perfective verbs (see sentence (769)) also suggests that they are stative verbs.

(782)   *kwak   kway-mtu-y*
         cross   DROP-IMPF-NONLOCUT
         'He has crossed [the river] (he's on the other side).'

This possibility of contrast is presumably because the meaning of the Serial Perfective construction focusses more on the fact that at some point of time (either end-point or initial point) something happened, and there is some sort of result from that. In the Imperfective example given above, what is important is that he is on the other side at the moment — there is a continuing result of the action, and this result is what is being looked at.

The ability of Serial Perfective verbs to act as either active or stative verbs is perhaps related to their origin and synchronic status. These verbs are clearly derived from fully active verbs in Awa Pit (see below), which would explain their active nature; perhaps their current status, similar to auxiliaries, has allowed them to also behave as stative verbs, as all other auxiliaries in Awa Pit are stative (see 11.2).

As can be seen from the examples above, the Serial Perfective construction does not have the same restrictions on identical subcategorization frames as the Serial Verb construction. The Serial Perfective verbs can be used following an active verb with any type of complement structure, zero-transitive, intransitive, transitive, ditransitive. The only syntactic restriction is that the lexical verb must be active (although this may be a semantic restriction in reality).

Another way in which the Serial Perfective construction differs from the Serial Verb construction is that some categories which are semantically associated with the main verb and marked through derivational marking or syntax, such as number and polarity, are marked on the main verb rather than the second of the verbs. Thus a (derivational) plural suffix appears on the main verb, and the negative marker precedes the main verb, while the negative suffix and other inflectional material attaches to the final verb:

(783)   *minat   tit-na-t   kyan-ta-w*
         some   cut-PL:OBJ-SV   THROW-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
         'I cut some people (some-plural).'

(784)   verano   *ap-ma-ti=ma,*   *alu*   *shi*   *ki-t*
         summer   enter-COMP-TERM=TEMP   rain(1)   NEG   rain(2)-SV
         ta-ma-y
         GIVE-NEG-NONLOCUT
         'Summer must have arrived, it hasn't rained.'

A particularly clear example of the distinction in position between features associated with Serial Verbs and with Serial Perfective markers is found in sentence (769) above, repeated here for convenience:

(785)   ayna-t   shi   kwa-t   ta   ki=na,
        cook-SV   NEG   eat-SV   GIVE.(IMPFPART)   be.NEG.(IMPFPART)=TOP
        ii-mtu
        die-IMPFPART

'Not cooking and eating, [one] dies (ie. if you don't eat, you die).'

Here the negation is applied to the whole first clause verb complex, but is marked on (that is, before) the second of two verbs in the Serial Verb construction, but on the (second) main verb rather than on the Serial Perfective verb; the negative auxiliary is placed clause-finally, after the Serial Perfective verb.

The Serial Perfective construction has semantic restrictions placed on it. The lexical verb involved must have either an inherent end-point (that is, be telic), or else if atelic must have a sharply defined beginning. Thus the construction cannot be used with verbs such as nash- 'afternoon', where there is no particular clear-cut initial or final point. The Serial Perfective then focusses on this point, as can be seen in the telic situation in sentence (773) and the atelic sentence (775). A particularly common use of the Serial Perfective construction is together with the verb a- 'come', to form a-t kway, best translated as 'arrive'; and when it is transitive the verb kiz- 'break' is always used with either kway or with kyan.

The Serial Perfective construction appears similar to the compound verb construction of Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi. In these languages, two verbs can be used together, with the first being bare, the second carrying inflection, to carry some aspectual distinction. This compound verb construction has usually been analyzed as indicating perfectivity (Hook 1974, Hook 1991), although more recently others have considered that its semantics indicate some sort of resultativity (Agha 1994).

The comparison with Indo-Aryan languages is especially interesting given the forms of the Serial Perfective verbs. While kway, kyan and ta have been glossed as grammatical markers rather than lexical verbs, there are homophonous verbs in Awa Pit:[18] kway 'drop', kyan 'throw' and ta 'give'. While there are many more choices available in most Indo-Aryan languages, verbs meaning 'drop', 'throw' and 'give' are quite commonly used (Hook 1991).

11.7   The Conjoined Clauses construction

In section 11.5, the Serial Verb construction was described. This construction united two verbs to form a single predication, with strong syntactic and semantic restrictions. There is a similar construction, with far fewer constraints placed upon it: the Conjoined Clauses construction.

The Conjoined Clauses construction unites two clauses rather than two verbs. Both clauses must be active and have the same (notional) Subject, and the clauses must be main clauses, but these are the only syntactic constraints

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[18]There are slight differences here in pronunciation: despite being written kway, the Serial marker is almost invariably pronounced [kwe], while the verb kway 'drop' varies between [kway] and [kwe]; see section 2.4.1.1.

which hold for this construction. Semantically, it states that one event occurred, then another. Morphologically, the "first" verb stem is bare (if consonant-final) or suffixed with *t* (if vowel-final) and followed by *kit*, while the "second" verb stem carries the usual range of inflectional possibilities for main verbs. Any complements or adjuncts which are associated with either verb stem can appear in their usual positions, with the exception of the Subject of the second verb.

(786) *María=na   tazh kit   ii-ma-ti*
       María=TOP fall AND die-COMP-TERM
       'María fell over and died.'

(787) *Santos=na   kih   kwa-t   kit   ii-ma-ti*
       Santos=TOP leaf eat-SV AND die-COMP-TERM
       'Santos ate a leaf and died.'

(788) *Marcos=na   a-t   kit   pala   ku-ma-ti*
       Marcos=TOP come-SV AND plantain eat-COMP-TERM
       'Marcos came and ate plantains.'

(789) *na=na   shihtti kit   kit   pala*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP hand   wash AND plantain
       ayna-ma-ta-w
       cook-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I washed [my] hands and cooked plantains.'

While the verb of the activity which takes place first is necessarily followed by *kit*, and the verb of the activity which takes place second is inflected, the clauses do not necessarily occur in that order, but can be reordered, with a pause between the clauses:

(790) *kukum   pyaŋta-t kit   kutil-tu*
       possum kill-SV   AND skin:with:fire-IMPFPART
       'They killed and skinned a possum.'

(791) *kutil-tu,   pyaŋta-t kit*
       skin:with:fire-IMPFPART kill-SV   AND
       'They killed and skinned [it].'

The origin of this construction is presumably the Serial Verb construction together with the verb *ki*, which is the usual word for 'do', but is also used as an "auxiliary" in the compound verb construction (see section 6.3.3). However while the origin of the construction may be the first verb in a Serial construction with *ki* (explaining the choice between a bare stem for consonant-final verbs and a *t* for vowel-final stems), and then *ki* in a Serial construction with the second verb (explaining the final *t* on *kit*), it cannot be analyzed synchronically in this fashion, as there are many restrictions on Serial Verb constructions which simply do not apply to the Conjoined Clauses construction. Consequently, while the final *t* on the first verb in a Conjoined construction will be glossed in the same way as for a Serial construction, the *kit* is considered an unanalyzable whole.

11.8   Juxtaposition of clauses

In addition to all of the complex syntactic possibilities found in Awa Pit for relating two clauses, there is another much simpler one: juxtaposition. Two fully finite clauses can be said together under a single intonation contour, forming the two into one sentence. This construction can be used with a variety of different semantic effects, which must be interpreted by the hearer: conjunction (and), disjunction (or), setting in time, cause and result. In none of these cases are there any pivot or coreference restrictions between the clauses.

The most common use of juxtaposition is to indicate conjunction, that is, to show that several things happened at once, or that one followed another in time. If the two clauses have the same Subject, the Subject of the second clause is ellipsed;[19] if the actions in the clauses are the same with different Subjects, the second and later Subjects are normally marked with *kas*, the Additive marker (section 14.4).

(792)   *Diógenes=na   wakata   pay-ti-zi,*   *manaz*
        Diógenes=TOP   cattle   buy-PAST-NONLOCUT   again
        pay-nin-ni-ma-ti
        buy-CAUS-PROSP-COMP-TERM
        'Diógenes bought cattle, and [now] he has gone to sell them again.'

(793)   *Santos   wipu   kwa-t   kway-ti-zi,*   *na=kas*
        Santos   egg   eat-SV   DROP-TERM-NONLOCUT   1SG.(NOM)=ADD
        kwa-t   kway-ta-w
        eat-SV   DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'Santos ate an egg, and I ate [one too].'

(794)   *Laureano   Ricaurte=mal   puz-ti-zi,*   *Demetrio=kas*
        Laureano   Ricaurte=LOC   go:out-PAST-NONLOCUT   Demetrio=ADD
        puz-ti-zi
        go:out-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Laureano went to Ricaurte, and Demetrio went to Ricaurte.'

Juxtaposition is used very commonly in the languages of the world to indicate coordination, and many South American languages share this; for example, Yagua (Doris Payne & Thomas Payne 1990:294), Canela-Krahô (Popjes & Popjes 1986:139) and Imbabura Quechua (Cole 1985:79).

Disjunction is done in the same fashion. Either the distinction from coordination is shown as the two propositions are necessarily exclusive, or the second part of the disjunction is introduced with an explicit negation of the first:

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[19]Ellipsis would of course normally happen if the clauses were separate sentences also, once the Subject had been introduced in the first.

(795)   *na=kasa*   *i-mtu*   *mizha=ma*
                 1SG.(NOM)=with   go-IMPFPART   how=INTER
                 ka-s,   *nukkul-tu*   *mizha=ma*
                 be:permanently-LOCUT   stay-IMPFPART   how=INTER
                 ka-s?
                 be:permanently-LOCUT

                 'Are you going with me, [or] are you staying here?'

(796)   *ma*   *nashka=na*   *Pueblo*   *Viejo=mal*   *i-ti-mtu-s,*   *shi*
                 today   late=TOP   Pueblo   Viejo=LOC   go-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT   NEG
                 i-t   *ki=na*   *pantalón*
                 go-PFPART   be.NEG.(IMPFPART)=TOP   pants
                 pat-miz-tu-s
                 wash-INCEP-IMPF-LOCUT

                 'Later on today I'm going to Pueblo Viejo, [or] not going to Pueblo
                 Viejo I'll wash my pants.'

Two clauses can be juxtaposed to indicate that they occurred together; essentially coordination. However the same structure can be used to establish one clause as a setting in which the other takes place. The first, background clause is marked as Imperfective, to establish the event of that clause as on-going when the second event occurs.

(797)   *na=na*   *pit*   *tit-tu-ata-w,*   *mayshti*   *tit*
                 1SG.(NOM)=TOP   grass   cut-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ   machete   cut
                 kway-is
                 DROP-LOCUT

                 'I was cutting grass, [when] the machete cut me.'

(798)   *na=na*   *anshik=na*
                 1SG.(NOM)=TOP   yesterday=TOP
                 pii-ni-mtu-ata-w,   *alu*
                 bathe-PROSP-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ   rain(1)
                 ki-ma-ti-s
                 rain(2)-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER

                 'I was going off to bathe yesterday, [when] it rained on me.'

More complex ideas such as cause and result can also be indicated through juxtaposition, with the hearer being left to make the connection between the two clauses.

(799)   *Pueblo*   *Viejo=mal*   *shi*   *i-mtu*   *ki-s,*   *alu*
                 Pueblo   Viejo=LOC   NEG   go-IMPFPART   be.NEG-LOCUT   rain(1)
                 ki-mtu-y
                 rain(2)-IMPF-NONLOCUT

                 'I'm not going to Pueblo Viejo, [because] it's raining.'

(800)   an   perol=na pina katsa,   impuhs=ta=na   alcanza shi
        this pot=TOP   very big   fireplace=in=TOP   fit(1)   NEG
        ki-ma-npa-y
        fit(2)-NEG-NECESS-NONLOCUT
        'This pot is too big, it's not going to fit on the stove.'

In language contact situations, some languages which previously used juxtaposition to indicate interclausal relations borrow coordinating conjunctions, as has happened for example with Imbabura Quechua (Cole 1985:78) and Pipil (Campbell 1987:255–256): they have borrowed the Spanish conjunctions *y* 'and' and *pero* 'but', among others.

While uncommon, a few examples of this sort have been found in Awa Pit, most involving *y* 'and' and one using *pero* 'but'; it should be noted that in Awa Pit, unlike in Spanish, only clauses can be coordinated in this way, not NPs:

(801)   na=na   Demetrio=ta   izh-tu   y   Carmen=ta
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Demetrio=ACC   see-IMPFPART   and   Carmen=ACC
        izh-tu
        see-IMPFPART
        'I saw Demetrio and I saw Carmen.'

(802)   Flavio=kas   shaa-zi,   y   Jaime=kas   shaa-zi
        Flavio=ADD   walk-NONLOCUT   and   Jaime=ADD   walk-NONLOCUT
        'Flavio came and Jaime came.'

(803)   verano=na   alu   shi   ki-kayŋ,   pero   verano=na
        summer=TOP   rain(1)   NEG   rain(2)-NEGADJZR   but   summer=TOP
        tam=miŋ
        short=REST
        'In summer it doesn't rain, but summer is short.'

Chapter 12

Interrogatives and negatives

12.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses two important and interrelated areas of Awa Pit — interrogatives and negatives. These two semantic ideas cover a wide range of syntactic phonemena, and are closely linked in Awa Pit, as in many other languages.[1] The concepts of interrogation and negation can be expressed in Awa Pit through 'content' words such as *min* 'who, no-one', and the negative particle *shi*; there are inherently negative affixes such as the Prohibitive suffixes; there are suffixes such as *ma*, indicating a polar question, and the related *ma*, a negative suffix; the negative copula *ki*; a negative auxiliary verb; interrogative question particles; and ways of forming binary and multiple tag questions.

To begin with, interrogative and negative content words are discussed, and the relationship between these and the indefinites is commented on. Then the variety of polar question constructions is dealt with; followed by the tag questions. Indirect questions are not discussed in this chapter, but rather with other subordinate clauses, in section 10.2.2. After dealing with all interrogatives, the two main types of negative are examined — clausal negation (either with a negative copula, negative suffix or negative auxiliary verb) and non-clausal negation (which is also used with certain non-finite clauses). There are also two inherently negative suffixes, which are not discussed here: the Prohibitives (see section 9.4.5.2) and the Negative Adjectivizer (section 10.4).

Answers are not a separate speech-act in Awa Pit, but they require some discussion. The answer to a question is simply a normal, declarative sentence. As with any other sentence,[2] an answer must contain a predicate.

For content questions, the minimal answer consists of the response to the questioned element plus a predicate; in response to 'Who did you hit?':

(804)   *Mario=ta*   *pyan*   *kway-ta-w*
        Mario=ACC   hit   DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I hit Mario.'

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[1]See Haegeman (1995:70–111) for examples of links between negation and interrogatives in a variety of languages, and a survey of how these links have been treated in generative grammar.

[2]With the exception of utterances consisting simply of an interjection.

min	'who, no-one'	*minwaza*	'someone'	Personal Pronoun
shi	'what, nothing'	*shiwaza*	'something'	Personal Pronoun
min	'which'	*minat*	'some (unknown)'	Adjective
yawa	'how much/many'	-	-	Quantifier
mizha(pa)ka	'when'	-	-	Time Adverb
mizhuta	'when, never'	-	-	Time Adverb
min=	'where, nowhere'	-	-	Place Noun
mizha	'how'	-	-	Manner Adverb
shin	'why'	-	-	Manner Adverb

Table 12.1: Interrogative/negative content words and indefinite words

That is, the minimal answer contains a predicate: it is not possible simply to answer with the word corresponding to the questioned element (**Mario=ta*). Of course, if the predicate is the element being questioned, the minimal response consists just of a predicate.

With polar questions likewise, the minimal answer is a complete sentence. There are no words for 'yes' or 'no' in Awa Pit, and the usual answer to a polar question is simply a predicate, containing either the verb or Copula Complement (with or without a copula), with appropriate morphology, to indicate 'yes'; or the negated verb or Copula Complement plus morphology, to indicate 'no'.

One point which must be kept in mind throughout the following discussion is that in (true) questions the person-marking system is "different" from that in statements or rhetorical questions. That is, as is discussed and exemplified at great length in chapter 8, in information-seeking utterances, Locutor forms are used to refer to second person, with Non-locutor referring to first and third person; in declaratives, Locutor refers to first person and Non-locutor to second and third person.

12.2 Interrogative/negative content words

Awa Pit has a series of words which are used in content questions ("wh"-questions, constituent questions), those questions where "the speaker and hearer share the knowledge of a proposition ... but the speaker does not know one element in the proposition" (Givón 1990:793); some of these words are also used in "negative content" statements, such as 'no-one came'. These words, discussed in detail below, are summarized in Table 12.1 together with the indefinite words.

The identity of content words and indefinite words is not uncommon in the world's languages, occurring for example in Macushi (Abbott 1991:104), the Arawakan languages Amuesha and Campa (Wise 1986:573), Imbabura Quechua (Cole 1985:131), and many Australian languages such as Yidiɲ (Dixon 1977:182). In discussing this identity in Yidiɲ, Dixon suggests that these words are "truly" indefinite, but a cultural/linguistic feature converts this indefiniteness into a request for information.

However this does not seem to be the case for Awa Pit. Firstly, the interrogative and indefinite words are not formally identical; while the indefinite words are based on the interrogative/negative words, they do contain additional phonological material.[3] Additionally, the entire series of words can be used as interrogatives, but only a few words of the set can be used as negatives or have associated indefinite forms, which suggests that the series is, essentially, interrogative in nature.

When the interrogative or negative content words or the indefinite words are used in utterances, the rest of the sentence "remains the same". That is, the usual syntactic and morphological options — derivations, number, aspect, tense and mood (with the exception of directives) — are available, although of course in the case of questions the person marking carries a "different" meaning, and negative sentences are restricted in the usual fashion for clausal negation. In addition, the argument (complement or adjunct) of a predicate containing a questioned constituent normally carries the Interrogative clitic *ma* (see section 14.5), and the argument of a predicate containing a negative constituent normally carries the Additive clitic *kas* (see section 14.4):

(805)   [*shi*   ]=*ma*   *pak-ma-ti?*
        [what]=INTER   burn-COMP-TERM
        'What has burnt?'

(806)   [*min=pa*   *kwizha=ta*]=*ma*   comida   *kwin-ta-w?*
        [who=POSS   dog=ACC   ]=INTER   food   give-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'Whose dog did you give food to?'

(807)   [*shi*   ]=*kas*   *shi*   *kizh-tu*   *ki-s*
        [nothing]=ADD   NEG   say-IMPFPART   be.NEG-LOCUT
        'I'm not saying anything.'

