Paumarí

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Introduction

The Paumarí tribe is located in the State of Amazonas in Brazil. There are three main groups. Approximately 270 live on the Purus River, 50 on the Ituxi River and 200 on the Tapauá River. The latter group does not have contact with the other two groups. The Purus and Ituxi River groups have occasional contact with each other. They are all semi-nomadic fishermen travelling extensively within their own area. There are minor dialectal differences, mostly regarding vocabulary, among the three groups. The material used for this analysis was obtained during prolonged contact (1964–84) with the Paumarí living on the Purus River. Some members of this group had originated on the Ituxi River and the Sepatini River. Paumarí is classified as an Arauan language, possibly remotely related to the Arawakan family.

It appears that the Paumarí began to have regular contact with non-Indian travellers about 1900. During the past 50 years the number of Portuguese speaking settlers in the area has steadily increased. This increasing contact has led the Paumarí into a negative attitude towards their own language and culture and the adoption of many non-Indian beliefs and customs. For example, their houses are now all built on land, whereas traditionally they lived on raft houses; they have adopted local patterns of dress and use many imported items (cloth, cooking and fishing equipment, tools, kerosene, sugar, salt, etc.).

The language change is perhaps the most significant and disturbing. All of the Paumarí speak a complete mixture of Paumarí and Portuguese. A sentence is frequently a total mixture of both languages, the grammar of neither being preserved. Some of the Paumarí language spoken by the older people is no longer used or even known by the younger generation, yet no one has an adequate mastery of Portuguese grammar or vocabulary. This process is more advanced among the Paumarí on the Tapauá River,

where the present generation of teenagers and younger children no longer speak Paumari.

This analysis reflects the language, as far as possible, in its pre-modified form. Numerous texts (over 200) have been collected on tape, transcribed and analyzed. These were given by a cross-section of the people, old and young, men and women. Texts were mostly first person experiences, legends and letters. The person who gave the text was usually the one who helped to transcribe it and who frequently edited out the Portuguese and corrected the grammar that had been changed as a result of the mixture. Most texts have been further edited or corrected by someone other than the original speaker. In the initial stages there were no literate Paumari, but now the readers are able to check older texts and write short stories. Because the writers are consciously trying to write in one language there is less of a mixture than in the daily spoken language.

The process of acculturation and devaluation of the Paumari culture and language was very far advanced before the initial contact by Chapman and Mary Ann Odmark in 1964. Continuing contact was made possible through a contract between the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Indian Department (Fundação Nacional do Índio) of the Brazilian government.

We would like to acknowledge the contribution that has been made at different times on various aspects of the language by Mary Ann Odmark, Chapman's partner for many years in the Indian area, and by the following consultants: Joan Boswood, Eunice Burgess, Thomas Crowell, Irvine Davis, Robert Dooley, Joe Grimes, Ivan Lowe, and Mary Ruth Wise. For some of the morphosyntactic characteristics presented here, see Derbyshire (1986), which usually gives a more concise statement, but occasionally develops a topic more fully than this description does (e.g., case marking of nominals).

The language material for this paper was gathered by Chapman, who also did most of the analysis and preliminary writing. Derbyshire contributed to the analysis and writing of the final manuscript.

Syntax Of The Sentence Or Clause

1 Word order

The syntactically distinct clause types are: intransitive, transitive, ditransitive and copular-equative.

1.1 Intransitive. The basic word order of the intransitive clause is VS. The subject noun phrase obligatorily contains a demonstrative in the initial position. There is no other form of case-marking.

There is no overt marking to distinguish an intransitive active verb from an intransitive stative verb. The verb (frequently) and the demonstrative (always) agree in number, gender and class with the noun of the subject constituent (sects. 15.2 and 18.4).

(1)   soko-a-ki   hida   mamai
        wash-DETRANSVZR-NONTHEME   DEM,f   mother
        'Mother is washing.'

If the referent is retrievable from the context the subject noun phrase may be omitted. If the verb margin (final suffix) is -ki 'NONTHEME', the demonstrative is obligatorily retained and only the rest of the noun phrase is omitted.

(2)   o-ba-rari-hi
        1SG-put-down-THEME
        'I put it (my load) down.'

(3)   jaha-ki   ada
        good-NONTHEME   DEM,m
        'It is good (the palm nut).'

When the S is pragmatically marked for informational prominence the clause order becomes SV, and the demonstrative is then omitted (sect. 9.2.1). There continues to be person, number and noun class agreement between the noun and verb.

(4)   Morosi   va-a-kaira-ha-'a-ha
        Morosi   3PL-VBLZR-guava-distance-ASP-THEME
        'Morosi (and companions) went to get guava.'

There are further variations of constituent order, including peripheral constituents, which are discussed in section 9.2.

The main differences between intransitive and transitive clauses are:

—the object is obligatorily absent in an intransitive clause, whereas it is always structurally present in a transitive clause even though it is sometimes not overtly expressed.

—case-marking clitics occur in transitive clauses, but never in an intransitive clause.

—the 3SG. person prefix *bi-* occurs in transitive clauses as part of the ergative-marking system, but it never occurs in intransitive clauses.

—in the imperative mode the 2SG person suffix is omitted in intransitive clauses but occurs in transitive clauses.

1.2 Transitive. The basic word order is SVO. When this basic pattern is used, the ergative system always operates, so that the subject is marked by the enclitic *-a* 'ERG' and the object noun phrase has a demonstrative in the initial position (sect. 15.1).

In this constituent order the subject noun governs the person prefix on the verb for person and number, and the object noun governs the number and gender of the verb-final suffix and the demonstrative.

(5)   Dono-a   bi-ko'diraha-'a-ha   ada   isai   hoariha
       Dono-ERG   3SG-pinch-ASP-THEME,m   DEM,m   child   other
       'Dono pinched the other boy.'

The third person singular prefix *bi-* agrees with the subject. The masculine theme suffix *-ha* and the singular masculine demonstrative agree in gender and number with the object.

The subject and/or object phrases may be omitted in the surface structure when the context makes clear who the referent is, but the omitted phrase(s) must be considered structurally present since it/they still govern the number, gender, person and noun class agreement in the verb and/or demonstrative. In (6), the feminine form of the verb suffix *-hi* 'THEME' is governed by the omitted object noun referring to a species of palm fruit.

(6)   o-rako'da-hi
       1SG-pull:off-THEME,f
       'I pulled it off.'

There are two other constituent orders that frequently occur in transitive clauses: OVS and SOV. In both, the object occurs immediately before the verb and is marked by the enclitic *-ra* 'OBJ'. This signals that the accusative system is now operating, and it is mutually exclusive with the ergative system, so that the subject now does not receive any form of case-marking and can occur before the object or after the verb, but cannot occur in the immediately preverbal position (sect. 15.1). The pragmatic conditions under which these orders occur are discussed in section 9.2. In these *-ra* constructions, it is the subject that controls the number and gender agreement in the verb-final suffix and the demonstrative (see (7); in (8) the verb-final suffix is *-ki* 'NONTHEME', which is neutral as regards gender). A demonstrative never co-occurs with *-ra* in the object noun phrase in this preverbal position. See Chapman (1981) and Derbyshire (1983 and 1986).

(7)   maravi-ra   namonaha-hi   ida   mamai
        fan-OBJ   make-THEME,f   DEM,f   mother
        'Mother made a fan.'

(8)   mamai, amo'amo Vanda ai
        mother cousin   Vanda   depart

        ari-hi-na-ra   nofi-'i-ki
        1PL-AUX-DEP:INTRANS-OBJ   want-ASP-NONTHEME
        'Mother, cousin Vanda wants us to leave.'

If the object is plural and animate then the plural object pronoun obligatorily precedes the verb. A noun phrase object may also occur and usually precedes the pronoun. In that case, both the noun phrase and pronoun are usually tagged with *-ra*. This can result in either OVS order (9) or SOV order.

(9)   sorara-ra   va'o-ra   va-ni-'a-vini
        soldiers-OBJ   them-OBJ   3PL-say-TRNSTVZR-DEP:TRANS

        adani   imakhinava vi-'bami-ki
        DEM:PL   fellows   3PL-two-DESC
        'The two fellows said to the soldiers.'

The noun phrase part of the plural object may also occur following the verb, leaving the pronoun in the immediately preverbal position. In this case, only the pronoun has the *-ra* enclitic, but the noun phrase occurs with the plural demonstrative.

(10)   joma   va'o-ra   a-da-va   adani   sorara
        night   them-OBJ   1PL-strike-HORT   DEM:PL   soldier
        'Let's attack the soldiers by night.'

1.3 Ditransitive. The distinction between transitive and ditransitive clauses is that in the latter there is a double object construction.

The enclitic *-ra* 'OBJ' marks the (semantically) indirect object in the immediately preverbal position. The (semantically) direct object, i.e., patient, is tagged with another enclitic, *-a* 'demoted object' (DEMOT:O), or occurs with a demonstrative. In addition, the ditransitive verb is usually clearly marked as such by the presence of one or more derivational affixes (sect. 18.5.8).

The basic word order in ditransitive clauses is:

(S) OBJ-*ra* V AUX (DEM) DEMOT:O(-*a*)

The number, gender, person and noun class agreement remains the same as for a transitive clause. An auxiliary verb *hi-* follows the main verb and may be affixed for number, person, gender, noun class and theme, the latter agreeing with the element in the demoted object for gender. Should this be a complement clause, then the agreement marking is always feminine singular. The main verb always has a dependent suffix when followed by an auxiliary verb (sect. 18.8.2).

(11)   ho-ra   no'a-vini   hi-ki
        me-OBJ   give-DEP:TRANS   AUX-NONTHEME

        ihai-a
        medicine-DEMOT:O
        'She gave me medicine.'

(12)   Maria-ra   o-no'a-vini   hi-hi   ida
        Mary-OBJ   1SG-give-DEP:TRANS   AUX-THEME,f   DEM,f

        savaharo   vadi-ni
        turtle   arm-f
        'I gave Mary the turtle arm.'

In (12), inherent gender of 'turtle' is feminine, thus marking 'arm' as feminine also. For information concerning the choice of a thematic verb suffix see section 9.1.

Even when the demoted object is omitted, the agreement with the auxiliary verb affixation remains.

(13)   ho-ra   na-na'dohi-vini   hi-'a-ha
       me-OBJ   CAUS-ask-DEP:TRANS   AUX-ASP-THEME,m
       'She asked me about it (a dried up crab).'

The theme suffix is masculine singular to agree with the gender of 'crab'.
  The benefactive construction also follows this same pattern.

(14a)   i-ra   o-ka-raba-hi-vini
        2SG-OBJ   1SG-BEN-weave-BEN-DEP:TRANS

        ki-hi-ki   ida   varaja
        N:CLASS-AUX-NONTHEME   DEM,f   basket
        'I am weaving a basket for you.' (*varaja* is a member of the *ka-*
        noun class, *ki-* being a variant form, see section 15.2.)

An alternative and slightly more common way to express the benefactive
relationship is to use a transitive verb and a purpose phrase.

(14b)   o-ka-namonaha-'i-ki   hida
        1SG-N:CLASS-make-ASP-NONTHEME   DEM,f

        varaja   kada-imoni
        basket   2SG-for
        'I have made this basket for you.'