In questions, the element containing the question word is most commonly found at the beginning of the sentence, as in the examples above. This positioning, while common, is not obligatory, and questioned elements may be found in their usual position. For example, subordinate clauses may occur first:

(808)   *na=na*   *pin-tu-ka=na,*   *min=ta=ma*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   pass-IMPF-WHEN=TOP   where=in=INTER
        tu-a-zi?
        be:in:place-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'When I passed by, where was he?'

Other elements may also occur before the questioned element, in which case they are most commonly topicalized elements. These elements are often, but not always, set off by a pause:

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[3]Although it must be noted that the interrogative and negative content words are usually accompanied by the clitics *ma* and *kas* — see below.

(809)   *Libardo=na   min-a=ma   ta-zi?*
        Libardo=TOP who-ACC=INTER give-NONLOCUT
        'Who did Libardo pay?'

(810)   *wakata=na, yawa=ma   mij?*
        cattle=TOP how:many=INTER have.(IMPFPART)
        'How many cattle do you have?'

12.2.1   *Min* 'who, no-one'

The word *min* 'who, no-one' is used to question or negate a human noun constituent of a sentence. The form *min* is used in the Nominative, and as the base before most postpositions to form most other case-forms, such as *min=pa* 'whose, no-one's', *min=kasa* 'with whom, with no-one'. However there is a special suffix for the Accusative, *min-a* rather than the expected **min=ta*.[4]

(811)   *min=ma   ka-s?*
        who=INTER be:permanently-LOCUT
        'Who are you? (ie. Who's there?)'

(812)   *min=ma   kii-ti-zi?*
        who=INTER get:married-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Who got married?'

(813)   *sun escuela=na min=ma   sa-zi?*
        that school=TOP who=INTER   make-NONLOCUT
        'Who built that school?'

(814)   *min=kas   shi   a-ma-y*
        no:one=ADD NEG   come-NEG-NONLOCUT
        'No-one came.'

(815)   *min-a   pyan   kway-ta-w?*
        who-ACC   hit   DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'Who did you hit?'

(816)   *mayshti min-a=ma   mila-ta-w?*
        machete who-ACC=INTER give-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'Who did you give the machete to?'

(817)   *min-a=kas   shi   izh-ma-s*
        no:one-ACC=ADD NEG   see-NEG-LOCUT
        'I didn't see anyone.'

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[4] It is unclear whether a locative form *min=ta* exists or not. When used as a translation of, for example, "to whom did the child go?", it was always translated back as "where did the child go?", using *min=* 'where' rather than *min* 'who'. The Accusative form *min-a* was not acceptable in this context.

(818) *min=kasa=ma*   *i-ta-w?*
who=with=INTER go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'Who did you go with?'

12.2.2 *Shi* 'what, nothing'

Only humans may be questioned or negated using *min* 'who, no-one'; the corresponding question/negative word for non-humans, whether animate or inanimate, is *shi*. As would be expected for a pronoun which is used for non-humans, there is no Accusative form, as there is no special marking to indicate Object status. *Shi* may, of course, be followed by other postpositions, and also by relational nouns.

(819) *shi=ma*   *ki-ma-zi?*
what=INTER do-COMP-NONLOCUT
'What happened?'

(820) *shi=ma*   *ka-y?*
what=INTER be:permanently-NONLOCUT
'What is it?'

(821) *piya=na* *shi=ma*   *kwa-zi?*
corn=TOP what=INTER eat-NONLOCUT
'What ate the corn?'

(822) *shi=kas*   *shi* *kizh-tu*   *ki-s*
nothing=ADD NEG say-IMPFPART be.NEG-LOCUT
'I'm not saying anything.'

(823) *shi=ta=ma*   comida *kwin-ta-w?*
what=in=INTER food   give-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'What did you give [it] food in?'

(824) *shi=kasa=ma*   *pyan* *kway-ta-w?*
what=with=INTER hit   DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'What did you hit [him/her] with?'

(825) *shi* *ayuk=ta=ma*   libro *ta-ta-w?*
what inside=in=INTER book put-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'What did you put the book under?'

It should be noted that there is no interrogative verb 'do what' in Awa Pit. Rather, as in English and many other languages, the verb *ki-* 'do' is used together with *shi* 'what':[5]

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[5]Note that *ki-* 'do' is distinguished from both *ki* 'be.NEG' and the polar question marker *ki* as it is active and is used with the Imperfective, while the latter two do not combine with the Imperfective aspect suffix.

(826)   *Gerardo=na   shi=ma   ki-mtu-a-zi?*
        Gerardo=TOP   what=INTER   do-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'What was Gerardo doing?'

12.2.3   *Min=* 'where, nowhere'

The third interrogative/negative content word, *min=* 'where, nowhere', is a place noun, and is obligatorily followed by a locative postposition. It can only be followed directly by *ta* 'in' and *pa* 'in(approx)', not by *mal* 'LOC' nor *ki* 'at'. This restriction on the following postpositions is presumably related to the semantics of these postpositions.

While *min=* 'where, nowhere' and *min* 'who, no-one' have the same form, they are clearly distinct words. *Min* 'who, no-one' refers obligatorily to a human, while *min=* 'where, nowhere' refers always to a place. There is a further homophony within the interrogative/negative words, with *min* 'which', an adjective. This third word is an adjective, rather than a pronoun like the other two, and it may refer to either humans or non-humans. Hence while homophonous, and all interrogative/negative words, the three forms can be distinguished both grammatically and semantically. It is likely, of course, that all three are diachronically related.

As noted above, *min=* 'where, nowhere' can only be followed directly by *ta* or *pa*, in either their locative or allative meanings, or suffixed by *s* in their elative use; other postpositions may follow *ta* or *pa*.

(827)   *min=ta=ma   tu-y?*
        where=in=INTER   be:in:place-NONLOCUT
        'Where is he?'

(828)   *min=ta=ma   i-mtu-s?*
        where=in=INTER   go-IMPF-LOCUT
        'Where are you going?'

(829)   *min=ta=kas   shi   i-ma-s*
        nowhere=in=ADD   NEG   go-NEG-LOCUT
        'I didn't go anywhere.'

(830)   *min=pa=ma   i-mtu-s?*
        where=in(approx)=INTER   go-IMPF-LOCUT
        'Where are you going?'

(831)   *min=ta-s   a-mtu-y,   sun   ampu=na?*
        where=in-from   come-IMPF-NONLOCUT   that   man=TOP
        'Where has that man come from?'

(832)   *min=ta=kima=ma   i-mtu-s?*
        where=in=until=INTER   go-IMPF-LOCUT
        'How far [up to where] are you going?'

12.2.4 *Min* 'which'

As well as the interrogative/negative pronouns and nouns, there are two inter-rogative adjectives, *min* 'which' and *yawa* 'how much, how many'. The first of these is homophonous with both *min* 'who, no-one' and *min=* 'where, nowhere', however they are clearly distinct (see previous section for details). These two adjectives are only interrogative, never negative.

Min 'which' is used to indicate which item out of a selection. It can be used together with human or non-human nouns, and the noun phrase may be case marked.

(833) min   awa=ma   shaa-ma-zi?
      which   person=INTER   walk-COMP-NONLOCUT
      'Which person was around?'

(834) min   awa=ta   pyan kway-ta-w?
      which   person=ACC   hit   DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      'Which person did you hit?'

(835) min   camisa=ma   pay-shi-ta-s?
      which   shirt=INTER   buy-DESID-DUMMY-LOCUT
      'Which shirt do you want to buy?'

12.2.5 *Yawa* 'how much, how many'

The interrogative quantifier *yawa* 'how much, how many' can be used to ask for the amount of a noun, or the qualification of an adjective. It is often used to ask for a number or amount:

(836) awa=na,   yawa   izhpul=ma   mij-i?
      person=TOP   how:many   soul=INTER   have-NONLOCUT
      'How many souls do people have?'

(837) yawa   shappi=ma   kwa-ta-w?
      how:much   cane:juice=INTER   drink-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      'How much cane juice did you drink?'

It can also be used in this way without a noun, that is, as an adjective modifying an ellipsed noun:

(838) wakata=na,   yawa=ma   mij?
      cattle=TOP   how:many=INTER   have.(IMPFPART)
      'How many cattle do you have?'

(839) yawa-tuz=ma   kal   ki-mtu-y?
      how:many-NMLZR.PL=INTER   work(1)   work(2)-IMPF-NONLOCUT
      'How many [people] were working together?'

Yawa can also be used in an "adverbial" fashion, modifying an adjective, asking how much of the adjective quality something has. One of the common uses of this is to ask how much "expensiveness" something has, that is, how much it costs:

(840)	*wakata	yawa	mun	i?*
cattle	how:much	expensive	be.(NONLOCUT)
'How much does a cow cost?'

(841)	*kuzhu=na,	yawa	katsa=ma	i?*
pig=TOP	how:much	big=INTER	be.(NONLOCUT)
'How big is the pig?'

(842)	*Chical=na	yawa	attihsh=ma	ka-y?*
Chical=TOP	how:much	far=INTER	be:permanently-NONLOCUT
'How far away is Chical?'

An alternative way of asking the price of something is by using *yawa* together with the postposition *ki* 'at' — *ki* is used together with numbers to indicate costs (see section 5.4.6).

(843)	*yawa=ki=ma	pay-ta-w	panela=na?*
how:much=at=INTER	buy-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ	*panela*=TOP
'How much did you buy the *panela* (raw sugar) for?'

## 12.2.6	*Mizha* 'how'

The question manner adverb *mizha* 'how' is used in a variety of contexts. It can be used to ask the way in which something was done:

(844)	*mizha=ma	azhpizh-ta-w?*
how=INTER	open-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'How did you open [it]?'

(845)	*mizha=ma	pyan-is?*
how=INTER	know-LOCUT
'How do you know?'

One of the ways of asking how someone is uses *mizha* (although it is more common to enquire if someone is well using a polar question):

(846)	*ap	aympihsh,	mizha	tu-ma-zi?*
my	brother	how	be:in:place-COMP-NONLOCUT
'How is my brother?'

While *mizha* 'how' is a component in the various ways of asking 'when', this will be discussed in the following section. It can also be used in the formation of multiple-choice tag questions, which will be discussed below in section 12.4.2.

12.2.7 *Mizha(pa)ka* 'when' and *mizhuta* 'when, never'

There are a variety of ways of asking when something happened. Two of these, *mizhaka* and *mizhapaka*, appear to be more "traditional", and the other, *mizhuta*, appears to combine the word for 'how', *mizha*, together with the Spanish word *hora* 'hour, time'. One of my informants only used the two traditional words (for questions), while the others used all three forms. The form *mizha(pa)ka* has never been found as a negative; even the informant who didn't use *mizhuta* for questions used it in negative contexts.

The Awa Pit expressions for asking when something happened all involve the word *mizha* 'how'. It would seem that the closest translation to the traditional constructions is something like 'at the time when things were how (did it happen)', as these constructions use a sequence *ka*, probably related to the subordinator *ka* which sets up the simultaneity of two events (see section 10.3.4). It is not completely clear what the element *pa* is, although it seems most likely that it is the postposition *pa* 'in(approx)', which can be used for time, although in other uses it has only been found referring to time of year (see section 5.4.4).

The distinction between the two traditional question words is one of time depth, and corresponds to the two separate ways of asking 'when' in local Spanish. The form *mizhaka*, or local Spanish *cuándo* 'when', is used for asking a general 'when', and could be answered by "yesterday", "tomorrow", "five years ago". The form *mizhapaka* is more specific, and corresponds to local Spanish *a qué hora* 'at what time'; it can only be used to ask for a period within a day — it can be answered by "in the morning", "in the afternoon", "at 10 o'clock".

(847)   *mizhaka=ma*   *payl-ni-zi?*
      when=INTER   finish-FUT-NONLOCUT
      'When will they finish?'

(848)   *mizhaka=ma*   *kal*   *ki-ta-w?*
      when=INTER   work(1)   work(2)-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      'When did you work?'

(849)   *mizhapaka*   *kayl-ni-s*   *tilawa=na?*
      when   return-FUT-LOCUT   tomorrow=TOP
      'At what time will you be back tomorrow?'

(850)   *mizhapaka=ma*   *a-ta-w?*
      when=INTER   come-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      'When did you come?'

The form *mizhuta* appears to be in variation with both of the above forms in questions, for those speakers who use it. It is unusual, in that it is never used together with the question particle *ma*.

(851)   *mizhuta*   *nu=na*   *Kutshu=ta-s*   *kayl-tu?*
      when   2SG.(NOM)=TOP   San Isidro=in-from   return-IMPFPART
      'When (at what time) are you coming back from San Isidro?'

(852)   *mizhuta   kayl-ni-zi?*
          when   return-FUT-NONLOCUT
          'When (what day) is he coming back?'

The reason for the lack of the clitic *ma* here is unknown. It is also unclear why only *mizhuta*, not *mizha(pa)ka*, can be used in negative contexts; in this construction it is never followed by the clitic *kas*, unlike other negative content words, and this is parallel to the lack of the clitic *ma* in questions.

(853)   *Cali=ta=na   mizhuta   shi   i-t   ki-s*
          Cali=in=TOP   never   NEG   go-PFPART   be.NEG-LOCUT
          'I have never been to Cali.'

12.2.8 *Shin* 'why'

The English word *why* can be used to ask about two separate ideas. It can be used to cover the idea of purpose, answerable with a phrase beginning *in order to*; and it can be used to give a reason, answerable with *because*. In Awa Pit these two ideas are expressed very differently. The former is asked using a combination of *shi* 'what', *ki-* 'do' and the infinite marker *n(a)*, forming a purposive 'in order to do what':

(854)   *shi=ma   ki-n   a-ta-w?*
          what=INTER   do-INF   come-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
          'Why (in order to do what) did you come?'

(855)   *shi=ma   ki-n   i-ma-ti-mtu-s   pueblo=ta?*
          what=INTER   do-INF   go-COMP-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT   town=in
          'Why (to do what) are you going to town?'

        Shin 'why' is only used to ask the reason for something. It can be used on its own:

(856)   *shin=ma   shi   i-ma-ni-s?*
          why=INTER   NEG   go-NEG-FUT-LOCUT
          'Why aren't you going to go?'

It can also appear followed by a form *ka*, which is presumably the pseudo-copula verb, although this is unclear, and there is apparently no difference in meaning:

(857)   *shin=ma   ka   pyan-ta-w?*
          why=INTER   be:permanently   hit-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
          'Why did you hit [him]?'

12.3 Polar questions

There are two constructions which are used to form polar ("yes/no") questions in Awa Pit, in different contexts. The simplest polar question form uses a verb suffix *ma*, which indicates both the idea of a polar question and the idea of Past tense. The second type of polar question, the most frequent, involves the use of question markers *ki* or *sa*. It is interesting to note, as will be taken up in section 12.7, that negative statements use similar morphological material plus the negative particle *shi*.

12.3.1 Polar questions marked by a suffix

One of the ways of forming a polar question in Awa Pit is through the use of a special verb suffix *ma*,[6] which directly follows a verb stem and cannot be combined with any other inflection except person marking, which here has the form *s* for Locutor and an absence of marking for Non-locutor.[7] Both of these features show that the *ma* used to mark polar questions is distinct from the homophonous *ma* used for negation (see section 12.5.1) which can be combined with Future tense marking and has a Non-locutor suffix *y*, as well as distinguishing it from the Completive aspect *ma* (section 9.3.2), which has a wide range of combinatorial possibilities.

The polar question suffix *ma* can be used with both active and stative verb stems, and apart from in combination with the Desiderative derivational suffix, it always indicates Past tense as well as a polar question. With the exception of verb inflection, a polar question shown through *ma* has the same constructional possibilities as any finite main clause utterance.

(858)   anshik=na   a-ma-s?
       yesterday=TOP   come-Q.PAST-LOCUT
       'Did you come yesterday?'

(859)   izh-ma-s?
       see-Q.PAST-LOCUT
       'Did you see [it]?'

(860)   Hugo=na   pueblo=mal   puz-ma?
       Hugo=TOP   town=LOC   go:out-Q.PAST.(NONLOC)
       'Did Hugo go out to the town?'

(861)   up   paynkul   Libio=ta   izh-ma?
       your   son   Libio=ACC   see-Q.PAST.(NONLOC)
       'Did your son see Libio?'

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[6]Perhaps related historically to the Interrogative clitic *ma*, discussed in section 14.5.

[7]For a discussion of this marking pattern, see section 8.4.1.

(862)   *pala=na*   *waa-ma?*
         plantain=TOP   there:is-Q.PAST.(NONLOC)
         'Were there plantains?'

The polar question suffix *ma* appears to lose its Past nature when combined with the Desiderative suffix *shi*, questioning a present rather than a past situation:

(863)   *nul=na*   *kwa-shi-ma-s?*
         chontaduro=TOP   eat-DESID-Q.PAST-LOCUT
         'Do you want to eat *chontaduro*?'

However this appears to be a feature of the semantics of desideratives, rather than anything to do with the suffix *ma*; and indeed as is mentioned in section 6.4.2.1, it is possible to ask a question in a Past tense form referring to a present situation in many varieties of English.

12.3.2   Polar questions with *ki* or *sa*

The status of the syntactic structure of polar questions with *ki* or *sa* is extremely unclear, although the structures themselves are clear. The most common structure involves a lexical verb (either active or stative, but never the copula *i*), together with all of its normal arguments and modifiers, in either the Infinitive form or one of the two Participle forms, followed immediately by either *ki* or *sa*,[8] with these words having no suffix for Non-locutor, or a final *s* if there is some Locutor element in the utterance:[9]

(864)   *Hugo=na*   *Ricaurte=ta*   *puz-na*   *ki?*
         Hugo=TOP   Ricaurte=in   go:out-INF   Q.(NONLOCUT)
         'Will Hugo go to Ricaurte?'

(865)   *tilawa*   *a-n*   *ki-s?*
         tomorrow   come-INF   Q-LOCUT
         'Are you coming tomorrow?'

(866)   *tilawa*   *a-n*   *sa-s?*
         tomorrow   come-INF   Q:UNSURE-LOCUT
         'Would you be coming tomorrow?'

(867)   *ashaŋpa*   *mil*   *ki-s?*
         woman   have.(IMPFPART)   Q-LOCUT
         'Do you have a wife?'

(868)   *Alicia=na*   *shappi*   *kii-mtu*   *sa?*
         Alicia=TOP   cane:juice   mill-IMPFPART   Q:UNSURE.(NONLOC)
         'Would Alicia be milling cane?'

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[8]Once again, only the negative marker *shi* can intervene.
[9]This marking pattern is discussed in section 8.4.1.