The purpose marker *-imoni* is the root of the particle *kaimoni*, which is
used to mark purpose clauses (sect. 1.6 and sect. 14.1.2).
  In a ditransitive clause the demoted object may be made more prominent
by fronting, but the agreement is unchanged.

(15)   pitani   vani   o-no'a-vini   hi-'i-hi
       part   CONTR   1SG-give-DEP:TRANS   AUX-ASP-THEME,f
       'I gave part of it (palm fruit (f)) to her.'

(16)   bi-rako'da-hi   pitani-a   ho-ra
       3SG-pull:off-THEME,f   part-DEMOT:O   me-OBJ

       no'a-'iana-hi
       give-again-THEME,f
       'She pulled it off and part she gave to me again.'

(17) ihai   hida   i-ra
      medicine   DEM,f   2SG-OBJ

      o-ka-vi-kha-vini   hi-ja
      1SG-BEN-COMIT-MOT-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
      'I've brought medicine for you.'

In (16), the enclitic -a occurs to signal the demoted object and in (17) the demonstrative *hida* performs the same function. These are, as noted above, the two common ways for distinguishing the demoted object constituent. Neither is necessary, however, when the constituent is fronted and followed by *vani* 'CONTR' (15), which has a highly marked pragmatic function (sect. 9.2.2).

Further variations of constituent order in transitive and ditransitive clauses are discussed in section 9.2, and the auxiliary verbs are treated in section 18.8.

1.4 Copular-equative. In an identificational or equative clause the two constituents may be juxtaposed or linked by the particle *mani*. *mani* functions at times as a free form copula and at other times as a suffix, but always in linking contexts. For example, it appears in both the question and answer of most polar interrogatives, in the response to an order, and also in linking larger grammatical units. This is discussed in more detail in sections 10, 14.1.3, and 18.6.12.

The two obligatory constituents can occur in either order: S COMPL (20) or COMPL S (19). The copula occurs between the two (18, 22). Occasionally, for emphasis, the S may occur before and after the COMPL (23).

(18) nahina   mani   hida
      what   COP   DEM,f
      'What is this?'

(19) kodi-papira   oni
      my-book   DEM,f
      'That is my book.'

(20) Kahaso   ni-Pamoari
      Kahaso   NEG-Paumarí
      'Kahaso was not a Paumarí.'

(21)   kada-ija'ari   ho
        your-people   1SG
        'I am one of your people.'

(22)   Paulo ka-isai   mani   i
        Paul POSSN-child   COP   2SG
        'You are Paul's child.'

(23)   ho-vani   José   ho
        1SG-CONTR   José   1SG
        'I am José.'

The equative clause frequently occurs as an embedded element in a clause.

(24)   nahina ida   i-nofi-ja
        what   DEM,f   2SG-want-IMMED
        'What do you want?'

(25)   kavari hida   o-nofi-ja
        scissors DEM,f   1SG-want-IMMED
        'I want these scissors.'

1.5 Word order of subordinate clauses. The word order of subordinate clauses generally follows the SVO or OV constituent order with OV predominating. Other orders occasionally occur.

One type of subordinate clause construction is marked by one of the dependent verb suffixes, *-vini* 'DEP. TRANS' or *-ni/-na*, 'DEP. INTRANS'. Other types have subordinating particles, such as *kaimoni* 'PURP' in (27), which express specific functions and which often co-occur with the dependent verb suffixes.

(26)   feijão-ra   o-rakhai-vini-ra   o-nofi-hi
        beans-OBJ   1SG-plant-DEP:TRANS-OBJ   1SG-want-THEME

        kaasi-a
        beach-OBL
        'I wanted to plant beans on the beach.'

In (27), the constitutents are: (V PRT DEM OBJ) OBJ-*ra* V.

(27)   a-vi-ga-hahavi-ja   kaimoni ida   ihi'ai hahavi oni-ni
       -3PL-know-all-IMMED PURP   DEM,f fruit all   name-f

       va'o-ra   ka-kahomara-'iana-vini
       them-OBJ   VBLZR-make:guess-again-DEP:TRANS
       'He makes them guess again for the purpose of their knowing the
       names of all the fruits.'

The stem of the verb 'know' is *oga*. In (27), the affix (normally a prefix)
vi- '3SG' is infixed and the stem-initial vowel changes to *a*.
       There are not normally more than two elements preceding subordinate
clause particles. The demonstrative immediately following links the whole
phrase in which it occurs to the preceding clause and not to what follows.
In general, these particles occur finally, but they may occur medially in the
subordinate clause, as in (27).
       For a fuller discussion of subordinate clauses see section 14.

1.6 Peripheral clause constituents. Peripheral constituents consist of
adverbial and noun phrases and subordinate clauses that function in an
oblique relation to the main predication element in the clause. They may
occur clause initial or clause final.
       There are usually not more than two peripheral elements in a clause.
When a subordinate clause occurs as one of them, it does not often have
more than two constituents. If a subordinating particle occurs, it is usually
in the constituent-final position, unless both subject and object are present
in a subordinate clause.
       These peripheral constituents cover a wide range of semantic functions,
including temporal, locative, accompaniment, instrument, purpose, reason
and manner.
       Temporal phrases are often clause initial (28). Temporal subordinate
clauses often occur after the main clause nucleus, especially when there is a
sequence of two temporal clauses (29).

(28)   bahi naothi-Ø-a   ai   ari-hi-'i-hi
       rain after-m-OBL   depart   1PL-AUX-ASP-THEME,f
       'After the rain we left.'

(29)   prima, kaasi hida   o-nako'di-ha-'iana-ja
       cousin beach DEM,f 1SG-seek-distance-again-IMMED

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i-naba'daha-ni               kaba'i
2SG-fish-DEP:INTRANS  while
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o-soko-a-na                                    naothi-ni-a
1SG-wash-DETRANSVZR-DEP:INTRANS  after-f-OBL
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'Cousin, I will go again to look for a beach while you are fishing and after I've done the washing.'

In (30), there is a sequence of two locative phrases in clause-initial position, while (31) shows a highly complex locative phrase preceding the main verb, which is the only other constituent of the main clause; the locative constituent has embedded in it a relative clause which contains another locative phrase, *jaha-ni bodini-a*.

(30)   hi-'ida,   'dako-a   a-ka-ga-'a-va
       SPECFR-DEM   lake-OBL   1PL-canoe-flee-ASP-HORT
       'Over there, to the lake let us flee by canoe.'

(31)   jara   anani   kidi-isai jaha-ni   bodi-ni-a
       non:Indian woman   her-child abdomen-f inside-f-OBL

       abini-ki   kani   gora-ni adamini-ni
       die-NONTHEME   place   house-f port-f

       a-ko-'omisi-'iana-hi
       1PL-canoe-dock-again-THEME
       'We docked again at the port of the house of the non-Indian woman who has a dead baby inside her.'

Examples follow of clause-initial and clause-final accompaniment (32, 33), instrument (34, 35), and manner (36, 37) phrases.

(32)   Ka'ajo khama a-o-kha-hi
       Ka'ajo with   1PL-away-MOT-THEME
       'With Ka'ajo we went.'

(33)   o-o-kha-ki-ho   avakadi-ania
       1SG-away-MOT-NONTHEME-1SG 2PL-with
       'I'll go with you.'

(34)   kodi-hado-a   o-n-oba-vini
        my-knife-OBL   1SG-CAUS-chop-DEP:TRANS
        'With my knife I chopped it (a tree).'

(35)   o-ka-'dava'dava-vini   vanami-a
        1SG-N:CLASS-splash:water-DEP:TRANS   paddle-OBL
        'I splashed her with a paddle (with water).'

(36)   barana-hi   vani-a   a-o-kha-hi
        calling-ADVBLZR   CONTR-OBL   1PL-away-MOT-THEME
        'Calling out we went' or 'We were calling as we went.'

(37)   a-kaikahi-'i-hi   ki'darahi-hi-a
        1PL-arrive-ASP-THEME   run-ADVBLZR-OBL
        'We arrived running.'

Purpose (38) and reason (39) are expressed by subordinate clauses and are usually found in the clause-final position.

(38)   kaasi   hida   o-na-ko'di-ha-ja
        beach   DEM,f   1SG-CAUS-look:for-distance-IMMED

        o-rakhai-ki   kaimoni
        1SG-plant-NONTHEME   purpose
        'I will look for a beach for me to plant on.'

(39)   Linda   ho-ra   kaja'oria-'i-ki
        Linda   me-OBJ   be:annoyed-ASP-NONTHEME

        o-fini-jora-'i-ni
        DETRANSVZR-fear-beforehand-ASP-DEP:INTRANS
        'Linda was annoyed with me because she was frightened beforehand.'

In a count of 300 main clauses over 50% had only one or two constituents. In the vast majority of cases they were verbal clauses, so that only the verb occurred, or the verb plus one other constituent, which might be subject, object, or a peripheral constituent. Another 30% had three or four constituents per clause. The remainder had between five and ten per clause.

Time, location and purpose are sometimes expressed as the direct object of a clause, rather than the oblique constituent one would expect. Examples of this are not common and appear almost exclusively in "old talk".

(40)   bi-a-va-kha-no-hi   ida   'dako   hoariha
        3SG-away-COMIT-MOT-arrive-THEME   DEM,f   lake   other
        'He arrived at the other lake.'

(41)   va-ka-na-kaikahi-ha-ha   ada
        3PL-N:CLASS-CAUS-arrive-distance-THEME   DEM,m

        nama-ja-ja   ka-jinabo-ni   ka-gora-na
        above-directional-directional   GEN-wasp-f   GEN-house-m

        ka-karaho
        N:CLASS-big
        'They arrived at the large house of the wasps above (i.e., in the
        after life place).'

(42)   safini   ava   mii-ni-ra
        sun   tree   extremity-f-OBJ

        a-na-maakari-rari-vini
        STATVZR-CAUS-near-meet-DEP:TRANS
        'They came near when the sun was in the tree tops.'

(43)   thoroni-hi   kaimoni-ra
        remove:guts-NOMLZR   purpose-OBJ

        o-na-siro-hi
        1SG-CAUS-break:open:turtle:shell-THEME
        'For the purpose of taking out guts, I'm opening up the turtle.'

2 Parataxis

Juxtaposition of verbs, often without nominal phrases, but linked by the
nonfinal intonation pattern and also by a meaning sequence, is quite
common. The final clause has falling intonation and may contain a nominal
phrase. The verbs all have the normal affixation and the noun phrases are
understood from the context.

(44)   a-oga-'i-hi,   a-ki'dama-'i-hi,
        1PL-flee-ASP-THEME   1PL-embark-ASP-THEME

adari-'i-hi,   kajo'atha-rari-'i-hi,   abono-ni
fall-ASP-THEME   knee-downwards-ASP-THEME   self-f

ka-na-hahani-ha-'i-hi
BEN-CAUS-laugh-ACTION-ASP-THEME
'We fled, we embarked, she fell down, she fell on her knees, she
laughed at herself.'

(45)   a-ka-rahoka-hi,   a-ka-kha-hi,
       1PL-N:CLASS-drag-THEME   1PL-canoe-MOT-THEME

       a-ka-kha-hi,   a-ka-rahoka-'iana-hi,
       1PL-canoe-MOT-THEME   1PL-canoe-drag-again-THEME

       a-ka-kha-rimanani-hi   va-ak-aasia-'a-ha
       1PL-canoe-MOT-stream-THEME   3PL-canoe-sink-ASP-THEME

       adani   kodi-isai
       DEM:PL   my-children
       'We dragged the canoe, we went, we went, we dragged again, we
       went along the stream and my children sank in their canoe.'

   Juxtaposition of noun phrases is less common. It usually occurs to clarify
an ambiguity or add explanatory information.

(46)   va-a-kha-'a-ha   adani   jara
       3PL-canoe-MOT-ASP-THEME   DEM:PL   non:Indian

       va-ka-ipohi-ki,   makhira ka'oa
       3PL-canoe-many-NONTHEME   men   only
       'There are many non-Indians coming, they are all men.'

(47)   kojahari-a   va-gahina-'a-ha,   moko
       banana:mush-OBL   3PL-receive-ASP-THEME   container

       itxa-ni-a   xikara ahapi-ni fori   hi-ki
       many:small-f-OBL   cup   size-f   be:like   AUX-NONTHEME

       va-gahina-'a-ha
       3PL-receive-ASP-THEME
       'They received banana mush, in vessels the size of a cup they
       received it.'

Discontinuous noun phrases also occur with the demonstrative fronted and the noun referent occurring clause medial or final.

(48)   ida   hanaja   kada-amia   hoja-hi
         DEM,f   where   your-mother   be-THEME
         'Where is your mother?'

(49)   ada-vani   hanaja a-vi-kha-'a-ha   vakadi-'bai
         DEM-CONTR   where   away-3PL-MOT-ASP-THEME their-food

         ari-ha-ki
         1PL-eat-DESC
         'Those ones, where have they gone whose food we ate?'

(50)   oniaro   imidia ahoro-rari-'i-ki   Siri
         S:EMPH,f first   sink-downwards-ASP-NONTHEME Siri
         'She was the first one to sink down (into the mud), it was Siri.'

A body part is usually put into the preverbal position and this may also produce a discontinuous construction.

(51)   Francisco-a   sa'a-ni   bi-a-gathi-'a-vini
         Francisco-ERG   hand-f   3SG-N:CLASS-grasp-ASP-DEP:TRANS

         hida   kodi-isai
         DEM,f   my-daughter
         'Francisco grasped my daughter by the hand' or 'Francisco grasped my daughter's hand.'

3 Ellipsis

In a discourse or dialogue the subject and object nominals are frequently omitted if the referent can be understood from the context. The context may be the immediate discourse or the social setting. Kinship terms may be used as referents, implying that the listener is familiar with the kinship system and the speaker's role in it. One person may be named to represent a whole group of participants.

When a native speaker, who is not the author, is checking a text, the checker is often unable to supply specific information. This shows that omitted material is not always recoverable, even by someone from the culture.

Even though the demonstrative and noun phrase (subject or object) following the verb may be deleted, the gender agreement shown by the form of the thematic verb suffix remains. And when a subject noun phrase is omitted, the verb continues to be marked for number and person to agree with the omitted subject. An example of a transitive verb in which both subject and object noun phrases have been omitted (underlying SVO order is implied) is:

(52)   bi-n-oba-'iana-hi
       3SG-CAUS-chop-again-THEME,f
       'She chopped it again.'

The feminine agreement on the thematic verb suffix -hi agrees with the number and gender of the omitted object, that is, 'palm tree'. This is unambiguous, since the text was about getting palm fruit. The prefix bi- '3SG' shows that the subject is third person. There were two possibilities in the text–a man, Paulo, or a woman, Ka'ajo. An intransitive verb marked for feminine gender by the thematic suffix occurs in the immediate context, also with an omitted subject. Both clauses refer to the same referent, so the bi- in the example given must refer to Ka'ajo.

The main verb cannot be deleted, nor are dummy verbs used, in coordinate sequences. The same verb may be repeated several times when the same action is described for different participants.

(53)   ovari   hiki   ni-varavara-ki,   ni-hoariha   jaboni
       S:EMPH   CONTR   NEG-talk-NONTHEME   NEG-other   also

       varavara-ki,   Vararibori   vani   ada   varavara-ha
       talk-NONTHEME   Vararibori   CONTR   DEM,m   talk-THEME,m

       afo-siaga
       ADVBLZR-following
       'That one he didn't speak, nor did the other one speak, it was Vararibori that came following that spoke.'

For the special pragmatic force of hiki 'CONTR.', see section 9.2.5. For normal usage of hiki as an auxiliary verb, see section 18.8.2.

In dialogue the imperative form of the verb 'give' is often ellipsed.

(54)   ho-ra   paha
       me-OBJ   water
       'To me water' or 'Give me some water.'

In a polar question, 'yes' or 'no' serves as a response without the need to repeat the verb. When teaching their language, however, native speakers insist on a full sentence.

(55)   i-ka-paha-ha-mani-ki-'i
       2SG-VBLZR-water-ACTION-Q-NONTHEME-2SG
       'Are you going to get water?'

The normal response is *ha'a* 'yes' or *iniani* 'no'. The full sentence would be:

(56)   ha'a,   o-ka-paha-ha-ki-ho
       yes   1SG-VBLZR-water-ACTION-NONTHEME-1SG
       'Yes, I am going to get water.'

Similarly with content questions the reply is frequently an incomplete sentence, giving only the information requested.

(57)   nahina   mani   hida   i-nofi-ja
       what   COP   DEM,f   2SG-want-IMMED
       'What do you want?'

The incomplete reply may be just a single noun such as *paha* 'water' instead of:

(58)   paha   mani   hida   o-nofi-ja
       water   COP   DEM,f   1SG-want-IMMED
       'I want some water.'

The question words may also occur with the remainder of the interrogative sentence ellipsed if the situation allows.

(59)   hana-ja
       where-directional
       'Where? (have they gone?)'

4 Reflexives and reciprocals

4.1 Reflexives. The reflexive construction has an obligatory object word *abonoi* 'self' which must agree with the subject in person and number. *abonoi* is an inalienably possessed noun and is conjugated:

abono-i	non-specified possessor
o-abono	1SG
i-abono-ni	2SG
0-abono-ni	3SG.f
0-abono-∅	3SG.m
ari-abono-∅ or a-abono-∅	1PL (dialect difference)
ava-abono-ni	2PL
va-abono-∅	3PL

This word occurs obligatorily immediately preceding the verb. Only the third person singular masculine is marked with the enclitic *-ra*.

(60)   abono-ra   na-noki-a-'a-ha
           self-OBJ   CAUS-see-DETRANSVZR-ASP-THEME
           'He showed himself.'

The verb is frequently benefactive in meaning and is potentially ditransitive, but the ditransitivizing affixes are not used.

(61)   mokitiro-a   o-abono
           mosquito:net-DEMOT:O 1SG-self

           o-ka-va-pavakari-ha-vini
           1SG-VBLZR-COMIT-buy-distance-DEP:TRANS
           'I bought myself the mosquito net.'

(62)   abono-ra   ni-'a-ha
           self-OBJ   say-TRNSTVZR-THEME
           'He said to himself.'

(63)   va-abono   va-ka-na-hahani-ha-'a-ha
           3PL-self   3PL-VBLZR-CAUS-laugh-ACTION-ASP-THEME
           'They laughed at themselves.'

(64)   abono-ra   ka-jorai-kaimoni-vini
       self-OBJ   POSSN:VBLZR-mat-PURP-DEP:TRANS
       '(He broke off some leaves) in order to make himself a mat.'

(65)   o-abono   o-ka-vi-'bai-ha-vini
       1SG-self 1SG-BEN-COMIT-food-ACTION-DEP:TRANS
       'I went to get myself food.'

(66)   abono-ni   ko-'bai-ha-'i-hi
       self-f   POSSN:VBLZR-food-ACTION-ASP-THEME
       'She is preparing food for herself.'

It should be noted that if the beneficiary and the subject are not the same referent then the normal object pronoun occurs and the clause is no longer reflexive, but a simple transitive construction.

(67)   ho-ra   ko-'bai-ha-'i-hi
       me-OBJ   POSSN:VBLZR-food-ACTION-ASP-THEME
       'She prepared food for me.'

It is not possible to say 'I cut myself.' The body part needs to be specified in a normal transitive construction.

(68)   o-sa'a   hida   o-n-oba-ja
       1SG-hand   DEM,f   1SG-CAUS-chop-IMMED
       'I've chopped my hand.'

This is the only reflexive construction in the language, there being no verbal derivational affixes that perform this function nor any reflexive pronominal possessor form.

4.2 Reciprocals. The reciprocal construction is formed by using the reflexive form *abono* in conjunction with the verb affix sequence *ka-* . . . *-khama* 'DISTRIBUTIVE' (sect. 18.6.7). The subject and the reflexive object form agree in person and number.

(69)   va-abono   va-ka-nofi-khama-vini
       3PL-self   3PL-DISTRIB-like-DISTRIB-DEP:TRANS
       'They like each other.'

(70)   ari-abono   a-a-karaga-khama-vini
        1PL-self   1PL-DISTRIB-find-DISTRIB-DEP:TRANS
        'We found each other.'

(71)   abono-i   ka-nagaha-rari-khama-vini
        self-NONSPECFC   DISTRIB-throw:at-down-DISTRIB-DEP:TRANS
        'They were throwing (wet sand) at each other.'

Reciprocal verbs are potentially ditransitive and a demoted object may occur (cf. the reflexive clause (61) in section 4.1). In the following example *vakadinahina* is a demoted object, this signalling that *vaabono* is semantically the recipient or beneficiary.

(72)   va-abono   a-va-ko-ga-khama-vini
        3PL-self   know-3PL-DISTRIB-know-DISTRIB-DEP:TRANS

        hi-ki   ida   vakadi-nahina
        AUX-NONTHEME   DEM,f   their-things
        'They reciprocally knew each other's things.'
        (i.e., 'They shared each other's possessions.')

5 Passives

The passive construction is clearly intransitive and differs from the corresponding active (transitive) construction in the following ways:

a) Neither the ergative nor object marking enclitics occur.

b) The 3SG prefix *bi-*, associated with the ergative case-marking system, does not occur.

c) The object of the active clause becomes the subject of the passive, and an optional agentive phrase marked by the enclitic *-a* may occur. That this is not the ergative marker is clear from the postverbal position that this constituent has in the passive construction.

d) There is an auxiliary verb *hi*, which co-occurs with one of two types of subordinate verb form, either a nominalized form, marked by the suffix *-hi* 'NOMLZR' (74), or a dependent clause marked by the suffix *-ni/-na* 'DEP:INTRANS' (78) (sect. 14.1). It is always the dependent intransitive suffix, never the dependent transitive, that occurs in this construction.

Example (73) shows an active clause and (74) is its corresponding passive clause.

(73) mina'di   vani-a   bi-n-oba-'iana-hi
      electric:eel CONTR-ERG   3SG-CAUS-shock-again-THEME

      ida   Kasai
      DEM,f   Kasai
      'The eel shocked Kasai again.'

(74) oba-hi   hi-'iana-hi   ida   Kasai   mina'di-a
      shock-NOMLZR   AUX-again-THEME   DEM,f   Kasai   eel-by
      'Kasai was shocked again by the eel.'

The phrase *mina'di-a* is optionally stated in the last example. The object of the main clause may be the subject of the passive construction in an embedded subordinate clause.