(869) nu=na   Ricaurte=mal i-t   ki-s?
       2SG.(NOM)=TOP Ricaurte=LOC go-PFPART Q-LOCUT
       'Did you go to Ricaurte?'

(870) Demetrio=na   paynya yal=ta   i-t
       Demetrio=TOP his   house=in go-PFPART
       sa?
       Q:UNSURE.(NONLOC)
       'Would Demetrio have gone to his house?'

In this construction the form of the non-finite lexical verb expresses tense, with future shown by the Infinitive, present by the Imperfective Participle, and past by the Perfective Participle. The difference between *ki* and *sa* can perhaps be understood from the translations (compare especially sentences (865) and (866)). The use of *sa* rather than *ki* implies that the addressee may not know the answer to the question, a kind of "do you happen to know if" or "do you think that" question.[10] *Sa* occurs much more commonly in the Non-locutor form, which is to be expected given the meaning, as an addressee is less likely to know about someone else's action rather than his or her own. Locutor person marking can be used with *sa* — however only together with an Infinitive lexical verb, referring to the future, which also fits with its meaning, as it is possible that an addressee will not be sure of his or her own future actions, but is (normally) aware of his or her past or present actions.

In addition to this structure with a lexical verb, it is also possible to use *ki* and *sa* following a verbless copula construction, where the *ki* or *sa* appears almost like an interrogative copula, although necessarily untensed and referring to the present:

(871) an   kwizha=na alizh ki?
       this dog=TOP   fierce Q.(NONLOCUT)
       'Is this dog fierce?'

Perhaps the parallelism between these question markers and the copula *i* is most clearly seen in one way of enquiring about someone's health, and the answer to this query:[11]

(872) nu   wat=miŋ   ki-s?
       2SG.(NOM) good=REST Q-LOCUT
       (na)   wat=miŋ   i-s
       (1SG.(NOM)) good=REST be-LOCUT
       'Are you well? I am well.'

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[10]This accords well with the use of the homophonous (and presumably diachronically related) complementizer *sa*, used in indirect questions; see section 10.2.2.

[11]This exchange was never observed in natural speech, with the usual form of greeting consisting of a discussion of the weather, followed by a query about where the parties were going to and coming from. The above transaction may well be a calque from the standard local Spanish greeting. However the youngest informant, A, did use it, and if other informants were queried about their health in the above manner, they responded as above. Thus while not perhaps a traditional greeting, it does show the parallelism.

These structures suggest an analysis where *ki* and *sa* are considered as either interrogative copulas (when used without a lexical verb) or as auxiliaries with a main lexical verb, as they appear similar to the auxiliary constructions discussed in section 11.2, and indeed very similar to the clausal negation structures discussed in sections 12.5.2 and 12.5.3 below, which are analyzed as involving the use of a main lexical verb in the Infinitive or a Participle form, together with the negative auxiliary *ki*. However there are problems with this analysis.

Firstly, the auxiliaries used in Awa Pit are a subset of verbs. But the interrogative words *ki* and *sa* never take any of the verbal derivations or inflections. They are necessarily either uninflected or inflected with *s* indicating a Locutor entity, and while person marking is most often associated with verbs, in Awa Pit there is clear evidence of person marking on non-verb elements, such as the negative particle and a postposition (see section 8.4.1). It could thus be claimed that perhaps *ki* and *sa* are very defective verbs, with no verbal suffixation, but it seems better to look for alternative analysis if possible. If these words are not verbs, they cannot be auxiliaries like the auxiliaries in section 11.2, so a new structure is required in any case.[12]

Secondly, in main–auxiliary constructions such as the clausal negatives, the meanings conveyed by the non-finite suffixes on the lexical verbs are different. In the polar interrogatives, straightforward tense is conveyed by these forms, so that, for example, an adjunct referring to past time can be added to a clause with a Perfective Participle:

(873)   *anshik=na*   *Pedro=na*   *puz-ta*   *ki?*
        yesterday=TOP Pedro=TOP go:out-PFPART Q.(NONLOCUT)
        'Did Pedro go yesterday?'

An apparently structurally identical negative clause, on the other hand, conveys the present state (Present auxiliary) of a past event (Perfective Participle), and a past time adjunct cannot be added to such a clause:[13]

(874)   *(*anshik=na)*   *Pedro=na*   *shi*   *puz-ta*
        (yesterday=TOP) Pedro=TOP NEG go:out-PFPART
        ki
        be.NEG.(NONLOCUT)
        'Pedro hasn't gone (*yesterday).'

This suggests that *ki* and *sa* are not forming an auxiliary construction.

It is also possible to form negative polar questions — expecting a negative response — by the addition of the negative particle *shi* after the lexical verb and before the question word:[14]

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[12]Note that these could perhaps be considered as non-verb auxiliaries, in the same way as Gazdar, Pullum & Sag (1982), for example, treat the English word *to* as an auxiliary (see also Pullum 1981). In any case, a new structure is required.

[13]See 12.5.3 for details.

[14]It is clear that this is the interrogative *ki* rather than the negative *ki*, as it cannot carry tense.

(875) nu=na   Ricaurte=ta   i-mtu   shi   ki-s?
      2SG.(NOM)=TOP   Ricaurte=in   go-IMPFPART   NEG   Q-LOCUT
      'Aren't you going to Ricaurte?'

(876) anshik=na   a-t   shi   ki?
      yesterday=TOP   come-PFPART   NEG   Q.(NONLOCUT)
      'Didn't he come yesterday?'

(877) Demetrio=na   tilawa   a-n   shi   ki?
      Demetrio=TOP   tomorrow   come-INF   NEG   Q.(NONLOCUT)
      'Won't Demetrio come tomorrow?'

Marking negation in this fashion suggests two possibilities. This placement of negation is appropriate for main–auxiliary constructions (see section 12.5.3), but arguments against this analysis were given above; alternatively, it is possible that these question clauses are, in fact, non-finite, which is also suggested by the non-occurrence of the copula verb *i* in these structures. That is, it looks as though these clauses correspond to main non-finite clauses such as:

(878) ashaŋpa   mil
      woman   have.(IMPFPART)
      'I/you/he has a wife.'

(879) Alicia=na   shappi   kii-mtu
      Alicia=TOP   cane:juice   mill-IMPFPART
      'Alicia is milling cane.'

(880) an   kwizha=na   alizh
      this   dog=TOP   fierce
      'This dog is fierce.'

The only difference between these non-finite main clauses and the questions (867), (868) and (871) above is the presence or absence of the sentence-final *ki(s)* or *sa(s)*. However there are problems with this analysis also. The Imperfective Participle non-finite clauses and the verbless copula clauses correspond, but not the other forms. In non-finite main clauses, (simple) Perfective Participles are not used, only extended Perfective Participles; and Infinitives have not been found in non-finite main clauses (see section 3.3.2). These two forms occur only in main–auxiliary constructions such as clausal negatives or in subordinate clauses, such as indirect question complements.

The polar question construction using *ki* or *sa* thus appears to form a very unusual structure, half-way between a non-finite main clause with following question particle, and a main–auxiliary construction. It is interesting in this respect to examine the uses of homophonous words *ki* and *sa*. The negative verb *ki* is used either as a copula or a tensed auxiliary verb in a main–auxiliary construction. *Sa*, on the other hand, exists as a complementizer in indirect question complements, together with Infinitive/Participle verbs. The polar interrogative construction

with *ki* or *sa* appears to combine some features of each of these other uses. This suggests that historically there were two words, *ki* and *sa*, with different grammatical features, perhaps similar to those of negative *ki* and complementizer *sa* respectively. However the use of both words to form questions has led to the separation of *ki* and *sa* as question markers from negative *ki* and complementizer *sa*; and the use of these two question words (originally with distinct grammatical features) in similar contexts has led to them developing towards each other and away from negative *ki* and complementizer *sa*.

12.4 Tag questions

There are two further question forms in Awa Pit, the 'binary-choice tag question' and the 'multiple-choice tag question'. These tag questions combine elements of both question-word questions and polar questions. They are not true tag questions, at least not under Ultan's (1978a:223) definition: "[Tag questions] are always clitic, usually enclitic, to a sentence, most often declarative". While both forms of these questions in Awa Pit do occur at the end of a sentence, they form a matrix clause, and the remainder of the "sentence" is not declarative, but rather a non-finite subordinated form. However they have the same sorts of semantics as tag questions, and consequently have been labelled as such, despite their different structural features.

12.4.1 Binary-choice tag questions

Binary-choice tag questions in Awa Pit are composed of a non-finite subordinate clause — either a verbless copula construction, a stative Imperfective Participle, an active verb in Imperfective Participle, extended Perfective Participle or Infinitive form, or an active verb with Adjectivizer — followed (optionally) by the cliticized nominal question particle *ma*, followed by the *ka*-copula, either unmarked (Imperfective Participle) or in the Perfective Participle form, and finally the interrogative marker *ki*, together with person marking:

$$\text{Subordinate clause-} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(verbless copula clause)} \\ \text{Imperfective Participle} \\ \text{ext. Perfective Participle} \\ \text{Infinitive} \\ \text{Adjectivizer} \end{array} \right\} \textit{(=ma) ka(t) ki(s)}$$

The interrogative marker *ki* naturally does not take tense marking, only person marking (*s* for Locutor, unmarked for Non-locutor). Time reference can be indicated on the *ka*-copula (either unmarked present, or past through the Perfective Participle) and also, if the subordinated verb is active, through the choice of non-finite form.

These tag questions expect a positive answer. For example, sentence (881) below was to be asked at a shop, where it would be expected that there would

be cigarettes. Similarly, sentence (884) was translated as *seguro vos vas a salir?* 'you're definitely going to town?', while sentence (885) was translated as *ayer parece que ha molido?* 'it seems as though you were milling yesterday?'.

(881)   cigarrillo *waa=ma*   *ka*
           cigarette there:is.(IMPFPART)=INTER be:permanently.(IMPFPART)
           ki?
           Q.(NONLOCUT)
           'There are cigarettes, aren't there?'

(882)   *shaa=ma*   *ka-t*   *ki-s?*
           walk.(IMPFPART)=INTER be:permanently-PFPART Q-LOCUT
           'You were around (yesterday), weren't you?'

(883)   *Miguel=na*   blanco=*ma*   *ka*
           Miguel=TOP white=INTER be:permanently.(IMPFPART)
           ki?
           Q.(NONLOCUT)
           'Miguel is white, isn't he?'

(884)   *tilawa=na*   *miimal*   *i-mtu=ma*
           tomorrow=TOP Chucunés go-IMPFPART=INTER
           ka   *ki-s?*
           be:permanently.(IMPFPART) Q-LOCUT
           'You're going to Chucunés tomorrow, aren't you?'

(885)   *anshik=na*   *kii-mtu=ma*   *ka-t*
            yesterday=TOP mill-IMPFPART=INTER be:permanently-PFPART
           ki-s?
           Q-LOCUT
           'You were milling yesterday, weren't you?'

(886)   *nu=na=ma*   pantalón *pat-ti-t=ma*
           2SG.(NOM)=TOP=TEMP pants   wash-TERM-PFPART=INTER
           ka   *ki-s?*
           be:permanently.(IMPFPART) Q-LOCUT
           'You've just washed your pants, haven't you?'

(887)   *Demetrio Pueblo Viejo=mal i-n=ma*
           Demetrio Pueblo Viejo=LOC go-INF=INTER
           ka   *ki?*
           be:permanently.(IMPFPART) Q.(NONLOCUT)
           'Demetrio will go to Pueblo Viejo, won't he?'

(888) *shiya=na*   *ku-m=ma*   *ka*
      pineapple=TOP eat-ADJZR=INTER   be:permanently.(IMPFPART)
      ki-s?
      Q-LOCUT
      'You eat pineapple, don't you?'

12.4.2 Multiple-choice tag questions

Just like the binary-choice tag questions (see previous section), the multiple-choice tag questions are not truly tag questions, in that the "main sentence" is subordinated to the tag. However, they are similar to the multiple-choice tag questions discussed by Ultan (1978a:226), in that they involve some idea of "how about", and indeed use the interrogative manner adverb *mizha* 'how' in their formation. Unlike the multiple-choice tag questions discussed by Ultan, the Awa Pit construction places the tag at the end of the sentence, not at the beginning. While the binary-choice tag questions ask a specifically polar question with an expected positive reply, these multiple-choice tag questions ask a polar question, but also ask for more details. They were sometimes translated into Spanish with an introductory *cómo es?* 'how is it, what's it like?'.

The construction of these multiple-choice tag questions is similar to the way in which binary-choice tag questions are formed. First there is the subordinate clause, in the same choices of non-finite verb form as above. For the multiple-choice tags, this is then followed by the question word *mizha* 'how', followed usually by the question particle *ma*, although this is sometimes ellipsed. Then finally the *ka*-copula occurs, with person marking. As with all questions involving content words, there is no sentence-final question marker.

(889) *Miguel=na*   blanco *mizha=ma*   *ka-y?*
      Miguel=TOP white   how=INTER be:permanently-NONLOCUT
      'Miguel is white, or what?'

(890) *na=kasa*   *i-mtu*   *mizha=ma*
      1SG.(NOM)=with go-IMPFPART how=INTER
      ka-s,   *nukul-tu*   *mizha=ma*
      be:permanently-LOCUT stay-IMPFPART how=INTER
      ka-s?
      be:permanently-LOCUT
      'Are you coming with me, or staying here, or what?'

(891) *us=na*   *kwa-ti-t*   *mizha=ma*
      3SG.(NOM)=TOP eat-TERM-PFPART how=INTER
      ka-y?
      be:permanently-NONLOCUT
      'So has he eaten, or what?'

(892) *wanmal-na   mizha=ma   ka-s?*
       meet-INF   how=INTER   be:permanently-LOCUT
       'So do you reckon you'll meet them, or what?'

The two tag question forms have similar structures, differing in a similar way to polar and content questions — a sentence-final question marker in one, a content question word in the other.

12.5 Clausal negation

As mentioned earlier, negation takes a variety of forms in Awa Pit. The inherently negative suffixes, the Prohibitives (section 9.4.5.2) and the Negative Adjectivizer (section 10.4), are discussed elsewhere, and no further mention will be made of them here. The interrogative/negative content words were discussed in section 12.2, however when one of these words is intended to be understood negatively, the clause is also negated in the usual fashion. The remaining negative contexts all involve the use of the negative particle *shi*, and divide into two types, clausal negation and non-clausal negation.

Clausal negation, the subject of this section, involves the preverbal use of *shi*, plus some other indication of negation — either a special verb suffix, a negative copula verb, or a negative auxiliary verb.[15] Non-clausal negation, discussed in section 12.6 below, involves only one marking of negation, with *shi* being placed after the element to be negated. The terms 'clausal' and 'non-clausal' negation have been chosen because of the prototypical uses of these constructions: finite clauses are negated using the clausal negation strategy, while elements such as adjectives are negated by the non-clausal strategy. It must be kept in mind, however, that some non-finite clauses are negated using one construction, some using the other, and others cannot be negated, with alternative constructions being used. Those subordinate clauses which are negated using the clausal negation strategy are marked as "+ Negation" in Table 10.1 in chapter 10. Non-finite main clauses are negated by the non-clausal strategy.

There are three structures used for clausal negation: a verb suffix *ma* can be used to indicate negation in either Past or Future; there is a special negative verb *ki* used in copula constructions with a copula; and the negative copula *ki* can be used as an auxiliary verb to negate either active or stative verbs.

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[15]The use of two markers of negation is similar to the marking found in Imbabura Quechua (Cole 1985:83–86), although in that language the two markers bracket whichever element is in the scope of negation — for some speakers the second marker (*chu*), must be after the verb, making it parallel to the Awa Pit element *ma* or *ki*, however the first marker (*mana*) is still free to mark the scope of negation, unlike the Awa Pit *shi*, which must appear directly before the verb in clausal negation.

12.5.1 Negatives with *ma*

The first method of marking clausal negation is to place the negative particle *shi* before the verb and suffix the verb with *ma*.[16] This strategy is used with either active or stative verbs, but not the copula *i*.

While the negative suffix *ma* appears related to the Past interrogative suffix *ma*, there are formal differences, as well as semantic ones (see section 12.3.1 for details). Negative *ma* follows a verb stem, and cannot be combined with inflectional aspect. If it is followed directly by person marking, either Locutor *s* or Non-locutor *y*, it shows Past tense:

(893)   *kwizha*   *na-wa=na*   *sula*   *shi*   *ku-ma-s*
         dog   1SG-ACC=TOP   bite(1)   NEG   bite(2)-NEG-LOCUT
         'The dog did not bite me.'

(894)   *pala=na*   *shi*   *waa-ma-y*
         plantain=TOP   NEG   there:is-NEG-NONLOCUT
         'There were no plantains.'

(895)   *Santos=na*   *shi*   *i-ma-y*
         Santos=TOP   NEG   go-NEG-NONLOCUT
         'Santos did not go.'

When used in this way to indicate Past tense (as well as negation), *ma* implies that the activity did not go to completion, suggesting a link with the Completive suffix *ma* (see section 9.3.2), although synchronically there are clear formal differences between the suffixes. This idea of completion can be seen in the following sentence, where the *ma* in the main clause shows that the culmination of the activity ('finding') was not reached, even though the initial stages ('looking for') were carried out; note that the verb root in both clauses is the same:

(896)   *say-kikas,*   *shi*   *say-ma-s*
         look:for/find-CONCESS   NEG   look:for/find-NEG-LOCUT
         'Although I looked for [it], I didn't find [it].'

While the suffix *ma* with no tense marking indicates past tense, this is sometimes further signalled through the use of *ta* as a Perfective Serial Verb (see section 11.6 for the use of Serial Verbs to indicate aspect). This then indicates perfectivity and past tense, and the negative marker *ma* occurs on the Serial Verb *ta*.

(897)   *verano=na*   *ap-ma-ti=ma,*   *alu*   *shi*   *ki-t*
         summer=TOP   enter-COMP-TERM=TEMP   rain(1)   NEG   rain(2)-SV
         ta-ma-y
         GIVE-NEG-NONLOCUT
         'Summer has arrived, it hasn't rained.'

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[16]It is interesting to note the widespread use of a form similar to *ma* as a negative morpheme in a variety of languages in South America (David Payne 1990).

(898) na-wa   shi   pit-nin   ta-ma-s
       1SG-ACC   NEG   sleep-CAUS GIVE-NEG-LOCUT
       'They wouldn't let me sleep.'