(75) bi-noki-'a-ha   ada   isai anana-hi
      3SG-see-ASP-THEME   DEM,m   boy   bite-NOMLZR

      hi-na
      AUX-DEP:INTRANS
      'He saw the boy being bitten.'

Note that: 1) *'ada isai'* is the OBJ of the main verb, and 2) the last part is a dependent passive clause; it does not have subject or object nominals or an agentive phrase.

The next two examples contrast two forms of the passive in an embedded subordinate clause.

(76) ni-o-noki-ki   ida   hado o-sa-hi
      NEG-1SG-see-NONTHEME   DEM,f   knife away-take-NOMLZR

      hi-ni
      AUX-DEP:INTRANS
      'I did not see the knife being taken away.'

(77) o-nofi-ki   ida   hado
      1SG-want-NONTHEME   DEM,f   knife

o-sa-mai-ni
away-take-nearby:house-DEP:INTRANS
'I want the knife taken to the other house.'

In (77) the auxiliary may not occur. Its obligatory absence deletes the agent from the picture. In (76) the underlying structure more clearly implies an unspecified agent.

The object of a main clause may be the agent of an embedded passive clause.

(78) siro-a   bi-kaja'oria-vini
      species:of:bird-ERG   3SG-be:annoyed:at-DEP:TRANS

      hi-ki   ada   kasi'i katavahari
      AUX-NONTHEME   DEM,m   toucan

      ha-ni   hi-na   ada
      eat-DEP:INTRANS,f   AUX-DEP:INTRANS,m   DEM,m

      va-nafa-na
      3PL-egg-m
      'The birds were annoyed at the toucans that their eggs were being
      eaten (by toucans)' or 'The birds were annoyed at their eggs being
      eaten by the toucans.'

The phrase *ada kasi'i katavahari* 'the toucans' is the object of the main verb. That phrase is not repeated in the passive construction but the demonstrative *ada* which occurs preceding *va-nafa-na* 'their eggs' is the same referent, this time as agent. A case-marking enclitic and a demonstrative never co-occur on the same constituent, so the agent is morphologically unmarked. Both kinds of birds are masculine. The *-na* occurring on the second auxiliary verb, *hi-na*, is masculine in agreement with the agent 'the toucans'. The *-na* occurring in *va-nafa-na* 'their eggs' is masculine in agreement with the possessor, *siro*. The word *-nafa* 'egg' is feminine and thus *-ni* on the verb *ha-ni* 'eat' is also feminine to agree with the eggs. (See fuller discussion of gender in section 15.2).

Sometimes the agent of a passive construction remains unspecified, either because it is unknown to the speaker, or because he does not wish to reveal the information, or simply because the context makes it clear, as in (79).

(79) hirari kara'o-hi   hi-ki
      pig   shoot:with:gun-NOMLZR AUX-NONTHEME

      sipatihi-ra ha-vini bi-osani-vini
      bananas-OBJ eat-DEP:TRANS 3SG-blame-DEP:TRANS
      'The pig was shot because he blamed it for eating the bananas.'

On one occasion a borrowed knife was returned to its owner with the
blade severely dented. A third party gave a brief discourse, almost entirely
in the passive, suggesting how this might have happened. The following two
examples are from this text:

(80a) ba-jarona   vahabini oni   rida
       NONSPECFC-bone maybe   DEM,f   be:dented

       ni-'a-ni   hi-ja
       AUX-TRNSTVZR-DEP:INTRANS AUX-IMMED
       'Maybe it was by a bone that it was dented.'

(80b) riha-i   hi-ni   vahabini
       lend-NOMLZR AUX-DEP:INTRANS maybe

       ba-jarona   oba-ni   hi-ni
       NONSPECFC-bone chop-DEP:INTRANS AUX-DEP:INTRANS
       'While it was lent maybe it was chopped by a bone.'

In (80a) the agentive phrase is an equative clause (*bajarona vahabini oni*),
so the enclitic *-a* 'by' does not occur. In (81), the reason clause takes the
form of a question. This question can be answered with either an active
(82) or passive (83) construction.

(81) niha   ni-na   mani ida
      why/how AUX-DEP:INTRANS,m COP   DEM,neut

      na-abini-na   hi-ja
      CAUS-die-DEP:INTRANS,m AUX-IMMED
      'How come it (the cock) was caused to die?'

(82) masi vani-a   bi-anani-ra   ada
      bat   CONTR-ERG 3SG-bite-IMMED,m DEM,m
      'A bat bit him.'

(83)   masi-a   bi-anani-vini   mani   ida
       bat-ERG   3SG-bite-DEP:TRANS   COP   DEM,neut

       na-abini-na   hi-ja
       CAUS-die-DEP:INTRANS,m   AUX-IMMED
       'Because a bat bit him (cock) he was caused to die.'

In (81), both occurrences of *na-* 'DEP:INTRANS,m' refer to the cock. The
-ja 'IMMED' is neutral because it shows grammatical agreement with the
verbal question complement clause. Similarly, *ida* is the neutral form within
the question verb complement clause, agreeing in gender with the
complement clause. All sentential complements and subordinate clauses are
neutral as to gender, but it is the feminine form that is used (sect. 14.6).
   In the following example no subject may occur. That is, there is no
possible agent to the sun becoming cooler. Perhaps this is a semantic
restriction rather than a grammatical one.

(84)   safini-ra   a-na-pahisiri-vini
       sun-OBJ   STATVZR-CAUS-cold-DEP:TRANS
       '(She wanted) the sun to become cool.'

6 Causatives

Causatives are discussed in greater detail in section 18.5.2. The causative
prefix *na-/ni-/no-/n-* is one of a number of derivational affixes which may
function alone or in conjunction with others.
   The causative may be prefixed to almost any intransitive verb. The
intransitive verb + causative constitutes a transitive construction, the
subject being the causer and the object the one who performs the action or
is the subject of the state.

(85a)   txina-ki   hida   ihi'ai
        sweet-NONTHEME   DEM,f   fruit
        'This fruit is sweet.'

(85b)   bi-na-txina-ki   hida   ihi'ai
        3SG-CAUS-sweet-NONTHEME   DEM,f   fruit
        'She caused the fruit to be sweet.' (i.e., 'She sweetened the fruit.')

(86a) asara-ki   ada   isai
       cry-NONTHEME   DEM,m   child
       'The boy cried.'

(86b) bi-na-asara-ki   ada   isai
       3SG-CAUS-cry-NONTHEME   DEM,m   child
       'He caused the boy to cry.'

For more complex *na-* causative constructions, in which the subject is an equative clause (sentential complement), with further embedding of subordinate clauses within the equative clause, see section 14.2.

There are two forms of the causative which may be applied to the verb of motion *kha-* and its derivations: *na-* is used to indicate that the subject and object are both involved in the movement; *ra-* is used when only the object moves.

(87)   bi-a-ni-kha-'i-hi   ida   hado
       3SG-away-CAUS-MOT-ASP-THEME   DEM,f   knife
       'He went to fetch the knife.'
       (i.e., 'He went and caused the knife to come.')

(88)   bi-a-ra-kha-'i-hi   ida   hado
       3SG-away-CAUS-MOT-ASP-THEME   DEM,f   knife
       'He handed over the knife.'
       (i.e., 'He remained and the knife went.')

There is a third prefix in this series, the comitative *va-/vi-*, which functions as a transitivizer similarly to the causative affixes described above, but with a specifically comitative meaning involved.

(89)   bi-a-vi-kha-'i-hi   ida   hado
       3SG-away-COMIT-MOT-ASP-THEME   DEM,f   knife
       'He took the knife.' (i.e., 'He went and the knife went with him.')

It is not possible to use the causative prefix with transitive verbs, but it is possible, first to detransitivize the transitive stem, and then use the causative prefix in conjunction with the benefactive affixes which ditransitivize an intransitive stem. This construction is discussed more fully in section 18.5.2. The set of possibilities, starting with a transitive verb, is shown in the following examples.

(90)   bi-noki-hi   ida   gora
       3SG-see-THEME   DEM,f   house
       'She saw the house.'

(91)   noki-a-hi   ida   gora
       see-DETRANSVZR-THEME   DEM,f   house
       'The house is visible.'

(92)   bi-na-noki-a-hi   ida   gora
       3SG-CAUS-see-DETRANSVZR-THEME   DEM,f   house
       'He caused the house to become visible.'

(93)   ho-ra
       me-OBJ

       Ø-na-noki-a-hi-vini
       DITRANSTVZR-CAUS-see-DETRANSVZR-DITRANSTVZR-DEP:
       TRANS

       hi-hi   ida   gora
       AUX-THEME   DEM,f   house
       'He showed me the house.'

The only way to express a causative action with a transitive verb is to use the verb *honaria* 'order' as the main verb and express the action caused as a subordinate clause. This verb can also be used with intransitive verbs to form this semantically restricted type of causative.

(94)   bi-honaria-vini   hi-ki   ida
       3SG-order-DEP:TRANS   AUX-NONTHEME   DEM,f

       isai   paha-ra   'avi-vini
       child   water-OBJ   drink-DEP:TRANS
       'She ordered the child to drink the water.'

Direct speech with an imperative verb form may also be used to express this type of causative.

(95)   i-o-sa-mai-Ø   bana   hida
       2SG-away-take-nearby:house-IMP   FUT   DEM,f

hado   ho-ra   ni-'a-hi
knife   me-OBJ   say-TRNSTVZR-THEME
' "Take the knife across to the other house," she said to me' or
'She told/ordered me to take the knife across to the other house.'

7 Comparatives and equatives

7.1 Comparatives. It is difficult to say if there was ever any specific comparative construction at phrase level. The Paumarí have used the Portuguese word *mais* 'more' for a long time (over 25 years) to make relative contrasts in descriptive adjectives, such as 'big', 'bigger'.

(96)   karaho-ki   ida   gora
        big-DESC   DEM,f   house
        'The house is big.'

(97)   mais   karaho-ki   ida   va-gora-na
        more   big-DESC   DEM,f   3PL-house-m
        'Their house is bigger.'

If shown two similar objects, the Paumarí will describe one as 'big' and other as 'small' without any overt contrastive marker. If a bigger object is shown, then one previously described as 'big' becomes 'medium-sized' and the new item 'big'. They also resort to root reduplication to multiply possible distinctions where no separate words exist. For example, someone may describe an object as 'red'. When a different red is shown that more nearly approximates to his idea of 'redness', then the first evaluation is modified.

(98)   nadara-ki   ida   makari
        red-DESC   DEM,f   cloth
        'The cloth is red.'

(99)   nadaradara-ki   hida   makari
        almost:red-DESC   DEM,f   cloth
        'This cloth is almost red.'

(100)   nadara-ka'oa-ki   hida   makari
        red-really-DESC   DEM,f   cloth
        'This cloth is really red.'

There are a few contexts in which the verb *rada-* 'pass' is used to make a contrast, but not all native speakers accept this.

Another expression which allows for a few substitutions but is not generally acceptable to all speakers or in all contexts is:

(101) (?*) ho-vani   khama o-makamaka-ki
             1SG-CONTR with   1SG-dirty-DESC
             'I am more dirty.'

The contrast is not expressed overtly, but from the context the comparison is understood. If stated, it would be 'you are only a little dirty.'

(102) i-vani   i-makamaka-pa'itxi-ki
       2SG-CONTR   2SG-dirty-little-DESC
       'You are only a little dirty.'