In addition to being used with no tense marking, indicating Past tense, *ma* can be followed by either the Future tense inflection or the Necessitive mood inflection (plus person marking) to indicate the expected non-occurrence of a future activity:

(899) alu   ki-mtu-ka=na,   shi   a-ma-ni-s
       rain(1) rain(2)-IMPF-WHEN=TOP   NEG   come-NEG-FUT-LOCUT
       'If it's raining, I won't come.'

(900) min-tu-s,   Demetrio=na   shappi   shi
       think-IMPF-LOCUT   Demetrio=TOP cane:juice NEG
       kii-ma-ni-zi
       mill-NEG-FUT-NONLOCUT   ·
       'I think that Demetrio won't mill.'

(901) akkwan shi   a-ma-npa-y
       many   NEG   come-NEG-NECESS-NONLOCUT
       'Many [students] won't come.'

12.5.2 The negative copula

There is a negative construction in Awa Pit which corresponds to the affirmative copula construction with a Copula Complement and the copula *i*. As expected, this construction involves placing the negative particle *shi* before the verb, but rather than the copula verb *i*, the special negative copula *ki* occurs.[17] This negative copula has the expected tense and person forms, which distinguishes it from the question marker *ki* which cannot take tense marking (see section 12.3.2).

(902) na=na   taytta=kana shi   ki-s,   an   aynki
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   father=like NEG   be.NEG-LOCUT   more small
       'I'm not like my father, [I'm] smaller.'

(903) ap   kwizha=na pina katsa shi   ki
       my   dog=TOP   very large NEG   be.NEG.(NONLOCUT)
       'My dog is not very large.'

(904) ap   gallo   shi   ki-a-zi
       my   rooster NEG   be.NEG-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'It wasn't my rooster.'

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[17]Note that negative copula constructions can also be verbless, and then use non-clausal negation.

12.5.3 The negative auxiliary construction

The final clausal negation construction once again uses the negative particle *shi* before the verb, but then places the active or stative lexical verb in a non-finite form — Perfective Participle or Imperfective Participle — and follows it with a tensed form of the negative copula *ki* as an auxiliary. The main–auxiliary status of this construction was examined in section 11.3.

(905) *shi   pana   ki*
       NEG   be:standing.(IMPFPART)   be.NEG.(NONLOCUT)
       'She is not standing.'

(906) palanca *shi   mil   ki-ata-w*
       shovel   NEG   have.(IMPFPART)   be.NEG-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I didn't have a shovel.'

(907) *na=na   pueblo=ta puz-ka=na,   mama shi*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   town=in   go:out-WHEN=TOP   still   NEG
       a-t   ki-a-zi
       come-PFPART   be.NEG-PAST-NONLOCUT
       'When I left for town, he still hadn't come.'

(908) *mama wan   shi   kwa-t   ki-s*
       still   all   NEG   eat-PFPART   be.NEG-LOCUT
       'I still haven't eaten everything.'

(909) *na=na   kayl   kway-ka=na,   piya   shi*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   return   DROP=WHEN=TOP   corn   NEG
       pak-ta   ki-ani-zi
       harvest-PFPART   be.NEG-FUT-NONLOCUT
       'When I return, you will not have harvested the corn.'

(910) *shi   ayna-mtu   ki-s*
       NEG   cook-IMPFPART   be.NEG-LOCUT
       'I'm not cooking.'

Just as with other auxiliary constructions, the time frame of these negative auxiliary sentences is a complicated interaction of the main and auxiliary suffixes. The tense on the auxiliary indicates the reference time for which something is being claimed, and the non-finite form of the main verb either claims that at that reference time something is/was not in a state of having happened (Perfective Participle) or is/was not on-going or planned (Imperfective Participle). For example, in sentence (907), the tense of the auxiliary (Past) indicates that the reference time (when I left for town) is in the past, and that at that reference time, a state existed of him not having come. Likewise in sentence (908), the tense of the auxiliary (Present) gives the reference time of now, and shows that at the present time a state exists whereby I have not eaten everything. Perhaps the

	Perfective Participle	Imperfective Participle
Past	I hadn't done it	I wasn't doing it
Present	I haven't done it	I'm not doing it
Future	I won't have done it	I won't be doing it

Table 12.2: Translation equivalents of negative main–auxiliary constructions

easiest way to understand these interactions between the tense of the auxiliary and the form of the main verb is through their translation equivalents, given in Table 12.2.

12.6 Non-clausal negation

The distinction between clausal and non-clausal negation was examined at the beginning of section 12.5, where it was noted that non-clausal negation was prototypically associated with negating non-clausal elements, though it is also used with some non-finite clauses.

Non-clausal negation consists of placing the negative particle *shi* after the element to be negated. This has been found with adjectives (including deverbal adjectives), noun phrases and postpositional phrases:

(911)   *na=na*   *tizh*   *shi*   cuchillo   *kasa=yŋ*   *kuzhu*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   sharp   NEG   knife   with=REST   pig
       nak-ma-ta-w
       skin-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I skinned the pig with just a blunt (not sharp) knife.'

(912)   *ii*   *shi*   *swil*   *kwa-shi-mtu-s*
       hot   NEG   chili   eat-DESID-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I want to eat mild (not hot) chili.'

(913)   *ap*   *shi*   *ka-y*
       my   NEG   be:permanently-NONLOCUT
       'It is not mine.'

(914)   *kii-t*   *shi*   *ka-s*
       get:married-PFPART   NEG   be:permanently-LOCUT
       'I am not married.'

(915)   *taytta*   *shi=kana*   *i-s*
       father   NEG=like   be-LOCUT
       '(I have a child, but I am not involved in raising the child.) I am like a non-father.'

(916)   *kwa-t=kana*   *shi=na*   *ku-ma-ti*
        eat-PFPART=like NEG=TOP eat-COMP-TERM
        '[The chicken] ate not like it was eating (ie. as if it wasn't eating).'

Non-clausal negation is also used to negate non-finite main clauses. These clauses can be either verbless copula constructions, or involve an Imperfective Participle (see section 3.3.2). The other non-finite form, using the extended Perfective Participle, has not been found negated. One interesting feature of negative non-finite main clauses is that while person cannot be expressed in affirmative non-finite clauses, it is expressed in negative non-finite main clauses, with a distinction between the Locutor (suffix *s*) and Non-locutor (unmarked) sentence-final negative particle (see section 8.4.1).

(917)   *na=na*   *inkal*   *awa*   *shi-s*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP mountain person NEG-LOCUT
        'I am not an Awa.'

(918)   *kwizha=na* *alizh* *shi*
        dog=TOP   fierce NEG.(NONLOCUT)
        'The dog is not fierce.'

(919)   *ap* *shi*
        my NEG.(NONLOCUT)
        'It is not mine.'

(920)   *putsha* *awa*   *tunya* *kum-tu*   *shi*
        white   person rat   eat-IMPFPART NEG.(NONLOCUT)
        'The white people don't eat rats.'

(921)   *na=na*   *yak*   *ki-mtu*   *shi-s*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP be:hungry(1) be:hungry(2)-IMPFPART NEG-LOCUT
        'I am not hungry.'

(922)   *na=na*   *mun*   *pyan*   *shi-s*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP name know.(IMPFPART) NEG-LOCUT
        'I don't know [his] name.'

(923)   *kanpa-shi*   *shi-s*
        accompany-DESID NEG-LOCUT
        'I don't want to accompany [you].'

Main–auxiliary constructions involving stative verbs except the copula (see section 11.2) are also negated using non-clausal negation: the non-finite main verb is negated by a following *shi*, then the auxiliary verb comes finally:

(924)   *min-tu-s,*   *Demetrio=na* *shappi*   *kii-mtu*   *shi*
        think-IMPF-LOCUT Demetrio=TOP cane:juice mill-IMPFPART NEG
        ka-y
        be:permanently-NONLOCUT
        'I think that Demetrio is not going to mill cane.'

(925) *si*   *pulish-ta=na*   *azh-tu*   *shi*
            firewood get:wet-PFPART=TOP burn-IMPFPART NEG
            ka-y
            be:permanently-NONLOCUT
            'Wet firewood doesn't burn.'

In addition to non-finite main clauses being negated by the non-clausal strategy, relative clauses with an associated head are also negated in this way, showing their parallelism with adjectives.[18]

(926) *pata-m*   *shi*   *pashpa=na* *yal=ta-s*
            speak-ADJZR NEG child=TOP house=in-from
            tazh-ma-ti-zi
            fall-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
            'The child who doesn't speak (ie. has not yet learnt to speak) fell from the house.'

12.7 Interrogatives and negatives

As can be seen in this chapter, there are strong yet complex associations between negation and interrogation strategies in Awa Pit. At a lexical level, some of the content question words are also negative content words. Non-clausal negation and inherently negative suffixes have no correspondence with interrogatives, but clausal negation does. Polar interrogatives can be formed with an interrogative suffix *ma*; there is a homophonous negative suffix *ma*, although the two suffixes have somewhat different formal properties. Similarly, while having different formal properties, one of the interrogative markers, *ki*, is identical to the Present tense form of the negative copula and negative auxiliary *ki*. While no further analysis of these similarities will be attempted here, being outside the scope of this work, an examination of the possible historical paths leading to this synchronic outcome would be a fascinating study.

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[18]As explained in section 10.4, when used as a Copula Complement with no head, "negated" relative clauses are formed with the inherently negative Negative Adjectivizer.

Chapter 13

Adjuncts and adverbs

13.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with three main areas of the syntax of Awa Pit. First it discusses the four types of adjuncts in Awa Pit: temporal adjuncts, circumstantial adjuncts, locational adjuncts, and manner adverbials. These phenomena are all related, in that they are "optional" additions to Awa Pit sentences at the level of a clause or sentence. While they are linked in this way from an external point of view, internally they have a variety of different structures, consisting of adverbial (subordinate) clauses, postpositional phrases, various different types of adverb, nouns or adjectives. Those constructions which are not dealt with elsewhere are examined at length here; for other constructions, references are given to the appropriate section.

Following the discussion of adjuncts, the degree adverbs and comparative construction are examined. While not structurally comparable externally with the adjuncts (in that they do not necessarily occur at clause level), these features of Awa Pit are dealt with here as they can operate at a variety of levels, including at a level parallel to the manner adverbials.

It is important to stress that the terms 'adverb' and 'adverbial' are being used in entirely different fashions. The term 'X adverb' is used as a term for several different word classes (for example, time adverb, manner adverb), established as separate in chapter 4. In contrast, 'manner adverbial' refers to a structural position in the clause, which can be filled by a variety of constituent types.

13.2 Temporal adjuncts

The temporal adjuncts are, unsurprisingly, those elements which can be added to an Awa Pit clause to indicate something about the time at which the proposition of the clause holds true. There are a wide variety of temporal adjunct possibilities: time adverbs, nouns with temporal meaning (with or without the suffix *ayzhpa* 'each'), a quantifier plus the noun *pyaji* 'times', a postpositional phrase, and a range of subordinate clauses.

As was discussed in section 3.2, the neutral position for most of the temporal adjuncts is directly following the Subject (if it is expressed), although they are often found in clause-initial position, making Awa Pit clause ordering appear similar to that of Canela-Krahô, where time elements obligatorily precede the subject while all other adjuncts appear between the subject and object (Popjes & Popjes 1986:136–137). The After subordinate clause construction and the simultaneity subordinate clause construction are only found in initial position, although absolute subordinate clauses may occur in initial position or after the Subject. As shown in section 14.2.2, the Topic marker *na* often occurs on temporal adjuncts referring to a specific time.

13.2.1   Time adverbs

Eleven time adverbs have been found in the corpus of Awa Pit sentences (see Table 4.11 in section 4.7), although there are quite possibly more in the language. These time adverbs are distinguished from the nouns with temporal reference (see next section) — time adverbs can only be used as temporal adjuncts, while the nouns may be used as temporal adjuncts, or as arguments of postpositions, and occasionally even as arguments of a predicate.

Two of the time adverbs, the interrogative/negative adverbs, will not be discussed here — see section 12.2.7 for details and examples of these. Examples of each of the other adverbs are as follows:

(927)   amta   azh-tu=na
        at:night   cry-IMPFPART=TOP
        '[The Vieja (Old Woman)] cries at night.'

(928)   an   kwizha   anya   kaa-t   kway-ti-zi
        this dog   first be:born-SV   DROP-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'This dog was born first (before the others in the litter).'

(929)   na=na   kayas   yal   pihshka-miz-ta-w
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   early   house   sweep-INCEP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I began sweeping the house early.'

(930)   fiesta=ta=na   kinsih   ku
        party=in=TOP   until:dawn   dance(1)
        ki-mtu-ata-w
        dance(2)-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'We danced until dawn.'

(931)   na=na   pueblo=ta   puz-ka=na,   mama   shi
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   town=in   go:out-WHEN=TOP   still NEG
        a-t   ki-a-zi
        come-PFPART   be.NEG-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'When I left for town, he still hadn't arrived.'

(932)   *mansuh*   *alu*   *ki-mtu-ati-zi*
            all:day   rain(1)   rain(2)-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
            'It was raining all day.'

(933)   *an*   *nashka*   *a-mtu*   *ka-y*
            more   late   come-IMPFPART   be:permanently-NONLOCUT
            'He will come later.'

(934)   *shil*   trabaja   *ki-mtu-s*
            every:day   work(1)   work(2)-IMPF-LOCUT
            'We are working every day.'

(935)   *na=na*   *tilawaŋ*   *kuhsa-t*
            1SG.(NOM)=TOP   in:the:early:morning   get:up-SV
            kway-ta-w
            DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
            'I got up early in the morning.'

It is important to make a few points about some of these adverbs. The time adverb *amta* 'at night' looks as though it could be analyzed as a postpositional phrase, with a time noun *am=* followed by the postposition *ta* (compare *kwizh=ta* 'after, later' in section 13.2.4 below). However this is not done as there is not possible contrast between *amta* and **ampa* as there is between *kwizh=ta* and *kwizh=pa*.

The time adverbs *anya* 'first, before, earlier' and *kayas* 'early' appear to have closely related meanings, but the two have different uses. *Anya* is used to mark that the predication occurred as the first of a series of events, or before a subsequent event. A clause containing *anya* often contrasts with a clause containing the time noun *kwizh=* 'after, later':

(936)   *Roberto*   *anya*   *kaa-t*   *kway-zi.*
            Roberto   first   be:born-SV   DROP-NONLOCUT
            Juana   *kwizh=ta*   *kaa-zi.*
            Juana   after=in   be:born-NONLOCUT

            'Roberto was born before Juana. (Roberto was born first. Juana was born after.)'

This contrasts with *kayas* 'early', which simply implies that the event was early in the day, or relative to the expected time of the event.

(937)   *Pueblo Viejo=ta=na*   *kayas*   *pyana-ta-w.*
            Pueblo Viejo=in=TOP   early   arrive-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
            profesor=na   *kwizh=pa*   *pyana-zi*
            teacher=TOP   after=in(approx)   arrive-NONLOCUT
            'I arrived early to Pueblo Viejo. The teacher arrived afterwards.'

In this last example, what is important is that I arrived early, earlier than would be expected given that it was earlier than the teacher. Had the first sentence contained *anya* rather than *kayas*, it would have meant that I arrived before the teacher, but without regard to any absolute time — we both could have arrived quite late.

Nashka 'late' is also quite complex. Formally it appears to consist of the verb *nash-* 'be afternoon', and the verb suffix *ka*: that is, 'when it is afternoon'. In fact, the phonetic sequence *nash-ka* can be used in this way:

(938)   *nash-ka*   *kayl-tu-s*
        afternoon-WHEN   return-IMPF-LOCUT
        'I'll come back in the afternoon.'

However, *nashka* 'late' is distinct from *nash-ka* 'when it is afternoon', both semantically and syntactically, although clearly the latter is the origin of the former. The semantic difference is that when *nash-* is used with any other verbal suffix, it obligatorily refers to afternoon; *nashka*, on the other hand, means 'late', and can be used for times which are not afternoon, and thus sentence (933) could be used in the early morning to mean that he will come later on that morning. Syntactically, *nashka* can be used with the comparative marker *an* 'more' (as in sentence (933) above); however the comparative marker can be used with adverbs, but not verbs (see section 13.7). Thus while *nashka* 'late' is clearly historically derived from the verb *nash-* 'afternoon', it has developed into a separate, unanalyzable word, a time adverb.

Three of the other adverbs, *kinsih*, *tilawayŋ* and *mama*, also appear to be formally complex. *Kinsih* 'until dawn', is certainly related to *kin-* 'to dawn', but the second segment of the word, *sih*, has not been found elsewhere, and cannot be analyzed separate from the whole. Consequently *kinsih* has been treated as a single, unanalyzable time adverb.

Similarly *tilawayŋ* 'in the early morning' appears related to the noun *tilawa* 'tomorrow', possibly with the addition of the Restrictive marker *yŋ*. As a historical origin, this combination appears quite transparent — the combination *tilawa=yŋ* would mean, approximately, 'only just tomorrow', which would, of course, imply early tomorrow morning. But synchronically *tilawayŋ* has separated from its origins, both semantically and formally. Semantically, it is not restricted to early tomorrow morning, but to early on any morning, as in the example above, when it was used to refer to this morning. Formally, the Restrictive marker does not change the word class of the word to which it is attached, but although *tilawa* is a noun, and can be used as the argument of a postposition, *tilawayŋ* is restricted to appearing as a temporal adjunct.

The time adverb *mama* 'still' could also be formally complex, and once again the justification for analyzing it as a whole is distributional. It would appear to consist of the noun *ma* 'now, at this time' and the Temporal marker *ma*. The combination of meanings of these two would give, approximately, 'already at this time', which, taken as two separate time frames rather than as a unit, is quite similar in meaning to 'still'. However, as with the case of *tilawayŋ*, *mama* is only

used as a temporal adjunct, while *ma* is a noun with temporal reference, and may occur followed by a postposition.

There is also one other expression of time which is perhaps best considered to be on the path between a postpositional phrase and a time adverb. This is *kwizhta, kwizhpa* 'after, later', and will be discussed in section 13.2.4 below.

13.2.2 Nouns with temporal reference

The temporal adjunct slot may be filled by an unmarked noun with temporal reference, as well as by a time adverb. The two are distinct classes of words — while a time adverb can only appear as an unmarked temporal adjunct, a noun referring to time can appear in this way, but can also be followed by a postposition, or can be used as an argument of a predicate.[1] It must be stressed that these nouns with temporal reference are distinct from the time nouns, a subclass of nouns which are only found together with postpositions (see sections 4.3.2 and 13.2.4).