An alternative would be to use the negative form of the root *fori* 'be like' to express the comparison. Example (103) shows the use of *fori* in a simple interrogative statement with its more basic equative meaning (sect. 7.2), and (104) shows the use of its negative form in a statement of comparison.

(103) ho-fori   i-hi-mani-ja?
       1SG-be:like 2SG-AUX-Q-IMMED
       'Are you like me?'

(104) ho-fori   i-hi-ri-hi,   ho-vani   khama
       1SG-be:like 2SG-AUX-NEG-THEME 1SG-CONTR with

       o-makamaka-ki
       1SG-dirty-DESC
       'You are not like me, I am dirtiest.'

7.2 Equatives. The more basic meaning of the root *fori* 'be like' is equative (cf. sect. 7.1).

(105) bano   na'baha-ki   hi-hada   i'oa
       piranha many:big-DESC SPECFR-DEM,m *tambaqui*

       na'baha-na fori   hi-ha-ki
       size-m   be:like AUX-PL-NONTHEME
       'There were many large piranhas, like the size of *tambaqui* (species of fish).'

8 Coordination

8.1 Phrase coordination. To coordinate a list of noun phrases the auxiliary verb *hi* 'be' occurs following the final noun. If it is a list of people, *hi* has the plural person prefix.

(106)　a-o-kha-hi　　　　　　　ho-vani,　　Ba'aha, Ka'ajo
　　　　1PL-away-MOT-THEME　1SG-CONTR　Ba'aha　Ka'ajo

　　　　ari-hi-na
　　　　1PL-AUX-DEP:INTRANS
　　　　'We went, we being Ba'aha, Ka'ajo and I.'

If the final item in the list is a member of the *ka-* NOUN CLASS, or the participants are in a canoe, then the *ka-* agreement also occurs with the main verb and the auxiliary (sects. 15.2; 18.6.2).

(107)　kodi-abi'i-a　　　bi-a-ka-vi-kha-hi
　　　　my-father-ERG　　3SG-away-N:CLASS-COMIT-MOT-THEME

　　　　ida　　　kidi-hado, abiha, kodahi, vanami ki-hi-ki
　　　　DEM,f his-knife　arrow　bow　　paddle N:CLASS-AUX-DESC
　　　　'My father took his knife, arrow, bow and paddle.'

　　Example (106) shows phrase coordination in the subject constituent and (107) shows linking of phrases in the object constituent.

　　There is no specific construction for 'or' coordination between nouns. For example, when a child is born they do not ask whether it is a boy or a girl. They choose one possibility and leave the hearer to confirm or correct that choice.

(108)　gamo　　isa-ni　mani　ida
　　　　woman　child-f　COP　DEM,f
　　　　'Is it a girl?'

(109)　iniani, makhira ada
　　　　no　　 man　　 DEM,m
　　　　'No, it is a man.'

8.2 Clause coordination. Coordination of clauses is mainly by juxtaposition, but several coordinating particles and affixes also occur.

A sequence of events is usually shown by a series of independent juxtaposed clauses. Each nonfinal clause has level or rising intonation and the final clause has falling intonation. The completive aspect suffix optionally occurs on medial clauses and usually occurs on the final one.

(110)   . . . o-ni-'a-ha-hi,
        . . . 1SG-say-TRNSTVZR-distance-THEME

        a-oga-'i-hi,
        1PL-flee-ASP-THEME

        a-ki-'dama-'i-hi,   adari-'i-hi,
        1PL-canoe-embark-ASP-THEME   fall-ASP-THEME

        kajo'atha-rari-'i-hi,   abono-ni
        kneel-down-ASP-THEME   self-f

        ka-na-hahani-ha-'i-hi
        VBLZR-CAUS-laugh-ACTION-ASP-THEME
        ' ". . . ," I said, we fled, we embarked in the canoe, she fell, she went down on her knees, she laughed at herself.'

Simultaneous events may also be represented by two juxtaposed independent clauses with the thematic suffix *-hi/-ha* 'THEME,f/m'.

(111)   a-ka-'ajihi-'i-hi   a-vi-kha-'a-ha
        1PL-canoe-depart-ASP-THEME   away-3PL-MOT-ASP-THEME
        'As we departed they were going.'

The particle *kaba'i* 'while', which is described in section 14.1.2 as a subordinating particle, also occurs between two independent clauses marking a simultaneous relationship. The pause occurs after *kaba'i* in the subordinate clause and before it in a coordinating relationship.

(112)   bi-ka-na-hahani-ha-'i-hi,   kaba'i
        3SG-VBLZR-CAUS-laugh-ACTION-ASP-THEME   while

        va-a-kha-'a-ha   adani   jara
        3PL-canoe-MOT-ASP-THEME   DEM:PL   non:Indian
        'She was laughing while the non-Indians were coming.'

The particle *naothinia* 'after', which is also described in section 14.1.2 as a subordinating particle, occurs between two independent clauses showing a

sequential relationship. The pause in the coordinating relationship occurs before the particle.

(113)   a-kasisiha-hi,   naothi-ni-a   vara
        1PL-smoke-THEME   after-neut-OBL   talk

        va-kha-ni-'a-ha   adani   kodi-isai
        3PL-INTRANS-AUX-ASP-THEME   DEM:PL   my-child

        ka-abi'i
        GEN-father
        'We smoked and afterwards my child's father conversed
        (i.e., my husband and others conversed.)'

The adversative relationship is obtained by the juxtaposition of two clauses, the first having the final suffix *-hi/-ha* 'THEME' and the second clause having the 'NONTHEME' suffix *-ki* and the negating proclitic *ni-*.

(114)   o-nokha-ha,   o-nokha-ha,   ni-kaikahi-ki
        1SG-wait-THEME   1SG-wait-THEME,   NEG-arrive-NONTHEME
        'I waited and waited, but he didn't arrive.'

(115)   o-ni-'a-ha-'a-ha,
        1SG-say-TRNSTVZR-distance-ASP-THEME,m

        a-ka-'ajihi-'a-va,   ni-o-athi-ra
        1PL-canoe-depart-ASP-HORT   NEG-1SG-word-OBJ

        gathani-'i-ki
        reply-ASP-NONTHEME
        'I said (to him), "Let's go," but he didn't answer me.'

The particle *jaboni* 'also' coordinates two similar events with different participants. It always follows the second clause in the coordinate sequence. The repetition of the event may be overt (116) or implied from the context (117).

(116)   ni-bi-nofi-ki   ni-o-nofi-ki
        NEG-3SG-want-NONTHEME   NEG-1SG-want-NONTHEME

jaboni   safini-ra   a-na-pahisiri-vini
also   sun-OBJ   STATVZR-CAUS-cold-DEP:TRANS
'She didn't want, and I didn't want also (to wait for) the sun to get cooler.'

(117)   ihai-a   bi-no'a-hi   paha-ra
        medicine-DEMOT:O   3SG-give-THEME   water-OBJ

        o-'avi-hi   jaboni
        1SG-drink-THEME   also
        'She gave him medicine (which he took with water) and I also drank water.'

In a similar way there are two verb suffixes -roni 'while, still' (118, 119) and -mani 'COP' (120) which serve to link two events within a sentence.

(118)   vi-gai-mori-'a-ha,   Algentina   khama
        3PL-MOT-uphill-ASP-THEME   Algentina   with

        a-ka-naba'daha-'afo-roni-'i-hi
        1PL-canoe-fish-stationary-while-ASP-THEME
        'They went up the bank, while Algentina and I remained in the canoe fishing.'

(119)   vi-gai-mora-ha-ha   ho-vani
        3PL-MOT-uphill-DUR-THEME   1SG-CONTR

        o-ko-'ofi-roni-'i-hi
        1SG-canoe-stationary-while-ASP-THEME
        'They went up the bank while I remained in the canoe.'

The particle mani 'COP' is also described in sections 1.4, 14.1.3 and 18.6.12. In each construction it appears to function semantically as a linking device. It may also occur as a verb suffix with a similar function.

(120)   'oma-na   bi-honaria-ha,
        lie:down-DEP:INTRANS,m   3SG-order-THEME

        'oma-mani-ha.   raofa-na   bi-honaria-ha,
        lie:down-COP-THEME   jump-DEP:INTRANS   3SG-order-THEME

raofa-mani-ha
jump-COP-THEME
'He ordered him (a circus lion) to lie and he lay.
He ordered him to jump, and he jumped.'

The particle (it is also a third person pronoun—see section 16) *oniani* with the enclitic *-a* 'OBL' or the demonstrative *ida* '3SG, neut' may function as a coordinator between independent (121, 122) or dependent (123, 124) clauses with a 'thus' meaning. (For another related linking fuction of *oniania*, see section 21.2.)

(121)   txaga-hi   ida   o-matha   oniani-a
        stabbing:pain-THEME   DEM,f   1SG-neck   thus-OBL

        o-a'aihota-'i-hi
        1SG-better-ASP-THEME
        'My neck gave a sharp stabbing pain, thus I was better.'

(122)   o-ka'da'di hida   ka-'bana-ja   oniani   ida
        1SG-head   DEM,f   N:CLASS-pain-IMMED   thus   DEM,neut

        ho-ra   ni-'oma-ja
        1SG-OBL   CAUS-lie:down-IMMED
        'My head aches, thus it causes me to lie down.'

(123)   dai-ni-ra   va-adari-vini   oniani-a   va'o-ra
        load-f-OBJ   COMIT-fall:over-DEP:TRANS   thus-OBL   3PL-OBJ

        a-noki-roni-vini
        1PL-see-still-DEP:TRANS
        'She fell with her load, thus we remained watching them.'

(124)   i-ra   kanajajori-vini   oniani   ida   nahina-ra
        2SG-OBJ   hinder-DEP:TRANS   thus   DEM,neut   thing-OBJ

        i-namonaha-ra-vini   hi-ja
        2SG-CAUS:make-NEG-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
        'She hindered you, thus you got nothing done.'

There is no specific construction for 'or' coordination between independent clauses. A question is asked presenting one of the alternatives and the hearer confirms the assumption or corrects the speaker.

(125)   banini   hi-mani-ja   ida   isai
        be:born AUX-Q-IMMED   DEM,f   child
        'Has the child been born?'

(126)   iniani, banini   hi-ri-hi   kaho
        no   be:born AUX-NEG-THEME   yet
        'No, it hasn't yet been born.'

Two subordinate clauses may also occur in a juxtaposed position to show an 'or' relationship between them. The alternatives are stated with the same verb; the first is usually negative containing the negative suffix -*ri*, while the second clause is in the positive form.

(127)   ni-bi-oga-ki   kaho ida   kidi-aajo-a
        NEG-3SG-know-NONTHEME   yet   DEM,neut   his-brother-ERG

        bi-akariaka-ra-vini   bi-akariaka-'a-vini
        3SG-reconcile-NEG-DEP:TRANS   3SG-reconcile-ASP-DEP:TRANS
        'He didn't yet know if his brother was reconciled to him or not.'

9 Pragmatic and discourse characteristics

Certain types of discourse-conditioned phenomena are referred to in other sections. See especially sections 13 (anaphora), 16 (pronouns), and 21.2 (particles). Here, we will describe some of the devices used to express varying degrees of pragmatically-motivated prominence marking. This is mainly in relation to noun phrases, demonstratives and pronouns, where a particular referent is highlighted (Chapman 1981). We begin first, however, with choices relating to certain verb suffixes, which signal prominence and information status of the complete clause in the discourse context.

9.1 Verb marking to express prominence and information status of the clause. The verb-final suffixes (sect. 18.6.1) have a variety of functions, but they primarily indicate the status of the information being conveyed in that predication in relation to the whole discourse. Thus, -*hi/-ha* 'THEME, f/m' is used mainly for primary, foregrounded information. This is normally information that is on the main theme or event line of mono-logue/narrative-type discourse. It is given additional prominence (that is, marked as being especially important) by the co-occurrence of the aspect suffix -'*i/-'a* (sect. 18.2). In (128), the first clause has the final thematic suffix, -*ha*, without the aspect suffix, but the second clause has both, -'*i-hi*, thus signalling that while both clauses are on the main event line, the second is more important in relation to that part of the discourse.

(128)   vi-gai-mora-ha-ha   ho-vani
       3PL-MOT-uphill-DUR-THEME,m   1SG-CONTR

       o-ko-'ofi-roni-'i-hi
       1SG-canoe-stationary-while-ASP-THEME,f
       'They went up the bank while I remained in the canoe.'

The use of -hi/-ha is not, however, restricted to foregrounded/main event clauses. It occurs also in explanatory (129) and general setting (130) clauses which give background information, when this information is considered by the speaker to be important to the discourse.

(129)   ihamahi-'a-ha   ada   Dono
       be:angry-ASP-THEME   DEM   Dono
       'Dono was angry.'

(130)   pororo-ha   ada   bahi
       black-THEME   DEM   rain
       'The rain was black.'

More generally, background information (which includes description, negation, purpose, cause and effect, and temporal and locational settings, as well as explanation and general setting) is found in clauses with the verb-final suffixes -ki 'NONTHEMATIC', -vini 'DEP:TRANS', or -ni/-na 'DEP:INTRANS, f/m'. The latter two 'DEP' suffixes usually function as subordinate clause markers, but they can also occur in main clauses (sects. 14.1.3 and 18.8.2). For specific functions of -ki, see sections 12, 14.3 and 18.6.1. In (131), there are two 'DEP' suffixes, -ni and -vini, both marking subordinate clauses; the (syntactic) main verb is the auxiliary hi, which has the -ki suffix, indicating that the whole sentence constitutes background information.

(131)   nama-ni   makamaka-ni   hi-ki
       surface-f   be:dirty-DEP:INTRANS   AUX-NONTHEME

       o-soko-ra-vini
       1SG-wash-NEG-DEP:TRANS
       'The surface is dirty because I haven't washed it.'

In dialogue and quoted direct speech clauses in narrative discourse, the verb-final suffix -ja/-a/-ra 'IMMED' (sect. 18.6.1) occurs, except where imperative forms are appropriate.

(132) prima, kaasi hida   o-nako'di-ha-'iana-ja
       cousin beach DEM,f   1SG-seek-distance-again-IMMED
       'Cousin, I will go again to look for a beach.'

9.2 Noun phrase marking to express prominence in relation to participant reference. There are five principal devices used to highlight noun phrase referents: variation in the order of clause constituents (9.2.1); postposing of the particle *vani* 'CONTRAST, SELECTION' to the noun phrase (9.2.2); placement of demonstrative in preverbal position (9.2.3); use of special subject-emphasis pronouns (9.2.4); and the use of certain forms of *hi* 'AUX' immediately following the noun phrase to express a contrastive focus function (9.2.5).

9.2.1 Variation in the order of clause constituents. The basic orders of clause constituents are (intransitive) VS and (transitive) SVO (sects. 1.1 and 1.2). Variations from these orders result in one or both of the S and O nominals being marked as either more prominent or less prominent than in the unmarked (basic) orders. Another common order in transitive clauses is OVS (133), in which the O is given more prominence as a marked topic by being fronted, and the S is demoted to postverbal position; the O is also morphologically marked by the *-ra* case-marking enclitic (sects. 1.2 and 15.1). Both the S and O nominals can be further demoted by being omitted from the clause (134).

(133) i'oa-ra   na-hado-ha   ada   kodi-abi'i
       tambaqui-OBJ   CAUS-knife-THEME   DEM,m   my-father
       'My father cut the *tambaqui* fish.'

(134) va-nako'di-ha
       3PL-seek:for-THEME
       'They searched for it.'

In (134), the referents glossed as 'they' and 'it' are established topics in that part of the discourse. As such, they need no more than minimal forms to identify them. These forms in Paumarí are a prefix to mark the person and number of the subject and a suffix that indicates the gender of the object.

   The fronting of S, as in SOV and (intransitive) SV, signals that special prominence attaches to the S nominal. These orders are mostly used to introduce or reintroduce the S referent into the discourse.

(135)   Morosi   va-a-kaira-ha-'a-ha
        Morosi   3PL-VBLZR-guava-distance-ASP-THEME
        'Morosi (and companions) went to get guava.'

(136)   bano   pa'isi o-sa'a-ra   anani-hi
        piranha   small   my-finger-OBJ   bite-THEME
        'A small piranha bit my finger.'

The O nominal is given special prominence by being fronted and left-dislocated. In this case it does not have the case-marking enclitic -ra. The S can precede (137) or follow (138) the verb, or be omitted (139).

(137)   akadi-prato,   jara   radahaki-a
        our-plates   non:Indian   passing-ERG

        bi-na-roiroi-mai-ribani-vini
        3SG-CAUS-row-side:by:side-line-DEP:TRANS
        'Our plates, a passing non-Indian had stood them up side by side in a line.'

(138)   ija'ari,   jamaraha-mani-ja   ida
        people   claw-response-IMMED   DEM,f
        'People, she could claw them.'

(139)   baida,   va-n-ihima-hahavi-'i-ki
        turtle:shell   3PL-CAUS-finish-all-ASP-NONTHEME
        'The meat in the turtle shell, they finished it all up.'

Finally in the constituent order parameter, the S and O nominals can be postposed to the verb and right-dislocated. In this case, they retain their case-marking enclitics. The pragmatic function here is that of clarification of the referent, which is only marked for person, gender or number in the verb of the main predication. Additional prominence is thus given for purposes of disambiguation or emphasis.

(140)   bi-oga-ki,   ovari   Parajairo-a
        3SG-know-NONTHEME   S:EMPH   Parajairo-ERG
        'He knew, that one Parajairo (knew).'

The function of the 'S:EMPH' pronoun is explained in 9.2.4.

(141) vi-'bai-maina-'a-ha,   Siri   amabokhoni-ra
      3PL-eat-next-ASP-THEME,m turtle elbow-OBJ
      'They ate (it) next, turtle elbow.'

The verb in (141), *'bai* 'eat', is normally intransitive. The final suffix, *-ha* 'THEME', agrees with *vi-* '3PL'. *Siri amabokhoni* 'turtle elbow' is marked as direct object by the enclitic *-ra*. This form of prominence marking occurs when a grammatically intransitive verb is used in a semantically transitive way. The overt object may only occur clause final and is marked by the object enclitic *-ra*. It may not occur in the normal pre-transitive-verb position.

9.2.2 Uses of the particle *vani*. The particle *vani* is postposed to a noun phrase or pronoun to indicate that the referent is being selected out of other possible choices, or is in contrast with other referents in the immediate context. The phrase with *vani* may be the subject or object of the clause, and it is always preverbal and usually in the clause-initial position. There are three basic types of construction, each expressing a different degree of prominence with respect to the referent.

    First, *vani* may occur alone following the noun phrase or pronoun. In this case, the contrast or selection is being stated or implied, but without any special prominence.

(142) mina'di   vani-a   bi-noba-'iana-hi
      electric:eel CONTR/SELECT-ERG 3SG-shock-again-THEME
      'An electric eel (not something else) shocked her again.'

(143) ho-vani   o-kasisiha-ka'oa-'i-ki
      1SG-CONTR/SELECT 1SG-smoke-only-ASP-THEME
      'Only I smoked a cigarette (while the others ate food).'

(144) kharo kaasi 'ba'dani vani-ra
      bite   sand   grains   CONTR/SELECT-OBJ

      ni-'a-'a-ha
      AUX-TRNSTVZR-ASP-THEME
      'It was sand that he bit on.'

In (144), the *vani* phrase is the direct object, and it precedes the (syntactic) main verb (the auxiliary *ni*).

    In the second type of *vani* construction, there is a greater emphasis on selection from a number of possibilities. This is signalled by *vani* being preceded by a pronoun and then followed by a noun phrase, both referring to the same entity.

(145) ada-vani   vahabini   kodi-makhini
       3SG-CONTR/SELECT   maybe   my-grandson

       kha-'a-ha
       come-ASP-THEME
       'That one is my grandson, maybe, (who) is coming.'

The third *vani* construction is used to express strong contrast. In this case, the NP/PRO-*vani* phrase is followed by a demonstrative.

(146) o-vani   ada   kapita abono ka'oa-ra
       3SG-CONTR/SELECT   DEM   fish   body   only-OBJ

       kakhaa-'iana-ha
       choke:out-again-THEME
       'That one (in contrast to the others) is he (who) choked out again only whole fish.'

(147) 'bamiki vani   ida   va-ani-'a-ha
       few   CONTR/SELECT   DEM   3PL-take-ASP-THEME
       'It was only a few they took' (in contrast with the preceding statement that they found none at all).

9.2.3 Placement of demonstrative in preverbal position. In the pragmatically least marked clauses, the demonstrative is associated with the noun phrase that follows the verb, whether this is the subject or the object, and it never also occurs preverbally in the same clause (sects. 1.1, 1.2 and 15.3.2). There are two ways in which it may be associated with noun phrases in the preverbal position, and in each case it serves to give special prominence to the referent of the noun phrase.

In the first construction, the demonstrative follows the noun phrase. It then has the same form as an equative clause. (The copula *mani* may also occur in these embedded equative constructions, just as in the simple equative clause—see section 1.4, and compare section 14.6 for more complex embeddings involving equative and subordinate clauses.) The function of this placement of the demonstrative is to draw special attention to the identity of the referent in the noun phrase, which may be the subject (148) or object (149) of the clause.

(148) makha bana   hada   haria ananaha-ra
       snake WARNING   DEM,m   1PL   bite-IMMED
       'It is a snake that is going to bite us.'

(149)   o-sa'a   hida   o-ka-noba-ja
        my-hand   DEM,f   1SG-N:CLASS-chop-IMMED
        'It is my hand I've chopped.'

In the second type of construction, the demonstrative precedes or replaces the noun phrase. In this case, the demonstrative is always the first constituent of the clause and functions to give emphasis to a topic that has already been established in the discourse. It may refer to the subject (150) or object (151) of the clause.

(150)   ada   bana   jara   kavi   kagahafani   hoarani
        DEM,m   WARNING   non:Indian   liquor   bottle   one

        maina-ra   vi-gai-mori-'a-ha
        next-OBJ   COMIT-MOT-go:up:bank-ASP-THEME
        'That non-Indian (watch out!) is now taking a bottle of liquor up from the port.'

(151)   ada   baroro   'dara'darahana-ra   ni-va-karaga-'i-ki
        DEM   leaves   big:and:black-OBJ   NEG-3PL-find-ASP-THEME
        'The big black leaves they didn't find.'