The nouns used unmarked as temporal adjuncts fall into three classes: relative time, absolute time, and periods of time. The first two classes establish on which day or at which time an event occurred, while the final class discusses over how many days, weeks, months or years an event occurred.

The first class contains the following words:

(939) *anshik*   'yesterday'
       ma   'now, at the moment'
       ma payu   'today'
       tilawa   'tomorrow'
       kaztila   'day after tomorrow'

In general terms these nouns require little explanation, except to note that *ma payu* 'today' is a two-word compound, literally 'now day', indicating that the event occurred some time today, rather than specifically now. In fact, *ma* is a little more flexible than English *now*, allowing combination with the Terminative aspect to mean 'just (now), recently'. It can also mean 'today', even without being combined with *payu*.

(940) *anshik=na*   *wat*   *kin-ti-zi.*
       yesterday=TOP   good   be:dawn-PAST-NONLOCUT
       ma=na=ma   *wat*   *kin-ti*
       today=TOP=TEMP   good   be:dawn-TERM
       'It dawned fine yesterday. And now it's dawned fine today.'

(941) *kaztila*   *kayl-ni-zi*
       day:after:tomorrow   return-FUT-NONLOCUT
       'He will come back the day after tomorrow.'

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[1]In a sentence such as *ma=na martes* 'today [is] Tuesday'.

(942) *Pacho=na   ma=na   Pialapí=ta tu-y*
       Pacho=TOP now=TOP Pialapí=in be:in:place-NONLOCUT
       'Pacho lives in Pialapí now.'

(943) *ma=na   alu   ki-ma-ti*
       now=TOP rain(1) rain(2)-COMP-TERM
       'It just started raining.'

The second group of nouns referring to time consists of the days of the week. These are "borrowed" straight from Spanish — in fact, for most speakers they have not truly entered the language, and their pronunciation is on a continuum between Spanish phonetics and Awa Pit phonetics and phonology. The days of the week are used unmarked, to indicate either a punctual event, or an event which occurs on every day of that type.

(944) domingo=na   *pishkatu* *put-tu-ata-w,*   *nyampi=kasa*
       Sunday=TOP fish   fish-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ hook=with
       'On Sunday I was fishing with a hook.'

(945) lunes   *nap-ma-ta-w*
       Monday enter-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I came in on Monday.'

(946) sábado   *yal*   *pihshka-tu-s*
       Saturday house sweep-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I sweep the house on Saturdays.'

Finally, to indicate a period of time, a word expressing a period of time is used, with a numeral before it indicating the number of those periods of time the event covered. There is no explicit marking indicating that a period of time is covered. Only one of the words involved is not borrowed from Spanish — *payu* 'day'. The Spanish word *domingo* 'Sunday' is used for 'week' (as well as 'Sunday'); other words are *mes* 'month' and *año* 'year'.

(947) *na=na*   *kutnya payu ma-ta-w,*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP three   day   stay-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       Pasto=ta=na
       Pasto=in=TOP
       'I stayed in Pasto for three days.'

(948) *akki=na   maza año ma-mtu-s*
       here=TOP one   year stay-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I'm staying here for a year.'

In addition to the use of unmarked time nouns, nouns which indicate a period of time can be suffixed with *ayzhpa* 'each', to indicate that an event occurs every time period. The noun can be modified by a number.

(949)　*awa=na*　　*año-ayzhpa*　*piya*　*kaa-mtu-y*
　　　　person=TOP　year-every　corn　sow-IMPF-NONLOCUT
　　　　'The Awa sow corn every year.'

(950)　*ampata*　*payu-ayzhpa*　*piya*　*pay-mtu-s*
　　　　four　　　day-every　　corn　buy-IMPF-LOCUT
　　　　'I buy corn every four days.'

It should be noted that *ayzhpa* is only used with nouns indicating a period of time — with days of the week, the unmarked noun can be used to indicate an activity which occurs on every day of that type (see sentence (946) above).

13.2.3　Number of times

To indicate the number of times which something has occurred, Awa Pit has a noun *pyaji*, which is used together with the numerals. This can be used together with either "traditional" Awa Pit numerals (for one to four), or the borrowed Spanish numerals (for five on).

(951)　*na=na*　　　　　*maza*　*pyaji*　*Cuaiquer*　*Viejo=ta*
　　　　1SG.(NOM)=TOP　one　　time　　Cuaiquer　Viejo=in
　　　　i-ta-w
　　　　go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
　　　　'I have been to Cuaiquer Viejo once.'

(952)　*maza*　*pyaji=ŋ*　　*pyan-ta-w*
　　　　one　　time=REST　hit-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
　　　　'I hit [Santos] just once.'

It is unclear whether this word *pyaji* is native to Awa Pit or borrowed from Spanish. While it is not the standard Spanish technique for indicating the number of times something has happened (which uses the noun *vez*), speakers of Awa Pit translate *pyaji* into Spanish using the Spanish word *viaje*, which in standard Spanish means 'journey, trip'. There are clearly three possibilities here. *Pyaji* (which, after a vowel, the most common numeral ending, is usually pronounced [βjaxe]) may be a loan from Spanish *viaje* (pronounced [βjaxe] after a vowel), with an extension in meaning from 'journey, trip' to 'times'; presumably this extension occurred via sentences where the action was a journey, and the correspondence between 'I've been there five times' and 'I've been there on five journeys'. Another possibility is that *pyaji* is a traditional word, and Spanish *viaje* began to be used in local Spanish because of its formal and semantic similarity to the Awa Pit word. Finally, perhaps, there has been a combination of the preceding two possibilities, with a phonetically similar word in Awa Pit having altered its pronunciation on the basis of the similarities with Spanish *viaje*. While the possibilities are clear, the origin is undecidable at this stage, with no comparative evidence available.

13.2.4 Temporal postpositional phrases

The temporal adjunct slot may be filled by a postpositional phrase. Three postpositions in Awa Pit may be used in a temporal fashion — *ta* 'in', *pa* 'in(approx)' (or its allomorph *wa*) and *kima* 'until'. The precise semantics of these three postpositions will not be examined here, as the meanings of these postpositions is discussed in sections 5.4.3, 5.4.4 and 5.4.7 respectively, and the reader is referred there for details. Examples of the three postpositions acting to form temporal adjuncts are:

(953)   mes=*ta*=na   ap su=*mal*   *i-ma-ti-mtu-s*
          month=in=TOP my earth=LOC go-COMP-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT
          'In a month I will go to my home.'

(954)   enero=*wa*=na   na=na   *Bogotá*=*ta*
          January=in(approx)=TOP 1SG.(NOM)=TOP Bogotá=in
          i-ta-w
          go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
          'I went to Bogotá in January.'

(955)   noviembre=*kima* *ma-mtu-s*   *mama*
          November=until stay-IMPF-LOCUT still
          'I am still going to be here until November.'

In addition to postpositional phrases containing NPs, it is also possible to form a temporal adjunct from a postposition used with a clause. For example:[2]

(956)   *kwata-na*=*kima* *ku-ma-ta-w*
          vomit-INF=until eat-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
          'I ate until I vomited.'

In terms of their use as temporal adjuncts, these constructions function in precisely the same fashion as any other postpositional phrase (except that, as often occurs with "heavy" clausal complements, they are almost always found clause-initially).

There is one postpositional phrase which needs some additional discussion — *kwizh*=*ta*, *kwizh*=*pa* 'after, later'. These two "words", formally speaking, are postpositional phrases, consisting of a word followed by one of the postpositions. Indeed, there is a choice between postpositions, with either *ta* or *pa* being acceptable. However the word *kwizh*= is only found followed by postpositions, and is never found on its own. In this it parallels the place nouns *aŋ*= 'here' and *uŋ*= 'there' (see section 13.4). Thus *kwizh*= has been classed as a special type of noun, a time noun, obligatorily occurring in a postpositional phrase parallel to the place nouns (see section 4.3.2); however this word-class assignment is somewhat problematic.

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[2]For details of the syntax of these clause-plus-postposition constructions, see section 10.2.3.2.

13.2.5 Temporal adverbial clauses

There are a variety of subordinate adverbial clauses which can function as temporal adjuncts. These express the ideas of 'after', with the verb suffix *tpa/tawa*; simultaneity between two clauses, expressed through the verb suffix *ka*; and a temporal use of the absolute construction. All of these subordinate clauses deviate in position from other temporal adjuncts, in that they are nearly always in sentence-initial position, rather than after the Subject, although the absolute can occur in the normal temporal adjunct position. These clause types are discussed in sections 10.3.3, 10.3.4 and 10.3.7, and will not be discussed further here.

13.3 Circumstantial adjuncts

Most circumstantial adjuncts occur in the position immediately following temporal adjuncts in the basic clause structure (section 3.2), although they can be moved to initial or final position; indeed the concessive and counterfactual constructions must occur clause-initially. Two construction types are used as circumstantial adjuncts: postpositional phrases and subordinate adverbial clauses.

13.3.1 Circumstantial postpositional phrases

The circumstantial postpositional phrases give additional information to a predicate, indicating either an additional person who accompanied the Subject in their actions; an instrument used to assist in the process of carrying out the action; or a reason for the main action.

Formally, a comitative/instrumental adjunct is a postpositional phrase, using the postposition *kasa* 'with'. It is only possible to use *kasa* in one of its senses in any adjunct position — thus if a sentence contains an accompanying actor, it may not also contain an instrument in the adjunct position. It is, however, possible to fill the adjunct position with two different postpositional phrases, both indicating additional accompanying actors; two instrumental postpositional phrases do not seem to be possible.

The semantics of the postposition *kasa* 'with' are discussed in section 5.4.9; here only a few examples will be given.

(957)   *na=na*   *Santos=kasa*   *Demetrio=wa*   *yal=ta*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Santos=with   Demetrio=POSS   house=in
       i-ta-w
       go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I went to Demetrio's house with Santos.'

(958)   *na=na*   *Santos=kasa*   *Demetrio=kasa*   *miimal*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   Santos=with   Demetrio=with   Chucunés
       i-ta-w
       go-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I went to Chucunés with Santos and Demetrio.'

(959)   *pyalpiŋ=kasa* puerta *azhpizh* *kway-zi*
        axe=with   door   open   DROP-NONLOCUT
        'He opened the door with an axe.'

The other circumstantial postpositional phrase involves the postposition *akwa* 'because', and gives the reason for the action in the main clause having taken place. The complement to the postposition is normally a clause, although it can be an NP. This construction is discussed in section 5.4.10.

13.3.2 Circumstantial adverbial clauses

There are a variety of subordinate adverbial clauses which are used as circumstantial adjuncts, and these are discussed in section 10.3. Same-Subject purposives (section 10.3.1), different-Subject purposives (section 10.3.2) and absolute clauses (section 10.3.7) may appear in the usual circumstantial adjunct position, though they are often fronted; concessive (section 10.3.5) and counterfactual (section 10.3.6) clauses are always in sentence-initial position.

13.4 Locational adjuncts

The third type of adjunct phrase are the locational adjuncts, which normally occur in a clause after any circumstantial adjuncts. The locational slot can only be filled by a postpositional phrase, although as mentioned below the status of *akki* 'here' is unclear. The locational adjunct position may be filled by a variety of postpositional phrases, using the postpositions *ta* 'in', *pa* 'in(approx)', *ki* 'at', *mal* 'LOC' and *kima* 'until'. A few examples will be given here, but the precise semantics of each of these locational postpositions is discussed in section 5.4. As well as following a noun phrase, these postpositions may be used following a clause, and then the entire postpositional phrase is used as a locational adjunct. The syntax of postpositional phrase containing a subordinate clause is discussed in section 10.2.3.2.

(960)   *Demetrio=na*   reunión=*ta* *kwinta*
        Demetrio=TOP   meeting=in   speak(1)
        kizh-miz-tu-a-zi
        speak(2)-INCEP-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'Demetrio began to talk in the meeting.'

(961)   *paynya* *pil=pa*   *kal*   *ki-ni-ma-ti*
        his/her   dirt=in(approx)   work(1)   work(2)-PROSP-COMP-TERM
        'He/she went to work on his/her land.'

(962)   *pina akkwan awa=na*   *a-zi,*   *yal=ki=na*
        very many   person=TOP   be-NONLOCUT   house=at=TOP
        'There were too many people in the house.'

(963) *Santos=pa=mal*   *nya*   *waa-y*
      Santos=POSS=LOC meat there:is-NONLOCUT
      'There's meat (for sale) at Santos's place.'

(964) *aŋ=ta-s*   escuela *izh-tu-s*
      here=in-from school see-IMPF-LOCUT
      'From here I (can) see the school.'

(965) pueblo=*ta=kima* *i-ma-ta-w*
      town=in=until   go-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      'I went as far as the town.'

Although semantically it is not perhaps a true locational adjunct, the use of postpositional phrases in *ki* to indicate the price of something appears to parallel the use of *ki* postpositional phrases indicating location.

(966) doce mil=*ki*   *pay-ta-w*
      twelve thousand=at buy-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
      'I bought it for twelve thousand [pesos].'

There are a few postpositional phrases which contain a place noun which can never occur on its own, but is obligatorily followed by a postposition. As discussed in section 4.3.2, where a list of these words is given, they are being treated as nouns, as they can be followed directly by two distinct postpositions, either *ta* or *pa*; thus *aŋ=ta* 'right here' and *aŋ=pa* 'around here'.

In addition, however, there does appear to be one locational adverb, *akki* 'here', which can fill the locational adjunct position. This word and its analysis as either a place noun or a place adverb is discussed at length in section 4.8.

13.5 Manner adverbials

The position (almost) directly before a verb in a sentence in Awa Pit may be filled by a manner adverbial — only the negative marker *shi* and the degree adverb *pina* intervene between a manner adverbial and the verb. While manner adverbials do, in some fashion, state something about the manner in which the verb was carried out, this semantic idea is somewhat vague, and perhaps a better term would be simply 'adverbial'. The term 'manner adverbial' is chosen to maintain a terminological distinction between, for example, 'manner adverbs' (otherwise 'adverbs'), 'time adverbs' and 'degree adverbs'.

The manner adverbial slot can be filled by words from three distinct word classes. Perhaps the most basic of words to fill this position are the manner adverbs. It can also, however, be filled by an adjective (or degree adverb or comparative marker plus adjective), provided that this is semantically reasonable. There are also cases where this slot is filled by a noun, although it is unclear in these cases whether this is a productive use of nouns as manner adverbials, or whether these are lexically fixed compound verbs. The use of nouns as manner

adverbials will not be discussed here, then, but rather in section 4.5.6, dealing specifically with compound verbs.

While both manner adverbs and adjectives can fill the manner adverbial position, these two word classes can be distinguished, in the same way in which it is possible to distinguish time adverbs and nouns with temporal reference. While adjectives can be used within a noun phrase to modify a noun as well as in the manner adverbial slot to modify a verb, the manner adverbs can only be used in manner adverbial position and cannot modify a noun within a noun phrase:

(967)   *wat   ampu*
        good   man
        'good man'

(968)   *ma=na   wat   kin-ti*
        today=TOP   good be:dawn-TERM
        'It dawned fine today.'

(969)   *na=na   aza   a-t   kway-ta-w*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   quickly   come-SV   DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I came quickly.'

(970)   **aza   carro*
        quickly   car

Very few manner adverbs have been found in Awa Pit, with the majority of words used in this position being adjectives, and having a function within noun phrases also. The ten words which cannot occur within the noun phrase, and hence are classed as manner adverbs, are listed in Table 4.12 in section 4.9. In addition to the example of *aza* above, and examples of the interrogative manner adverbs in sections 12.2.6 and 12.2.8, other examples of the use of manner adverbs are:

(971)   *na   impata=yŋ   a-mtu-ata-w*
        1SG.(NOM)   slowly=REST   come-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I just came slowly.'

(972)   *na-wa=na   miza   kil-ma-ti-s*
        1SG-ACC=TOP   almost   dry-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        '[The sun] almost dried me.'

A variety of adjectives can be found functioning as manner adverbials, for example *wat* 'good' in sentence (968) above, *tinta* 'strong', or *inkwa* 'old':

(973)   *na=na   an   tinta   kwa-ta-w*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   more   strong eat-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I ate more strongly/much more.'

(974) *ap   kwankwa   inkwa ii-ma-ti-zi*
      my grandmother old   die-COMP-PAST-NONLOCUT
      'My grandmother died [when she was] old.'

Two adjectives, however, are perhaps of special interest: *kayŋ* and *wan*.
    As an adjective, *kayŋ* means something like 'any old, whichever, some':

(975) *kayŋ   ashaŋpa=na   Pueblo Viejo=mal tazh-tu-s*
      any:old woman=TOP Pueblo Viejo=LOC lower-IMPF-LOCUT
      'Some woman is coming down through Pueblo Viejo (ie. not anyone
      special, like the teacher).'

When *kayŋ* is a manner adverbial, it gives a meaning of doing something for no
particular reason, just because someone felt like it:

(976) *kayŋ=miŋ   tu   ka-s*
      any:old=REST be:located.(IMPFPART) be:permanently-LOCUT
      'I'm just hanging around.'

Wan 'all' occurs as an adjective, and can be used to modify a noun within
a noun phrase; or it may be used in a noun phrase with an ellipsed head, leaving
it as the only constituent within the noun phrase:

(977) *wan awa   a-t   kway-zi*
      all person come-SV DROP-NONLOCUT
      'All the people came.'

(978) *wan kii-ma-t*
      all get:married-COMP-PFPART
      'Everyone (all my siblings) is married.'

Similar to this use is its use in a noun phrase to mean 'everything', in which case
the head is never expressed:

(979) *dios wan pyan-i*
      God all know-NONLOCUT
      'God knows everything.'

In addition to its occurrence in NPs, *wan* can also be used in the manner adverbial
position. In some cases it appears to have the same meaning here, appearing to
have "floated" from the NP as some quantifiers do in such diverse languages as
English and the Uto-Aztecan language Pima (Munro 1984):

(980) *awa=na   wan a-t   kway-mtu-y*
      person=TOP all come-SV DROP-IMPF-NONLOCUT
      'The people all came.'

However the distinction in meaning between its use as an adjective within the noun phrase and as a manner adverb can be seen in sentences where the verbal arguments are singular, and cannot be modified by *wan*; it conveys a meaning of the action being carried out fully and completely:

(981) *Liseña=na   Florinda=ta=na   wan kihshpizh-ma-ti*
       Liseña=TOP Florinda=PAST=TOP all   scratch-COMP-TERM
       'Liseña scratched Florinda all over/to pieces.'

(982) *piya=na   wan pak-ma-ti-mtu-s*
       corn=TOP all   sow-COMP-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT
       'I'm going to finish off planting the corn (completely plant the corn).'

13.6   Degree adverbs

There are two degree adverbs or intensifiers in Awa Pit: *kwisha* and *pina*. These degree adverbs appear directly preceding the element which they modify, regardless of the word class or structural position of this modified element.

Kwisha is the standard modifier for adjectives, and indicates a greater degree of that adjective. While *kwisha* has, very occasionally, been found modifying a verb, informants in general will reject this if suggested to them, replacing it by *pina*. Thus *kwisha* appears to correspond, essentially, to 'very', used together with an adjective; it cannot be used to modify verbs or manner adverbs.

(983) *kukum   [kwisha ak   ] i*
       possum [very   shy   ] be.(NONLOCUT)
       'Possums are very shy.'

(984) *ap anya=na   [kwisha katsa]*
       my brother=TOP   [very   big   ]
       'My brother is very tall.'

(985) *[kwisha akkwan] awa   waa-y*
       [very   many   ] person there:is-NONLOCUT
       'There are very many people [here].'

(986) **na=na   [kwisha kayas] a-t*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   [very   early   ] come-SV
       kway-ta-w
       DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

In contrast to *kwisha*, *pina* can be used to modify words from a number of different word classes. It is most commonly found modifying adverbs and verbs, for which it is the standard intensifier:

(987) na=na   [*pina   kayas*] *a-t*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   [very   early] come-SV
       kway-ta-w
       DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I arrived very early.'

(988) [*pina   azhap-pa-mtu-a-s*   ]
       [very   annoy-PL:SUBJ-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER]
       'They were annoying me a lot.'

   Pina can also be used to modify nouns, where it contrasts with the adjective *akkwan* 'many', and to modify adjectives, where it contrasts with the degree adverb *kwisha* 'very'. In these cases, *pina* appears to indicate an excessive degree of something, and was often translated into Spanish by *demás* 'too much' or *bastante* 'lots of'.

(989) *Bogotá=ta=na*   [*akkwan   awa*   ] *azh-ma-t*
       Bogotá=in=TOP   [many   person] grow-COMP-PFPART
       'Many people have grown up in Bogotá.'

(990) *Bogotá=ta=na*   [*pina   awa*   ] *azh-ma-t*
       Bogotá=in=TOP   [very   person] grow-COMP-PFPART
       'Loads of people have grown up in Bogotá. (Bogotá has lots of people in it.)'

(991) *up   su=na*   [*kwisha   katsa*]
       your   earth=TOP   [very   big   ]
       'Your land is very big.'

(992) *up   su=na*   [*pina   katsa*]
       your   earth=TOP   [very   big   ]
       'Your land is huge!'

(993) [*pina   katsa*] pueblo, *Bogotá=na*
       [very   big   ] town   Bogotá=TOP
       'Bogotá is an extremely big city.'

13.7 Comparatives

Awa Pit has a comparative construction, which uses the comparative marker *an* 'more'. In fact, however, this comparative construction is not commonly used to compare two objects — the most normal frame for comparing two objects uses two separate clauses, with differential adjectives:

(994) *Pasto=na*   *aynki* pueblo, *Bogotá   katsa* pueblo
       Pasto=TOP   small   town   Bogotá   big   town
       'Pasto is a small town, Bogotá is a big town. (ie. Pasto is smaller than Bogotá.)'

The use of a two clause construction rather than a standard of comparison is quite common across languages, even in those which have a construction using a standard of comparison, like Pirahã (Everett 1986:221); and Awa Pit has a standard of comparison construction as well. The standard of comparison is marked by *kikas*, and placed directly before the comparative marker *an*.

(995) ap anya=na   [*Marcos=kikas an   katsa*]
       my brother=TOP   [Marcos=than   more   big   ]
       'My brother is bigger than Marcos.'

This form *kikas* appears related to the verb suffix *kikas* marking a concessive clause (see section 10.3.5), and the relationship between the two is clear; the meaning of the previous sentence could be just as easily stated as 'even though Marcos is big, my brother is bigger'. Speakers are reluctant to produce sentences with a standard of comparison, preferring two separate clauses as above, and it is not clear if this construction is traditional or a recent calque.

The comparative marker *an* 'more' can be used to modify adjectives. These adjectives may be used adjectivally, either as predicates (see sentence (995) above), or modifying a noun in a noun phrase, as in sentence (996); or they may be used as manner adverbials, as in sentence (997). The comparative can also be used to modify time adverbs, as in sentence (998).

(996) [*an   katsa*] *ashaŋpa na-wa   kwinta*
       [more   big   ] woman   1SG-ACC   talk(1)
       kizh-tu-ati-s
       talk(2)-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
       'The bigger woman spoke to me.'

(997) *na=na*   [*an   tinta*] *kwa-ta-w*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   [more   strong] eat-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I ate more strongly/much more.'

(998) *Demetrio=na*   [*Santos=kikas an   kayas*] *pyana-zi*
       Demetrio=TOP   [Santos=than   more   early]   arrive-NONLOCUT
       'Demetrio arrived earlier than Santos.'

The comparative marker *an* can also be used to modify nouns. Very often the noun itself is ellipsed in this case, with the comparative marker remaining as the only element of the noun phrase, indicating more of whatever was at issue.

(999) *na=na*   [*an   pyal*] *mil*
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   [more   money] have.(IMPFPART)
       'I have more money.'

(1000) *Marcos=na*   [*an*   ] *mil-i*
       Marcos=TOP   [more   ] have-NONLOCUT
       'Marcos has more [money].'

(1001) [an   ] *kwin-zha!*
        [more] give-IMP.1OBJ
      'Give me more [food]!'

    Equative constructions are formed using the postpositions *patsa* 'like' (see section 5.4.11) or *kana* 'like' (see section 5.4.12).

Chapter 14

Discourse clitics

14.1 Introduction

Six discourse markers have been found in Awa Pit and are listed in Table 14.1. These words have been grouped together as they share a variety of formal attributes which show their common nature and their difference from elements of other word classes, although it is clear that semantically this is a diverse group.

Formally, the discourse clitics are all monosyllabic elements which encliticize to the preceding word. While each marker has particular distributional restrictions, all occur on (some subset of) clause-level features: most commonly on complements or adjuncts, although some occur clause-finally attached to the predicate syntactically, and in this last case they are semantically associated with the entire clause rather than just the predicate. These discourse clitics have no syntactic effect, in the sense that any element which is associated with a discourse marker maintains its nature — for example, an NP followed by the Topic marker retains its normal internal structure, and can be used in exactly the same way as an NP without the Topic marker.[1]

As their name implies, the discourse particles are important within discourse. Unfortunately, as noted in chapter 1, the majority of data on which this

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[1]Except that, of course, it can only be used as an immediate clausal constituent, and not as the object of a postposition, for example.

na	Topic marker
miŋ	Restrictive marker
kas	Additive marker
ma	Interrogative marker
ma	Temporal marker
ka	Emphasis marker

Table 14.1: The discourse clitics

thesis is based consists of elicited sentences. It is perhaps not surprising that precise usages of several of the discourse particles could not be established. The use of these particles in a variety of discourse genres is an area of research in which a great deal of work remains to be done.

In the following sections, there is a general discussion of each of the discourse particles. For some of these particles (for example, *ma*, the Interrogative marker), a fairly exhaustive indication of its use is made; for others (such as the Topic marker), only a very general discussion is possible.

Relatively few of the discourse particles can be combined, and those which can have a strict ordering. The Topic marker *na* may be followed by the Temporal marker *ma*, but by no other discourse particle (see examples (1060)–(1062) below). The Restrictive marker *miŋ* can be followed by either the Additive marker *kas* or the Emphasis marker *ka* (example (1076)). No other combinations appear to be possible. This non-combinability is presumably for semantic rather than formal reasons — for example the Emphasis marker follows an unexpected element in a sentence (see section 14.7), and it is not surprising that this cannot be combined with the Topic marker, as if a referent were to be a topic, the speaker would hardly assume that the hearer would find the information unexpected.

14.2   The Topic marker

The Topic marker, *na*, is perhaps the most complex of the discourse particles. An attempt at explaining the more obvious uses of this particle will be made here; however, even more than the other discourse particles, a full examination of *na* would rely on extensive analyses of texts of various genres. Some examination of the use of *na* in narrative texts has, in fact, already been done, with Henriksen (1978) and Henriksen & Levinsohn (1977) looking at the use of this particle attached to conjunctions, dependent clauses and nouns.[2]

The one form, *na*, may occur cliticized onto a wide variety of words or phrases. Most commonly, it occurs on noun phrases (usually on nouns or pronouns), but it may occur on postpositional phrases, adverbs of various types, predicate adjectives, subordinate clauses, and sometimes even on (non-finite) main verbs. These elements may be acting as complements or adjuncts, that is, as core constituents of a clause or as (syntactically) optional additions to a clause; or of course acting as predicates.

Most commonly, *na*-marked complements and adjuncts occur in initial position in the clause in which they occur, or preceded only by other *na*-marked elements. However, while this is an obvious tendency, it is clearly not required, as occasionally an element marked with *na* may occur after other elements which are not marked with *na*. No examples have been found of adjuncts marked with *na* being placed after complements which are unmarked with *na*, however

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[2]The marker discussed in these papers has the form *ne* rather than *na*, which may be a dialect difference, an orthographic difference, or a difference of phonological analysis. In fact, the Topic marker *na* is sometimes pronounced [ne] in the data on which this study is based, with the variation appearing to be speaker dependent (see section 2.4.1.1).

it appears likely that this is a combination of two distinct factors, rather than an obligatory rule. Those elements marked with *na* are more topical, and cross-linguistically (depending somewhat on the definition of topic) topical elements tend to come in initial position in a clause (Li & Thompson 1976:465). Non-initial complements, such as Topic-marked Objects following an unmarked Subject, then have competing constraints on them — first position because of topicality, or following the Subject with the usual word order. However adjuncts may generally occur in two positions in unmarked word order, either after the Subject, or in sentence-initial position (see section 3.2). An adjunct which is Topic-marked will then have two possibilities of occurrence — either after the Subject, which is a natural position for an adjunct, but not for a topic; or in initial position, which is a natural position both for adjuncts and for topics. Consequently, it is not surprising that no examples have been found of topical adjuncts occurring after non-topical Subjects.

The theoretical notion of "topic" has been a hotly contested one in linguistics. As Tomlin notes,

> We still cannot say clearly what a clause level theme or topic is, despite decades of trying and despite relatively sympathetic tolerance among our colleagues for the definitions ultimately employed. We end up relying on vague definitions whose application in specific data analyses requires too much dependence on introspection or indirectly permits the use of structural information in the identification of instances of the key category.

(Tomlin 1995:519–520)

However, in this section my intention is to make some beginning of an account of the distribution of the morpheme *na* which occurs in Awa Pit. While this will rely on previous, often theoretical, discussions of topic, the intention is not to show how "topic" is encoded in Awa Pit, but rather to explain where the Topic marker *na* occurs. Thus it follows there will be an explicit use of structural information to establish this distribution, rather than structural information being "indirectly permitted".

In order to discuss the semantics and pragmatics of the Topic marker *na*, it is necessary to divide the elements marked with *na* into four groups. Many of the definitions or discussions of topic in the literature only consider noun phrases as topics — for example, Givón (1990:740) states that "topicality is a property of the nominal participants ('referents') ... of clauses". As noted above, in Awa Pit the Topic marker may occur on much more than just nominal participants. However it seems to be useful to consider that there are different groups marked with *na*: (1) there are those *na*-marked elements which are complements (that is, required by the predicate); (2) there are those which are adjuncts (that is, syntactically optional); (3) there are external topics; and (4) there are topical clauses. Those elements which are complements are most commonly noun phrases or postpositional phrases, and can be "reference-tracked" (cf. Givón 1990:902–910) through the discourse; in contrast, many adjuncts marked with *na* cannot

be tracked in this way, there being no "entity", even notionally, to which they refer.

In fact, there is also some language-internal evidence of a distinction between Topic marking on complements and adjuncts, aside from the meaning distinction which will be discussed below. With the exception of pronouns, which are nearly always marked with the Topic marker, only one complement in any sentence may be marked with *na*; in contrast, as many adjuncts (of the appropriate types) as there are may be *na*-marked.

In what follows, then, the uses of the Topic marker on complements will be discussed, then its uses on adjuncts. Following this the two more problematic cases (the Topic marker on external elements, and on predicates) will be considered in light of the complement–adjunct distinction.

14.2.1 The Topic marker on complements

The Topic marker *na* is found on syntactic complements, that is, on elements which are (semantically) specified for by the predicate of a clause. These complements are necessarily noun phrases, postpositional phrases or nominalized subordinate clauses, and the Topic marker is cliticized onto the final element of these phrases, regardless of the word class of this final element.

(1002) *wam=na*   *yal*   *kwash=pa*   *pil-ti-zi*
        sparrowhawk=TOP   house   above=in(approx)   fly-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'The sparrowhawk flew above the house.'

(1003) *aŋ=pa*   *kwaka=na awa*   *su*   *paa-ma-ti*
        here=in(approx)   side=TOP   person   earth   become-COMP-TERM
        'Here, [this] side [of the river] has become farms.'

(1004) *na=na*   *kwizha=ta=na*   comida   *kwin-ta-w*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   dog=ACC=TOP   food   give-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I gave food to the dog.'

(1005) *nul*   *kwa-n=na*   *kwashmayŋ*
        chontaduro   eat-INF=TOP   tasty
        'Eating *chontaduro* (a fruit) is really enjoyable/tasty.'

The majority of elicited sentences without ellipsed complements contain some complement expressed as a noun phrase or postpositional phrase which is marked with *na*. However, each clause contains at most one Topic-marked complement consisting of a full noun, a postpositional phrase containing a full noun, or a subordinate clause.[3]

The vast majority of *na*-marked complements in elicited sentences are the Subject of their clause — when a sentence is produced out of context, it is assumed that the Subject is the topic in a language such as Spanish, which does

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[3]In addition to potentially containing Topic-marked pronouns, and Topic-marked adjuncts.

not mark topics explicitly. However other elements of a sentence can be marked as topical, if this is reasonable. Discussing chickens, and following a sentence stating what chickens eat, an informant noted:

(1006) awa   atal=na   ku-m
       person chicken=TOP eat-ADJZR
       'Chickens, people eat them.'

As the discussion was about chickens, atal 'chicken' is marked as topic, even though it is the Object in the sentence. Likewise, the following came after another sentence about how there is a big tree-stump (ti) up behind the house:[4]

(1007) na=na   ti=na   kwa-t   kyan-ta-w
       1SG.(NOM)=TOP   tree=TOP   fell-SV THROW-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
       'I felled [that] tree.'

Here the Object, ti, is marked with na as it is the topic of the current discourse.

It is even more uncommon for (complement) locational phrases to be marked as topic, but once again this is not a rule, but rather due to pragmatics. It is possible for a locational complement to be marked as topic:

(1008) ap   yal=ta=na   kwizha tu-y
       my   house=in=TOP   dog   be:in:place-NONLOCUT
       'In my house, a dog is there.'

Under those circumstances where the location is topic, a locative complement can be marked with the Topic marker na.

Within connected text, such as narratives or explanations, there appear to be far fewer examples of Topic-marked complements than in elicited sentences, although the general lack of such text in the corpus makes any discussion difficult; many sentences in connected text contain no examples of Topic-marked complements. This is relatively easy to understand, given the facility with which speakers of Awa Pit ellipse referents which are retrievable from context. Once a particular entity has been established as the topic, it is, in some senses, foremost in the mind of a hearer. Consequently, references to that particular entity can be freely ellipsed, as it is highly retrievable. Equally, an entity which is established as a topic remains as a topic for at least some stretch of the discourse — as noted below, topic is a discourse-level phenomenon, not a sentence-level one. Thus after a participant has been introduced as a topic, the following sentence will probably contain the same participant as a topic, and if any participant were to be marked with na it would be this participant. However this participant can be ellipsed, being easily retrievable from context, and consequently no explicit complement is marked with the Topic marker. This process occurs in the majority of clauses, leading to a low use of the Topic marker on complements in connected text.

Given data such as the preceding, especially contextualized examples like (1006), it seems highly likely that a complement marked with na is stating what

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[4]The use of two Topic markers in this sentence will be discussed below.

the speaker is talking about. This idea of signalling "aboutness" is one of the common ideas of topic, and is often expressed as though occurring at the level of the sentence: "the topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about" (Lambrecht 1994:118). As Givón (1990:902) notes, however, "at the level of a single event/state, 'topic' — 'what is talked about' or 'what is important' — is meaningless". What is in fact meant is that, at the level of the discourse, a referent has "certain discourse properties having to do with the degree of cognitive and pragmatic accessibility it has in the discourse" (Lambrecht 1987:375), and then at the sentence level this referent is taken as topic, with the remainder of the sentence saying something about that referent. A topic marker in these terms is some morphological material or syntactic construction which is used to "turn the attention of the hearer to some identifiable participant in the discourse, and then to assert something of that participant" (Aissen 1992:50).

A similar, though slightly different, formulation is suggested by Doris Payne (1995), on the basis of the experimental work on comprehension of Gernsbacher (1990) and Gernsbacher & Hargreaves (1992). They claim that comprehension requires a stage of "laying a foundation" for a mental structure, then other information is "mapped" onto this foundation to develop the structure. Payne considers that it is not

> too far afield to see Gernsbacher's experimentally-validated "foundation" of a mental representation as roughly what the Functional Sentence Perspective school and Creider himself were getting at in talking about the "theme" or "topic" of a discourse section. I suggest that whatever a comprehender takes as the foundation for a mental structure can linguistically be referred to as the *thematic* concept or referent of that structure — this is the concept onto which other information is mapped.

(Payne 1995:451)

This idea of a foundation, while in many ways similar to the "aboutness" claim, is important later in contrasting *na*-marked complements with *na*-marked adjuncts.

Looking at complements with full nouns in noun phrases and postpositional phrases, these ideas of "aboutness" or the idea of a "foundation" appear to explain this use of the Topic marker in Awa Pit: it shows which (if any) of the expressed complements of a predicate are the one the discourse is about, the one onto which other information in the sentence is mapped.