Where the demonstrative occurs alone in the clause-initial position, the noun phrase to which it refers is sometimes placed after the verb, presumably for clarification.

(152)   ada   kha-ra-foni-'a-ha   jara
        DEM,m   MOT-downwards-water:edge-ASP-THEME   non:Indian
        'He has come down to the water's edge, the non-Indian.'

9.2.4 Use of subject-emphasis pronouns. There are four special third person pronoun forms used for placing emphasis or focus on the subject referent: *oniani/oniaro* '3SG,f'; *ovari* '3SG,m'; and *va'oniaro* '3PL' (sect. 16). They may occur before or after the verb, and with or without an accompanying noun phrase referring to the same entity. They are only used to refer to the subject of the clause.

(153)   ovari   Vararibori   jaboni   ka-raborabo-ki
        S:EMPH   Vararibori   also   VBLZR-trinket-NONTHEME
        'That one, Vararibori, also had a trinket (of macaw feathers).'

(154)   ni-ha-ha   ada   ovari   Parajairo
      say-?-THEME   DEM,m   S:EMPH   Parajairo
      'He said, that one, Parajairo.'

9.2.5 Noun phrase followed by *hi* 'AUX'. Certain forms of the auxiliary *hi* (sect. 18.8.2) may be postposed to subject noun phrases or pronouns to express contrastive focus. The NP/PRO + *hi* sequence is usually clause initial, but may occur after the verb.

(155)   gamo   hiki   ni-barobaro-ki
      woman   CONTR:FOC   NEG-be:naked-NONTHEME
      'The woman (in contrast to the others) didn't take her clothes off.'

(156)   ovari   hiki   Vararibori   siri   amabokhoni-a
      S:EMPH   CONTR:FOC   Vararibori   turtle   elbow-DEMOT:O

      vahi'a-siaga-ki
      eat:travel-following-NONTHEME
      'It was that one, Vararibori, (who) travelled in the back of the canoe eating turtle elbow.' (Others ate different parts of the turtle.)

(157)   nokho'afora-'a-ha   ada   ovari   hiki
      wake:up-ASP-THEME   DEM,m   S:EMPH   CONTR:FOC
      'He, in contrast (to the others who had already gone), woke up (to find himself alone).'

Throughout section 9.2, prominence has been discussed only with reference to subject and object constituents. Peripheral clause constituents, including demoted objects in ditransitive clauses, may also be made more prominent by fronting of the constituent and/or by postposing the particle *vani* 'CONTR' (sects. 1.3 and 1.6).

10 Interrogatives

There are two basic types of questions: polar and content.

10.1 Polar questions. The word order of a polar question is the same as the unmarked order of a declarative clause. There is frequently a clause-initial vocative. The intonation rises at the end of the utterance. In addition the verb usually has the suffix *-mani* 'Q'. This is homophonous with the copular-equative particle (sect. 1.4). The thematic suffix is usually *-ja/-a/-ra* 'IMMED' or *-ki* 'NONTHEME' when it is future and *-hi/-ha*

'THEME' when it is remote in time or distance. The verb suffix -*ki* is glossed 'NONTHEME' when it occurs on an independent verb and as 'DESC' when it occurs on a verb functioning as a noun modifier (sect. 15.3). The dependent suffixes do not occur on the verb of a polar question.

(158)   ka-araba-ha-mani-ra   ada   kada-abi'i
        canoe-fish-distance-Q-IMMED,m   DEM,m   your-father
        'Has your father gone fishing?'

(159)   i-noki-mani-ja   ida   kodi-hado
        2SG-see-Q-IMMED,f   DEM,f   my-knife
        'Have you seen my knife?'

The most common response is *ha'a* 'yes' or *iniani* 'no', with the remainder of the clause omitted (sect. 3). If the full clause is repeated, the noun is frequently omitted and *mani* is usually retained.

(160)   ha'a, ka-araba-ha-mani-ra   ada
        yes canoe-fish-distance-Q-IMMED   DEM,m
        'Yes, he's gone fishing.'

If the reply is negative, *mani* is omitted; it never co-occurs with the negative suffix -*ri* in either the question or the answer.

(161)   iniani, o-noki-ri-hi   ida
        no   1SG-see-NEG-THEME   DEM,f
        'No, I haven't seen it.'

(162)   iniani, ni-o-noki-ki   ida
        no   NEG-1SG-see-NONTHEME   DEM,f
        'No, I haven't seen it.'

Some negative questions are a mild rebuke rather than a real question. Only the context distinguishes a real question from a rhetorical one.

(163)   i-ka-makari-ri-a
        2SG-VBLZR:POSSN-clothes-NEG-IMMED
        'Don't you have any clothes?' or 'Put your clothes on.'

Some positive questions are also rhetorical rather than real. One instance of this is the normal form of a greeting:

(164a)   i-vani-ti
         2SG-CONTR-QM
         'You?'

(164b)   ha'a, ho-vani
         yes me-CONTR
         'Yes, me.'

The question suffix -ti rarely occurs in modern Paumarí, except in this greeting, but it is occasionally found in the speech of the older people.

10.2 Content questions. The question word always occurs clause initial or after a clause-initial demonstrative. The answer which substitutes for the question also occurs clause initial. The term 'question word' refers to the head of the question phrase. The term question phrase refers to the head, along with other constituents (noun, enclitic, demonstrative, auxiliary verb, or particle).

There are basically two kinds of question phrase: a nominal question phrase and a verbal question phrase.

10.2.1 A nominal question phrase is understood to ask about a nominal nuclear constituent, unless all the nuclear information is present in the context. If the nuclear constituents are all present then the nominal question phrase is directed towards a peripheral constituent of time, location, or instrument. -mani 'Q' is optional in content questions. The question words that occur in the nominal question phrase are: nahina 'what?, who?', hana hi-ni/-na 'which?', niha-fori 'when?, how much?' and hana 'where?'.

hana is a locative interrogative pronoun and has the optional suffix -ja 'directional in time or space'. -ja may be reduplicated -jaja without any distinguishable change of meaning.

(165)   ida   hana-ja   hoja-hi   kodi-tarasara
        DEM,f   where-DIR   be-THEME   my-machete
        'Where is my machete?'

nihaforija 'when?' is a temporal interrogative pronoun. The suffix -ja is obligatory to give it temporal meaning.

(166)   nihafori-ja   i-o-kha-'iana-ki-'i
        when-DIR   2SG-away-MOT-again-NONTHEME-2SG
        'When will you go again?'

nihafori without *-ja* makes it an interrogative quantifying adjective within a nominal phrase or equational clause and means 'how many?' or 'how much?'.

(167)   nihafori   so'oro-ra   i-namonaha-'i-a
        how:many   basket-OBJ   2SG-CAUS:make-ASP-IMMED
        'How many baskets have you made?'

(168)   nihafori   vi-hi-mani-ra   adani   isai   va-kasivanaha-ki
        how:many   3SG-be-Q-IMMED   DEM:PL   child   3PL-play-DESC
        'How many children are there playing?'

(169)   nihafori   i-ni-ha-mani-ja   ida   botão   kaidiva-ni
        how:much   2SG-say-?-Q-IMMED   DEM,f   button   price-f
        'How much did you say the buttons cost?'

nihafori and a temporal noun may also co-occur to elicit a temporal response.

(170)   nihafori   masiko   ai   i-hi-ki-'i
        which   moon/month   depart   2SG-AUX-NONTHEME-2SG
        'Which month will you leave?'

hana hi-ni/-na 'which?' is an interrogative adjective. The auxiliary verb *hi* co-occurs with *hana* to agree in number, gender and noun class with the noun it modifies. It always has a dependent intransitive suffix *-ni/-na*. It may be used to elicit information about either nuclear or peripheral constituents. It makes a selection out of a known subset of possibilities. Examples show the *hana hini/na* phrase occurring first in the periphery of the clause as a locative constituent (171) and a temporal constituent (172), and then in the clause nucleus as the subject (173), the object (174) and as a demoted object (175).

(171)   hana   hi-ni   gora
        which   AUX-DEP:INTRANS   house

        o-kha-ki   ada
        away-MOT-NONTHEME   DEM,m
        'Which house did he go to?'

(172) hana   hi-na   masiko bana
       which AUX-DEP:INTRANS month   FUT

       i-a-joi-ki-'i
       2SG-away-return-NONTHEME-2SG
       'Which month will you return?'

There is no semantic difference between the two question phrases in the examples (170) and (172).

(173) hana   vi-hi-na   adani
       which 3PL-AUX-DEP:INTRANS DEM:PL

       vi-kana-ha-ra
       3PL-bathe-distance-IMMED
       'Which ones are bathing?'

(174) hana   hi-ni   so'oro hida   i-nofi-ja
       which AUX-DEP:INTRANS basket DEM,f 2SG-want-IMMED
       'Which basket do you want?'

(175) hana   hi-ni   ihai   mani ida
       which AUX-DEP:INTRANS medicine COP   DEM,neut

       i-ra   no'a-vini   hi-ja
       2SG-OBJ give-DEP:TRANS AUX-IMMED
       'Which medicine did she give you?'

nahina is the most general of the question words, with a wide distribution of meaning and function. In non-interrogative contexts it may mean 'thing' or *ni-nahina* 'nothing'. It may be possessed *kodi-nahina* 'my personal possessions'. In a question it may function as an interrogative adjective (181) or an interrogative pronoun. It is never inflected. It may occur as the only constituent of a nominal question phrase (179), but it frequently occurs in an equative identificational clause with or without *mani* 'COP' (cf. 180).

The following examples show *nahina* as: a noun phrase subject (176); a predicate complement in an equative clause where the whole equative clause functions as subject (177), direct object (178), or demoted object (180); modifying a head noun in a temporal phrase (181); an oblique constituent with a source (182) or instrument (183) function; or as a direct object with the enclitic *-ra* (184, 185).

(176)   nahina   vani-a   bi-na-abini-ra   ada   makha
        who   CONTR-ERG   3SG-CAUS-die-IMMED   DEM,m snake
        'Who killed the snake?'

(177)   nahina   ida   soko-a-ja
        who   DEM,f   wash-DETRANSVZR-IMMED
        'Who is washing?'

(178)   nahina   mani   oni   i-ha-ja
        what   COP   DEM,f   2SG-eat-IMMED
        'What are you eating?'

(179)   nahina   i-na-oni-ra   ada   kada-jomahi
        what   2SG-CAUS-name-IMMED   DEM,m   your-dog
        'What do you call your dog?'

(180)   nahina   mani   ida   i-ra
        what   COP   DEM,neut   2SG-OBJ

        no'a-vini   hi-ja
        give-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
        'What did he give you?'

(181)   nahina   mahi   bana   ava-ri-gai-mori-ja   bana
        what   day   FUT   2PL-away-MOT-uphill-IMMED   FUT
        'What day are you going up to non-flood ground?'

(182)   nahina   vani-a   i-ˈavi-ja   ida
        what   CONTR-OBL   2SG-drink-IMMED   DEM,f
        'What did you drink it out of?'

(183)   nahina   vani-a   koko-a
        what   CONTR-OBL   uncle-ERG

        bi-ka-va-saˈai-ra   ada   makha
        3SG-VBLZR-COMIT-weapon-IMMED   DEM,m   snake
        'What weapon did uncle use on the snake?'