The distribution of the Topic marker on some pronouns is different from that occurring with full nouns. It appears that the third-person pronouns, *us* 'he/she' and *uspa* 'they', show the same distribution of Topic marker as the nouns, but the first- and second-person pronouns are quite different: when explicit first- or second-person pronouns are used in Awa Pit, they are almost always accompanied by the Topic marker. Explicit pronouns are not, in fact, often used in Awa Pit, with a combination of context and person-marking in the predicate usually being sufficient to determine who the participants in any given event

are. If explicit first- or second-person pronouns are used, this is usually done to introduce a change in topic, stress the participant in question, or establish a contrast between one participant and another. In these cases, the participants indicated through the use of the pronouns are highly topical, and consequently the pronouns are marked with *na*. Non-topical pronouns are only used when there would otherwise be confusion about the participants in an event; and in these cases, the pronouns are not marked with *na*. For example, when a speaker uses a subordinate clause of time involving an action performed by him- or herself to establish the time of another event, the speaker is not a topical participant in the major action, but a pronoun must be used to clarify the meaning, as the subordinate clause verb is not marked for person:

(1009) *na*   *a-ka=na,*   *kal*
        1SG.(NOM)   come-WHEN=TOP   work(1)
        ki-mtu-ati-zi
        work(2)-IMPF-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'When I came, you were working.'

In this example, the speaker ("I") does not participate at all in the main action, and is simply a minor participant in a subordinate clause. This contrasts with very similar examples, where, however, the speaker is involved in some way in the main action, and is marked by *na* in the subordinate clause:

(1010) *na=na*   *a-t*   *kway-ka=na,*   *kuzhu*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   come-SV   DROP-WHEN=TOP   pig
        kutil-miz-ti-zi
        skin-INCEP-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'When I arrived, they began to skin the pig.'

Here the speaker is involved in the main clause action, in that it was his or her arrival which triggered that action.

First- and second-person pronouns, then, appear to be special attractors of the Topic marker *na*. Indeed, the only circumstances under which two complements in a clause are marked with the Topic marker is in those cases where one of them is a pronoun, such as sentence (1004) above. It appears that in a sentence such as this, the dog is the most topical element, but the pronoun referent retains some topicality.

This inherent topicality of first- and second-person pronouns is explainable in many theories of topic. First- and second-person always have fully accessible referents (at least in the singular) in the discourse act itself — the speaker and the hearer. Hence they are high in inherent topicality, if a topic is "an entity whose existence is agreed upon by the speaker and his [or her] audience" (Haiman 1978:585), a requirement which all definitions for topic have in some fashion. It appears that in Awa Pit the inherent topicality of first- and second-person pronouns is such that even if another participant in the discourse is more of a discourse topic, the pronouns often retain enough topicality to be marked with the Topic marker, as in sentence (1004) above.

14.2.2 The Topic marker on adjuncts

In addition to (optionally) appearing on one of the complements to a verb, the Topic marker *na* may occur on one or more adjuncts — nouns, time adverbs, postpositional phrases or subordinate clauses. Whether the Topic marker occurs on an adjunct or not does not seem to be a grammatical phenomenon, but rather semantic (which is unsurprising, given its status as a discourse particle).

Na nearly always occurs on adjunct postpositional phrases using *ta* and *ki*, giving a specific location, and *pa*, when it is used to give a specific time at which something happened or during which something happened.

(1011) pueblo=*ta*=na *akkwan* tipo *pay-nin-a-mtu-y*
 town=in=TOP many type buy-CAUS-PL:SUBJ-IMPF-NONLOCUT
 'In town they sell many types [of cigarettes].'

(1012) *Santos*=na *ii-ta*=*ki*=na, yal sa-ti-zi
 Santos=TOP die-PFPART=at=TOP house build-PAST-NONLOCUT
 'They built a house where Santos died.'

(1013) año=*wa*=na *payl-tu-ani-s*
 year=in(approx)=TOP return-IMPF-FUT-LOCUT
 'I will come back in a year.'

In contrast to this, the Topic marker never occurs on adjunct postpositional phrases with *pa* or *mal* giving a general location, nor on phrases marked with *kima* 'until', nor on *kasa* 'with', marking accompaniment or an instrument.

The Topic marker usually occurs on causal phrases and conditional phrases or clauses (including counterfactuals), as well as on clauses indicating time, whether After clauses, simultaneity clauses or absolute clauses; in contrast, it never occurs on purposive clauses, whether same-Subject or different-Subject.

(1014) *ap* mamá *tayaz-tu*=akwa=na,
 my mother miss-IMPFPART=because=TOP
 i-ma-ti-mtu-s
 go-COMP-TERM-IMPF-LOCUT
 'I'm going [back] because my mother misses [me].'

(1015) *akki* pana-t=na, *izh-sina*=ma
 here be:standing.(IMPFPART)-CNTRFC=TOP see-POT=TEMP
 'If he were here, we could meet.'

(1016) *na*=na *Bogotá*=ta-s *kayl-ta*=na, *kal*
 1SG.(NOM)=TOP Bogotá=in-from return-PFPART=TOP work(1)
 ki-na *a-mtu-s*
 work(2)-INF come-IMPF-LOCUT
 'After I have returned from Bogotá, I will come and work.'

(1017) *nu*   *a-ka=na,*   *na=na*
        2SG.(NOM)   come-WHEN=TOP   1SG.(NOM)=TOP
        pihshka-ti-mtu-ata-w
        sweep-TERM-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'When you came, I was just finishing sweeping.'

In summary, the Topic marker *na* is almost obligatory for phrases or clauses which give a specific time or location for an event, a cause or a condition for an event; it cannot occur with phrases or clauses which indicate a general place or time, accompaniment or an instrument, or the purpose of an event. In other terms, those phrases or clauses which are used as adjuncts to establish a specific framework for the matrix predication are marked with the Topic marker; those which are general, or give additional information which is not used to establish a framework, cannot be accompanied by the Topic marker.

Here, clearly, the element marked with the Topic marker is not marking "what the sentence is about". In no sense in the above examples are the sentences or the discourse "about" the time or location of the event, or the cause or condition for an event. This use of the Topic marker appears to be quite distinct.

Occurring as it does on non-nominal, non-entity, elements of a sentence, as well as on more nominal elements, much of the theoretical literature on topicality does not apply to this use of the Topic marker — for example, Givón's reference-tracking cannot be performed.[5] However, this use of the Topic marker corresponds well to Chafe's conception of what a topic is:

> What the topics appear to do is to limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain. ... Typically, it would seem, the topic sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds.

(Chafe 1976:50)

In Awa Pit, the Topic marker almost always appears on those adjuncts which are being used to establish such a spatial, temporal or individual framework; while those adjuncts (such as purpose clauses or accompaniment phrases) which do not establish such a framework cannot be marked with the Topic marker.

Chafe's "framework" also appears to correspond to Doris Payne's concept of a "delimiting phrase", which she establishes in contrast to a "foundation" (ie. topic in the sense of what a sentence is about):

> A foundation in Gernsbacher and Hargreaves' sense differs from a delimiting phrase in that a foundation is that concept to which subsequent information is specifically mapped. A delimiting phrase is more likely to express orienting circumstances relative to which the foundation and information related to the foundation are to be interpreted ... [it] tells us within which universe of discourse the

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[5]Compare the discussion of this issue in Givón (1990:844–846).

subsequent participants and events are to be interpreted.

<div align="right">(Payne 1995:460–461)</div>

While Chafe explicitly considers elements similar to adjuncts marked with *na* in Awa Pit as topics, Payne specifically contrasts them with topics ("foundations"). However, while she explicitly excludes them from being topics, the fact that she feels compelled to do so suggests that she is aware of the potential confusion between the two — although it is unclear whether this is at a theoretical level (similar meanings or uses), or at a descriptive level (similar marking in languages).

At a theoretical level it has been suggested that conditional clauses, at least, are indeed topics. Starting from an assumption that similarities in form reflect similarities in meaning, Haiman (1978) has attempted to show why a number of unrelated languages use identical morphology to mark topics and conditionals, eventually developing a definition of topic which he feels covers both the more traditional notion of topic and conditional clauses, arguing that both are presuppositions of their sentences. Unfortunately it is not clear that all of the other types of Topic-marked adjuncts in Awa Pit could equally be considered to be presuppositions.

In fact, Awa Pit is not the only language to mark a variety of adjuncts in the same way in which topics are marked. Perhaps the most interesting language to compare here is Mandarin, as it is probably one of the major languages appealed to in any discussion of topic.[6] While many discussions of Mandarin topics, for example that contained in Li & Thompson (1976), only discuss noun phrases as topics, there is a clear parallelism in Mandarin between these noun-phrase topics and other sentence elements. While Chao (1968) unfortunately conflates what would more commonly now be called topics and subjects in Mandarin, he notes the exact parallelism between certain "adverbial clauses" and "subjects" (ie. topics):

> Because (a) such clauses are usually followed by the same pause or pause particles as after subjects, (b) they occur at the beginning of a sentence unless they are an afterthought, (c) the so-called subordinate conjunctions can *always* follow the subject and modify the verb in the clause, (d) complex sentences shade into compound sentence or simple sentences with complex predicates — for all these reasons we prefer to treat a dependent clause simply as a clause subject and the principal clause as the predicate [which can be a full sentence].

<div align="right">(Chao 1968:113)</div>

Thus in Mandarin (noun phrase) topics and dependent clauses are treated in the same way, sufficiently so that Chao considers them to be the same sentence element. Even more interesting are the various types of subordinate clauses

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[6]See Thompson & Longacre (1985:229–232) for examples of other languages in which some adverbial clauses may be marked in the same way as topics.

that Chao discusses in this section as being identical to topics: "In sum, all the concessive, causal, conditional, temporal, and spatial clauses are in the last resort subjects [ie. topics]" (Chao 1968:120). These clauses correspond precisely to those adjunct clauses, adverbs and postpositional phrases which can be marked with the Topic marker *na* in Awa Pit.

The similarity between "about" topics and "framework" topics will not be dealt with further here. However it does appears clear that there is some common core of meaning between the two different types: perhaps only at the level of both being things in a sentence which are not actually encoding the information that the speaker really wants to convey, with the "about" topic being what the speaker wants to convey information about, and the "framework" topic being background information. Whether the term "topic" should be used to cover both uses, or only one or the other, the morphological marker *na* is used for both in Awa Pit, and will be referred to here as the Topic marker, treating it as a unitary morpheme.

14.2.3 External topics

Probably the most well-known phenomenon in languages with a topic construction is the "double-subject" construction, a somewhat unfortunate term, demonstrated by Li & Thompson (1976:468) with the Lahu sentence:

(1018)   *hɔ*   *ɔ̄*   *na-qhɔ̂ yì*   *ve*   *yò*
        elephant   topic   nose   long   prt.   declar.
        'Elephants (topic), noses are long.'

In sentences such as these, the topic element "has no selectional relationship with the verb" (Li & Thompson 1976:468), or in Aissen's (1992) more formal terms, the 'external topic' has no coindexed trace in the basic clause schema. That is, the referent of the topic element is not a complement of the predicate.

Given that the Awa Pit data here were largely gathered through elicitation from Spanish, it is not surprising that there are few sentences containing an external topic — in Spanish it is not generally possible for a sentence to contain a non-complement topic, and consequently there is no topic in the Awa Pit translation, apart from one of the arguments in the Spanish sentence. However a small number of sentences were found which did contain an external topic, such as:

(1019)   *Demetrio=wa*   caballo=*na,*   *mita=na pina akkihsh*
        Demetrio=POSS   horse=TOP   tail=TOP   very   long
        'Demetrio's horse, the tail is so long.'

(1020)   *Demetrio=wa*   caballo=*na,*   *mita=na kwisha akkihsh*
        Demetrio=POSS   horse=TOP   tail=TOP   very   long
        'Demetrio's horse, the tail is very long.'

(1021)   *Demetrio=na,*   *maza ampu wakata walkwa-ti*
        Demetrio=TOP   one   man   cattle   steal-TERM
        'Someone stole a cow "on Demetrio".'

In the case of the first two, the original sentence asked was 'Demetrio's horse has a long tail'; the last sentence was asked using the Spanish 'dative of affect' construction.

In these sentences, then, there is an initial, non-complement NP, marked with the Topic marker *na*. This non-complement element is in some way involved in the main predication (in all of the above sentences, as an owner of one of the complements). In all cases this initial element was set off from the remainder of the sentence by a pause, indicated with a comma above. This setting off of the *na* marked element is identical to the use of the Topic marker with adjuncts, discussed in the previous section, and the meaning developed to cover the usage of *na* with adjuncts is, in fact, equally relevant here. This initial Topic-marked element establishes a framework for the remainder of the predication: "We're discussing something to do with Demetrio's horse; the tail is long." It is important to note that in the first two sentences above, there is a second Topic-marked element, *mita*, the tail, which is the actual "about" topic, and the Subject of the predication.

Awa Pit thus seems to have a "double-subject" construction. Few examples have been found of it, however this may be more related to the elicitation technique than the nature of the language. In this construction, there is a main predication, which may contain an explicit, Topic-marked, Subject, stating what the predication is about; and there is an initial Topic-marked element, set off by an intonation indicating that it is an adjunct, and establishes a framework within which the following predication can be understood.

The presence of an external topic constrution suggests, following Li & Thompson's (1976) typology, that Awa Pit is at least in part a topic-prominent language, as "all [topic-prominent] languages have sentences of this type, while no pure [subject-prominent] languages do" (Li & Thompson 1976:468). Various other factors also suggest the topic-prominent nature of Awa Pit (the lack of a passive and dummy subjects, for example); however nominative–accusative case-marking would tend to suggest a subject-prominent language. It would thus appear that Awa Pit is a mixed topic-prominent and subject-prominent system, although a great deal of further work would need to be done on the basicness or otherwise of these constructions with external topics to establish this with any certainty.

14.2.4   The Topic marker on complete predications

As well as occurring on complements and adjuncts (including external topics), the Topic marker can also occur syntactically on a variety of main predicates in Awa Pit, where semantically they have scope over the entire predication. There are a restricted number of construction types which can take this marking — the common theme is that they are all non-finite clauses (see section 3.3.2). It is not surprising to find the Topic marker on (non-finite) subordinate clauses, of course, as these are acting as complements or adjuncts. However the Topic marker can also occur on main non-finite clauses, whether the verb is an extended Perfective

Participle or an Imperfective Participle (including statives):

(1022) *Bogotá=ta=na*   *pina*   *awa*   *azh-ma-t=na*
Bogotá=in=TOP   very   people   grow-COMP-PFPART=TOP
'In Bogotá many people have grown up.'

(1023) *kul=na*   *cava*   *ki-ma-t=na*
hole=TOP   dig(1)   dig(2)-COMP-PFPART=TOP
'[The armadillo] dug a hole.'

(1024) *anshik=na*   *Isabel* *Demetrio=kasa* *pueblo=mal*
yesterday=TOP   Isabel   Demetrio=with   town=LOC
i-mtu=na
go-IMPFPART=TOP
'Yesterday Isabel went to the town with Demetrio.'

(1025) *kwizha=na* *Santos=ta* *man*   *ki-mtu=na=ma*
dog=TOP   Santos=in   move(1)   move(2)-IMPFPART=TOP=TEMP
'The dog moved to Santos.'

(1026) *kwizha* *uŋ=ta*   *uz=na*
dog   there=in   sit.(IMPFPART)=TOP
'The dog is sitting over there.'

(1027) *na=na*   *akkwan* *libro* *mij=na*
1SG.(NOM)=TOP   many   book   have.(IMPFPART)=TOP
'I have many books.'

In terms of the previous ideas of an "about" topic and a "framework" topic, there are two possible analyses of the Topic-marked predications. Clearly, it is not possible to consider that the predication is "about" the predication, but it could be considered that these sentences are what Lambrecht (1987) calls "sentence focus" — rather than the speaker wanting to say something about some entity, the speaker is interested in the relationship itself. In fact, however, the alternative analysis of these sentences as a type of "framework" topic seems more justified.

While a main non-finite sentence cannot be establishing a framework for itself, sentences do not occur in isolation, but rather in context, and particular sentences can establish a framework for other sentences. For example, sentence (1022) follows another sentence:

(1028) *Bogotá=kikas* *an*   *watsal*   *ka-y,*
Bogotá=than   more   beautiful   be:permanently-NONLOCUT
akki=na
here=TOP
'Here is more beautiful than Bogotá.'

This sentence is, in fact, the main sentence in the interaction, and the following sentence, (1022), is simply an explanation of why this preceding statement is true. Likewise, sentence (1023) is preceded by:

(1029) ulam=na   pil   kul=mal   i-ti-zi
        armadillo=TOP   earth hole=LOC   go-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'The armadillo went into a hole in the ground.'

That the armadillo vanished is important; sentence (1023) simply explains how this happened.

Thus the use of the Topic marker on entire predications appears to be a further example of the "framework" topic. Unlike earlier cases, however, here the entire sentence is used to establish a framework for another sentence.

While examples so far have given the Topic marker occurring on a (non-finite) verb, it is also possible to have non-finite copula clauses (see 3.3.2), which are verbless, and here the Topic marker occurs on a noun or adjective.

(1030) ap   wakata   til=na
        my   cattle   black=TOP
        'My cattle are black.'

(1031) pala   al=na
        plantain unripe=TOP
        'The plantains are unripe.'

(1032) Libardo   wat   awa=na
        Libardo   good   man=TOP
        'Libardo is a good man.'

(1033) ampatinkwa   amta   shaa-m=na
        Vieja   at:night   walk-ADJZR=TOP
        'The Vieja walks at night (is an at-night-walker).'

It could perhaps be thought that the Topic marker here was (semantically) on the Copula complement rather than on the predication as a whole, however this is not the case. When a copula verb is present, the Topic marker can never occur on a Copula complement:[7]

(1034) ap   wakata   til(*=na)   i
        my   cattle   black(*=TOP)   be.(NONLOCUT)
        'My cattle are black.'

Copula complements cannot be Topic-marked for semantic reasons — in a sense they are predicates rather than complements, and a sentence cannot be about 'is a person' or 'is black', nor can this be used as a framework for the predication, since it is the predicate.

These Topic-marked non-finite copula clauses are used in the same fashion as other Topic-marked predications, establishing a framework for other sentences.

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[7]Equally the Topic marker cannot appear on the copula, as it is always finite.

Word ends in	Restrictive marker
i	=*ŋ*
a, u	=*yŋ*
other	=*miŋ*

Table 14.2: Forms of the Restrictive marker

14.3 The Restrictive marker

Turning from the Topic marker, the Restrictive marker is another quite common discourse particle in Awa Pit. The most common form is *miŋ*, but it has three forms, depending on the final segment of the word to which it cliticizes, and these are given in Table 14.2.

The Restrictive marker carries ideas such as 'and that's the only thing involved', or 'that's the only quality involved' — it often, but not always, corresponds to English *just* or *only*; it corresponds very well to the Nariño Spanish expression *no más*, and appears similar to the restrictive or restrictive focus markers in languages such as Damana (Trillos Amaya 1989:58), Achagua (Meléndez 1989:53), Barasano (Jones & Jones 1991:176), and the related language Guambiano (Vásquez de Ruíz 1988:75).

This discourse particle most commonly attaches to noun phrases, as in example (1035) and postpositional phrases, examples (1036)–(1037). It may also occur with other elements, especially predicate adjectives, as in example (1038), and various adjuncts, such as adjectives modifying verbs in example (1039), and temporal and manner adjuncts in examples (1040) and (1041).

(1035) *mitti=miŋ*   *izh-ta-w*
foot=REST   see-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'I only saw footprints.'

(1036) pueblo=*ta*   *mitti*=wa=*yŋ*   *i-ma-ta-w*
town=in   foot=in(approx)=REST   go-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'I went to town just by foot (ie. not by horse).'

(1037) *na=na*   *tizh*   *shi*   cuchillo=*kasa=yŋ*   *kuzhu*
1SG.(NOM)=TOP   sharp   NEG   knife=with=REST   pig
nak-ma-ta-w
skin-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'I skinned the pig with just a blunt (not sharp) knife.'

(1038) nu   wat=miŋ   ki-s?
        2SG.(NOM) good=REST   Q-LOCUT
        wat=miŋ   i-s.
        good=REST   be-LOCUT
        'Are you well? I am well.'

(1039) wat=miŋ   shaa-nka
        good=REST   walk-PLT:IMP
        'Walk well (ie. watch where you're going)!'

(1040) ma=miŋ   i-ma-ti   Carmen
        now=REST go-COMP-TERM   Carmen
        'Carmen has just gone.'

(1041) na   impata=yŋ   a-mtu-ata-w
        1SG.(NOM) slowly=REST   come-IMPF-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'I was coming slowly.'

The Restrictive marker may also be used on verbal elements, but, just as with the Topic marker, only on verbal elements which are non-finite. Very few examples have been found of this use, all involving the non-finite Imperfective Participle form. Most common is simply a clause in which no person or tense marking occurs:

(1042) shitshu=na   izh-tu=yŋ
        bird=TOP   see-IMPFPART=REST
        'I am just seeing a bird.'

However it is possible to mark tense and person, provided that this is done not directly on the main verb, but through one of the auxiliary constructions:

(1043) na=na   a-mtu=yŋ   ka-s
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   come-IMPFPART=REST   be:permanently-LOCUT
        'I am only coming (ie. I'm not doing anything else).'

14.4   The Additive marker

The Additive marker, kas, which cannot be combined with the Topic marker na, most commonly includes another noun phrase into a discourse, in a similar way to the additive markers in Guambiano (Vásquez de Ruíz 1988:77) and Damana (Trillos Amaya 1989:59). With the exception of having a different noun phrase, the clause is identical to another earlier clause or earlier idea in the discourse. In these contexts, it is usually translatable as English too, or sometimes and. For example, in sentence (1044) the first clause states that Santos ate an egg, while the second states that I too ate an egg:

(1044) *Santos wipu kwa-t kway-zi,*   *na=kas*   *kwa-t*
        Santos egg eat-SV DROP-NONLOCUT 1SG.(NOM)=ADD eat-SV
        kway-ta-w
        DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'Santos ate an egg, and I did too.'

While the element containing the different noun phrase can be expressed in an entirely separate clause, as above, if the two actions in the clauses are identical, the second participant is often added on as an afterthought, following a pause:

(1045) *Laureano Ricaurte=mal puz-ti-zi,*   *Demetrio=kas,*
        Laureano Ricaurte=LOC go:out-PAST-NONLOCUT Demetrio=ADD
        Clara=kas
        Clara=ADD
        'Laureano, Demetrio and Clara went to Ricaurte.'

The new noun phrase can be a Subject, but it can also be in another grammatical relation. If the noun phrase is within a case-marking postpositional phrase, the Additive marker *kas* occurs after the postposition:

(1046) *Juan=ta=kas José pyan-shi-mtu*
        Juan=ACC=ADD José hit-DESID-IMPFPART
        'José wants to hit Juan too (as well as wanting to hit someone else).'

In the above examples, by the time the *kas*-marked noun phrase was used, there was already an expressed noun phrase to which it could be notionally added, either within the same sentence, as in sentence (1044), or earlier in the discourse. However the Additive marker can also be used when a noun phrase in the current sentence is merely notionally in a larger group. For example, there are sentences such as:

(1047) *awa=na tunya=kas ku-m*
        Awa=TOP rat=ADD eat-ADJZR
        'The Awa eat rats (among other things).'

Here the speaker used the Additive marker to mark *tunya* 'rat', to say that this was one of many things that the Awa eat.[8]

When used in a negative proposition, the same idea of 'one of a group' is expressed, although in reverse. There are examples such as

(1048) *pala=kas shi kwa-t ki,*   *trabaja*
        plantain=ADD NEG eat-PFPART be.NEG.(IMPFPART) work(1)
        ki-mtu
        work(2)-IMPFPART
        'Having not eaten even a plantain, I'm working.'

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[8]It was perhaps particularly important for the speaker to point out that this is only one of many things eaten by the Awa, as the local non-indigenous people find this one of the more "primitive" features of the Awa, and the Awa are aware of this.

Plantains are one of the major bases of the Awa diet. Thus here the speaker is noting that, of all the things which he could have eaten, he has not even eaten a plantain.

The Additive marker is also used commonly, though not always, with the interrogative/negative pronouns (section 12.2) when these are being used as negative pronouns. That is, words such as *min* 'who, no-one' can either be used as interrogatives or negatives — in the former case, they are usually accompanied by the Interrogative marker *ma* (see section 14.5), while as negatives they are usually accompanied by the Additive marker:

(1049) *min=kas*   *shi*   *a-ma-y*
        no:one=ADD NEG come-NEG-NONLOCUT
        'No-one came.'

(1050) *min-a=kas*   *shi*   *izh-ma-s*
        no:one-ACC=ADD NEG see-NEG-LOCUT
        'I didn't see anyone.'

(1051) *shi=kas*   *shi*   *kizh-tu*   *ki-s*
        nothing=ADD NEG say-IMPFPART be.NEG-LOCUT
        'I'm not saying anything.'

(1052) *min=ta=kas*   *shi*   *i-ma-s*
        nowhere=in=ADD NEG go-NEG-LOCUT
        'I didn't go anywhere.'

The connection between this usage and the earlier function is unclear, perhaps through some idea such as 'of all the people who could have come, no-one came' (and similar). Its usage may well be frequent in this context as it aids in differentiating the negative usage of these pronouns from their interrogative usage.[9]

14.5 The Interrogative marker

The Interrogative marker has the form *ma.* It occurs in content questions, both direct and indirect — in the former it is optional though common, in the latter it is obligatory. This discourse particle occurs cliticized onto that immediate constituent of the clause which contains the content question word, whether this is a noun phrase, postpositional phrase or adverb. Thus in example (1054) what is being questioned is the owner of the dog, but the entire postpositional phrase 'to whose dog' is marked with the Interrogative marker, as it is an immediate constituent of the clause.

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[9]The combination of an additive marker and an interrogative pronoun to form a negative pronoun is also found in Imbabura Quechua (Cole 1985:86–87); and, apparently, in Guambiano, based on an example in Vásquez de Ruíz (1988:67).

(1053) an   kih   ku-ka=na,   shi=ma   ki-ni-zi?
        this leaf   eat-WHEN=TOP   what=INTER   do-FUT-NONLOCUT
        'If [one] eats this leaf, what will happen?'

(1054) min=pa   kwizha=ta=ma   comida   kwin-ta-w?
        who=POSS   dog=ACC=INTER   food   give-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'Whose dog did you give food to?'

(1055) min=ta=ma   pana-y?
        where=in=INTER   be:standing-NONLOCUT
        'Where is he/she (standing)?'

(1056) na=na   shi   pyan   ki-s,
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   NEG   know.(IMPFPART)   be.NEG-LOCUT
        mizha=ma   ka-t   ka
        how=INTER be:permanently-PFPART   NONFUT:CPLTZR
        'I don't know how it was (ie. what it was like).'

(1057) Carmen=na   na-wa   mima-ti-zi,   min-ta=ma
        Carmen=TOP   1SG-ACC   ask-PAST-NONLOCUT   where-in=INTER
        i-shi-mtu   ka
        go-DESID-IMPFPART   NONFUT:CPLTZR
        'Carmen asked me where I wanted to go.'

While the Interrogative marker is normally only found in content questions, it is also used in tag questions (section 12.4) on subordinated clauses:

(1058) tilawa=na   miimal   i-mtu=ma
        tomorrow=TOP   Chucunés   go-IMPFPART=INTER
        ka   ki-s?
        be:permanently.(IMPFPART)   Q-LOCUT
        'You're going to Chucunés tomorrow, aren't you?'

The Interrogative marker ma cannot combine with the Topic marker na. This is unsurprising, as the information being sought by a speaker, contained within the immediate clausal constituent marked with ma, cannot be the topic of the clause, as it is not presupposed knowledge.

The Awa Pit Interrogative marker shares features with the Imbabura Quechua interrogative enclitic taj (Cole 1985:17–19). However with the exception of tag questions such as (1058), the clitic has only been found on the immediate clausal constituent containing the questioned element; unlike in Imbabura Quechua's "clause-fronting strategy" (Cole 1985:19), the clitic has never been found associated with the last word of a subordinate clause which contains a questioned element. This also distinguishes this Awa Pit marker from the Napo Quichua ta, which has similar behaviour to the Imbabura Quechua marker (Orr & Levinsohn 1992).

For more examples of the Interrogative marker ma, see section 12.2 for questions, and section 10.2.2 for indirect questions.

14.6   The Temporal marker

The Temporal marker, *ma*, is formally and semantically similar to the noun *ma* (discussed in section 13.2.2). They are, however, distinct. Structurally, the former cliticizes either to the verb or the first element in a sentence,[10] while the latter is a free word. Semantically, the noun means, approximately, 'now, at that moment', while the Temporal marker has a more general meaning.

The Temporal marker has two positions of occurrence, as noted above. It most commonly occurs cliticized after the main verb, whether this is finite or non-finite:

(1059)   *na=kas*   *shi*   *a-ma-ni-s=ma*
         1SG.(NOM)=ADD   NEG   come-NEG-FUT-LOCUT=TEMP
         'I won't come either.'

It can also occur on the end of the first constituent of the clause, regardless of its syntactic status; for example, it may be a noun or pronoun (example (1060)), a temporal element (example (1061)), or a subordinate clause (example (1062)):

(1060)   *nu=na=ma*   *pantalón*   *pat-ti-t=ma*
         2SG.(NOM)=TOP=TEMP   pants   wash-TERM-PFPART=INTER
         ka   *ki-s?*
         be:permanently.(IMPFPART)   Q-LOCUT
         'You've just washed your pants, haven't you?'

(1061)   siete de julio=*wa=na=ma*   *akki   tu-ani-s*
         seven of July=in(approx)=TOP=TEMP   here   be-FUT-LOCUT
         'I will be here on the 7th of July.'

(1062)   *kuzhu*   chambusca   *ki-ka=na=ma,*   *alu*
         pig   skin(1)   skin(2)-WHEN=TOP=TEMP   rain(1)
         ki-ma-ti-zi
         rain(2)-COMP-TERM-NONLOCUT
         'While he was skinning the pig, it started raining.'

The Temporal marker can be used with verbs in all tense, aspect and mood combinations. When used to describe non-past events, *ma* indicates that the proposition is true at the time being spoken about (usually the speech moment) rather than being a universally true statement; or else it implies that there has recently been a change. For example:

(1063)   ayna-*mtu=na=ma*
         cook-IMPFPART=TOP=TEMP
         'She is cooking.'

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[10]It should also be noted that the Temporal marker *ma* appears to combine with the noun *ma* 'now', to form *mama* 'still'. While this is probably the historical source of *mama*, here it is treated simply as a unitary time adverb, and thus is discussed in section 13.2.1.

(1064) *yal=ta=na,*   *pina akkwan awa*
house=in=TOP   very many   person
puta=na=ma
be.PL:NONLOCUT:SUBJ=TOP=TEMP
'There are loads of people in the house.'

(1065) *Maximino cruz=ta* *tu-y=ma*
Maximino cross=in be:in:place-NONLOCUT=TEMP
'Maximino lives in Las Cruces.'

(1066) *na=na*   *min-tu-s=ma,*   *tilawa*
1SG.(NOM)=TOP think-IMPF-LOCUT=TEMP tomorrow
a-mtu-y
come-IMPF-NONLOCUT
'I think he/she will come tomorrow.'

With the first two examples here, the presence of *ma* clearly indicates that these propositions are predicated about now. Without *ma*, the first could be taken to mean 'she cooks', that she is the one who does the cooking. The second, without *ma*, would almost certainly be taken to mean that many people lived in the house, rather than that there were many people inside the house at this particular point in time. The second pair of examples also state that the propositions are true at precisely this moment, although in these two, because of the lexical items involved, the suggestion is that they were not true until recently — they imply respectively that Maximino moved to Las Cruces quite recently, and that I previously thought he or she was coming back some other time. Equally, in example (1059) above, *ma* indicates that prior to this time the speaker was intending to come, but now that someone else (the hearer) is not coming, he will not come either. In example (1061), the *ma* indicates that I will return on or just before the 7th of July; I will be here then, but this will be a change.

With single activities which occurred in the past, *ma* indicates that they were in some recent past, as in example (1060) above. It thus often co-occurs with the Terminative aspect, but even when combined with other tense and aspect markings, such as Past tense, or the Past Anterior construction, it indicates that the event was recent:

(1067) verano=na   *ap-ma-ti=ma,*   *alu*   *shi*   *ki-t*
summer=TOP enter-COMP-TERM=TEMP rain(1) NEG rain(2)-SV
ta-ma-y
GIVE-NEG-NONLOCUT
'Summer has arrived, it hasn't rained.'

(1068) *na=na*   *Pasto=ta-s*
1SG.(NOM)=TOP Pasto=in-from
a-ma-ta-w=ma
come-COMP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ=TEMP
'I came recently from Pasto.'

(1069) *na=na*   *kuzhu   kutil-kam-ma-t=ma*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   pig   skin-LEARN-COMP-PFPART=TEMP
        'I have learnt how to skin a pig.'

When used on a temporal subordinate clause as in example (1062), *ma* indicates the simultaneity of the two events more strongly that would otherwise be the case. It also often indicates a change in situation, similar to the examples with non-Past verbs above. Thus in the first sentence below *ma* implies a strong temporal link between the two clauses; and in the second, it also implies that, while my friends will be working when I return, they are not working now:

(1070) *ii-ka=na=ma,*   *kam-tawa*
        die-WHEN=TOP=TEMP   bury-OBLIG
        'When someone dies, they have to be buried.'

(1071) *na=na*   *uŋ=pa-s*   *kayl   kway-ka=na,*
        1SG.(NOM)=TOP   there=in(approx)-from   return   DROP-WHEN=TOP
        kal   ki-mtu-ani-zi=ma
        work(1)   work(2)-IMPF-FUT-NONLOCUT=TEMP
        'When I return from there, [my friends] will already be working.'

14.7   The Emphasis marker

The Emphasis marker, *ka*, is used to mark a contrastive focus, that is, an element of a sentence which a speaker feels is different from what the hearer would be expecting (cf. Givón 1990, chapter 16).[11] To mark an unexpected element, *ka* may be cliticized after a noun, pronoun or postpositional phrase, whether these are complements or adjuncts:

(1072) *Santiago=ka   pyan-ti-ti-s*
        Santiago=EMPH   hit-TERM-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'It was Santiago who hit me.'

(1073) *nu=ka   pyan-ti-ti-s*
        nu=EMPH   hit-TERM-PAST-LOCUT:UNDER
        'It was you who hit me.'

(1074) *us=ka*   *azhap-tu*
        3SG.(NOM)=EMPH   annoy-IMPFPART
        'He/she is the one who was annoying [someone].'

(1075) *us-a=ka   pyan-ti-ti-zi*
        3SG-ACC=EMPH   hit-TERM-PAST-NONLOCUT
        'It was him who got hit.'

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[11]This marker is formally similar to the focus marker *ka* in Inga Quechua (Levinsohn 1976:96).

(1076) ma=miŋ=ka   pyan kway-ta-w
        now=REST=EMPH hit   DROP-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
        'It was just now that I hit [someone].'

Thus sentence (1073), for example, was used after the sentence:

(1077) Carmen na-wa   pyan-shi-mtu
        Carmen 1SG-ACC   hit-DESID-IMPFPART
        'Carmen was wanting to hit me.'

In this case, while Carmen wanted to hit me, it was *you* who did hit me.

The element which is marked by the Emphasis marker is always found in initial position in its clause; indeed, when the element in contrastive focus is a complement, it is often the only complement expressed in the clause.

Cross-linguistically it has been noted that contrastive focus markers are often related historically to copulas (Givón 1974). Given this, it is interesting to note the formal identity between the *ka* "pseudo-copula" and the Emphasis marker *ka*.[12] Givón (1990:722) suggests that such similarities in languages stem from the origin of contrastive focus markers in cleft constructions, using relative clauses; however in Awa Pit, synchronically at least, the Emphasis marker cannot be analysed as a cleft construction. Aside from the apparent non-existence of true relative clause constructions of this type in Awa Pit (see section 10.4), in a cleft construction the copula is the main verb while the verb expressing the true predicate is subordinate — but in the Awa Pit construction in question, the Emphasis marker is non-finite, with the true predicate being a main verb. Thus while historically the Emphasis marker could, potentially, have developed from the *ka* pseudo-copula used in a cleft construction, synchronically it is simply a discourse particle.

If the Emphasis marker were indeed to have developed from the *ka* pseudo-copula, it is also interesting to compare this construction with that involving *ka* as an auxiliary verb discussed in section 11.2. As noted in that section, the distribution of this construction, and the differences from either the finite Imperfective or the standard Resultative construction, are unclear. The Emphasis marker can only be used with complements or adjuncts, never with verbs, and it is interesting to speculate that constructions with *ka* as an auxiliary are used when the speaker wishes to place a verb in contrastive focus. However extensive discourse studies would have to be carried out to test this hypothesis.

The Emphasis marker *ka* is thus used as a clitic to complements and adjuncts which a speaker wishes to place in contrastive focus — that is, when the speaker believes that the hearer has a particular idea in mind, and wishes to indicate that this is not true but that rather some other complement or adjunct is involved in a proposition, the speaker marks this unexpected element by cliticizing the Emphasis marker to it.

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[12]And also the complementizer *ka*; see section 10.2.2.

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