(184)   nahina-ra   i-vi-kha-ja
        what-OBJ   2SG-COMIT-MOT-IMMED
        'What did you bring?'

(185)   nahina-ra   i-no'a-vini
       who-OBJ   2SG-give-DEP:TRANS

       hi-ja   ida   kavari
       AUX-IMMED   DEM,f   scissors
       'To whom did you give the scissors?'

nahina is also the question word used to elicit information in copular-equative clauses where it modifies the head noun of the predicate complement in various ways, e.g., possession, 'whose?' (186), purpose, 'what for?' (187), and substance, 'what kind of?' (188).

(186)   nahina   ka-hado   mani   oni
       who   GEN-knife   COP   DEM,f
       'Whose knife is it?'

(187)   nahina   ka-so'oro-ni   mani   ida
       what   GEN-basket-f   COP   DEM,f
       'What is the basket used for?'

(188)   nahina   ka-abaisana-hi   mani   o
       what   GEN-fish-AUX   COP   DEM,m
       'What kind of fish is that?'

10.2.2 The verbal question word *niha* is a verb that has an auxiliary *ni* immediately following it. This question contruction may represent different oblique constituents such as manner, reason, purpose and adjunct (source, means, or target). The verbal question may be an independent or subordinate clause. It is the affixation on the auxiliary verb *ni* that indicates the particular meaning. This affixation offers choices in three parameters: independent or dependent; transitive or intransitive; and reduplicating or non-reduplicating. The particular options selected enable the hearer to identify the function of the question phrase with regard to the particular information being asked for. Manner and reason/purpose question phrases may be either independent or dependent. Only the manner question phrase has the reduplicating characteristic. A reason or adjunct question phrase is always intransitive, whereas manner may be intransitive or transitive.

The manner question is characterized by the presence of the reduplicating feature. When the main clause is transitive and the focus is on the activity of the subject, the transitivizer on the auxiliary verb changes from -*'a* to -*'a'a*, and the final suffix is -*vini* 'DEP:TRANS'. The question verb phrase expresses a manner constituent in the periphery of the clause.

(189a) niha   i-ni-'a-'a-vini
       how   2SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-REDUP-DEP:TRANS

       i-na-abini-ki   ada   makha o-karaga-ki
       2SG-CAUS-die-NONTHEME DEM,m snake   1SG-find-DESC
       'How will you kill the snake that I found?'

(189b) o-kara'oha-vini   vani
       1SG-shoot-DEP:TRANS   CONTR

       o-na-abini-ki   ada
       1SG-CAUS-die-NONTHEME DEM,m
       'By shooting I will kill it.'

(190a) niha   va-ni-'a-'a-vini   vani
       how   3PL-AUX-TRNSTVZR-REDUP-DEP:TRANS   CONTR

       va'o-ra   va-gathi-ra   adani   kabi
       them-OBJ   3PL-catch-IMMED DEM:PL   coati
       'How did they catch the coatis?'

(190b) va-na-ki'daraha-vini   vani   va'o-ra
       3PL-CAUS-run-DEP:TRANS   CONTR   them-OBJ

       va-gathi-ra   adani
       3PL-catch-IMMED   DEM:PL
       'By causing them to run they caught them.'

If the final suffix on the auxiliary verb is -ki 'NONTHEME' then the verbal question phrase is the main verb of the clause and the questioner is asking 'What shall (the subject) do about the situation described in the object noun phrase?'.

(191a) niha   va'o-ra   o-ni-'a-'a-ki
       how   them-OBJ   1SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-REDUP-NONTHEME

       koda   hadani   ija'ari   va-vai'ami-ki
       DUB   DEM:PL   people   3PL-hungry-DESC
       'What maybe could I do for these hungry people?'

(191b) kafi   imarini-a   va'o-ra   o-no'a-ki
        coffee   without:aim-OBL   them-OBJ   1SG-give-NONTHEME

        hadani   ija'ari
        DEM:PL   people
        'I suppose that I could give them some coffee.'

When the speaker is wanting information concerning the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb the dependent suffix *-ni/-na* 'DEP:INTRANS. occurs on the auxiliary verb. The reduplicating feature is on the auxiliary verb root *ni* and the morpheme which immediately precedes it. When the plural intransitive marker *kha-* (see below) precedes the root, the reduplication is *khanikhani*. Otherwise, the pre-root morpheme is the person marker and this is reduplicated with the root: *oni'oni-* '1SG' *ini'ini-* '2SG' and *nini-* '3SG'. When *ka-* NOUN CLASS agreement occurs in the third person singular the resulting duplication is identical to the plural intransitive reduplication *khanikhani*.

The person prefix on the auxiliary verb agrees in number and person with the number and person prefix on the main verb. The question phrase is a peripheral manner constituent of the main clause.

(192a) niha   ni-ni-ni   vani
        how   AUX-REDUP-DEP:INTRANS   CONTR

        amonaha-ja   ida   karagoa-hi
        be:made-IMMED   DEM,f   toast-NOMLZR
        'How is farinha made?'

(192b) karagoa-ni   vani
        toast-DEP:INTRANS   CONTR
        'By toasting it.'

(193a) niha   va-kha-ni-khani-na
        how   3PL-INTRANS-AUX-REDUP-DEP:INTRANS

        vani   va-abini-ra   adani
        CONTR   3PL-die-IMMED   DEM:PL
        'How did they die?'

(193b) a-va-hida-na   vani   va-abini-ra
        drown-3PL-drown-DEP:INTRANS   CONTR   3PL-die-IMMED

adani
DEM:PL
'By drowning they died.'

(194)   niha   i-ni-'ini-ni   vani
        how   2SG-AUX-REDUP-DEP:INTRANS   CONTR

        i-o-kha-ra-foni-ja
        2SG-away-MOT-down-port-IMMED
        'How did you get down to the port?'

(195)   niha   ava-kha-ni-khani-ni   vani
        how   2PL-INTRANS-AUX-REDUP-DEP:INTRANS   CONTR

        ava-ri-kha-ra-foni-ja
        2PL-away-MOT-down-port-IMMED
        'How did you (pl.) get down to the port?'

The following example asks for information about the object of a transitive
verb.

(196a)   niha   kha-ni-khani-ni   vani
         how   N:CLASS-AUX-REDUP-DEP:INTRANS   CONTR

         i-ka-noki-ja   ida   vanami
         2SG-N:CLASS-see-IMMED   DEM,f   paddle

         ka-'boro-ki
         N:CLASS-broken-DESC
         'How was the broken paddle which you saw?'

(196b)   kada'a-hi   ki-hi-ni   vani
         step:on-NOMLZR   N:CLASS-AUX-DEP:INTRANS   CONTR

         o-ka-noki-ja
         1SG-N:CLASS-see-IMMED
         'It had been stepped on when I saw it.'

In (196a) *kha-* is a variant of *ka-* 'N:CLASS' found only in this
construction. In (193a), (195) and (200), however, *kha-* has a different
meaning: it signals that the auxiliary *ni* is being used in an intransitive
construction, and is thus glossed 'INTRANS' (sect. 18.8.1).

The distinctive characteristics of the reason/purpose question construction *niha ni/na* 'why?' are: the auxiliary verb *ni* is always intransitive and there is no reduplication. The auxiliary verb may have either an independent or dependent form.

There is an independent form of the auxiliary and the suffix *-mani* 'Q' occurs obligatorily when the question has a reason focus in relation to an intransitive main verb.

(197)   niha   i-ni-mani-ja   i-'oma-ki
        why   2SG-AUX-Q-IMMED   2SG-lie:down-NONTHEME
        'Why are you lying down?'

(198)   niha   ni-mani-ja   oni   asara-ki
        why   AUX-Q-IMMED   DEM,f   cry-NONTHEME
        'Why is she crying?'

If no modifying verb occurs the question may be understood to mean 'What happened?'

(199)   niha   ni-mani-ra   ada   isai
        why   AUX-Q-IMMED   DEM,m   child
        'What happened to the boy?'

The demonstrative is obligatory for the third person and agrees with both auxiliary and main verb in person and number.

When the question focuses on the reason or purpose of a transitive main verb, the construction has a dependent form of the auxiliary and it is embedded as the complement constituent of an equative clause. The copular form *mani* always occurs as a constituent of the equative clause. The transitive verb also has a dependent form and is followed by the auxiliary verb *hi*, which usually has the thematic suffix *-ja* 'IMMED, neut'.

The auxiliary verb *ni* following the question verb *niha* 'why?' agrees with the object of the transitive verb in number and gender.

(200)   niha   a-kha-ni-na   mani
        why   1PL-INTRANS-AUX-DEP:INTRANS,m   COP

        hida   haria   ava-na-hoja-ha-vini
        DEM,neut   1PL:OBJ   2PL-CAUS-be-DUR-DEP:TRANS

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               hi-ja
               AUX-IMMED
               'Why are you leaving us?'
```

(201)   niha   ni-na   mani   ida   isai-ra
        why   AUX-DEP:INTRANS,m   COP   DEM,neut · child-OBJ

        i-no'a-vini   hi-ja   bolacha
        2SG-give-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED   cracker
        'Why are you giving the boy a cracker?'

(202a) niha   ni-ni   mani   ida   oba-ra
        why   AUX-DEP:INTRANS,f   COP   DEM,neut   floor,f-OBJ

        i-soko-vini   hi-ja
        2SG-wash-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
        'Why are you washing the floor?'

(202b) isai-a   bi-ka-a'bi-vini   mani
        child-ERG   3SG-TRNSTVZR-vomit-DEP:TRANS   COP

        ida   o-soko-vini   hi-ja
        DEM,neut   1SG-wash-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
        'Because the child vomited on it I am washing it.'

A different question construction, with similar meaning, can be asked by using the independent form of the question auxiliary. There is no main verb, but a relative clause carrying the meaning of the main verb is substituted. When it has the dependent suffix -vini it is followed by the auxiliary verb hi with the -ki 'DESC' suffix. This is basically the same construction as in (199), but with greater complexity due to the modifying of the noun phrase:

(203)   niha   ni-mani-ra   ada   jorai
        why   AUX-Q-IMMED   DEM,m   mat,m

        i-soko-vini   hi-ki
        2SG-wash-DEP:TRANS   AUX-DESC
        'What happened to the mat you are washing?'

The nominal question word *nahina* 'what?' frequently substitutes for the verbal question construction in equative clauses, the number and gender agreement being neutralized.

(204) nahina mani   ida   jorai-ra
       what   COP   DEM,neut   mat-OBJ

   i-soko-vini   hi-ja
   2SG-wash-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
   'Why are you washing the mat?'

The distinction between a reason and a purpose constituent is not always maintained, but *kaimoni* 'purpose' normally elicits a purpose response, whereas the absence of *kaimoni* usually elicits a reason response. The presupposition of the hearer seems to influence the answer which he thinks the questioner is wanting.

The purpose question particle *kaimoni* 'purpose' immediately follows the question word.

(205) nahina kaimoni   mani   oni   vanami-ra
       what   PURP   COP   DEM,neut   paddle-OBJ

   i-ka-namonaha-vini   hi-ja
   2SG-N:CLASS-CAUS:make-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
   'For what purpose are you making the paddle?'

It is possible to ask for a reason with a negative construction; the negative suffix -*ri* may occur with one (207) or both (206a) verbs. The thematic suffix on the question verb may be -*ki* 'NONTHEME' (206a) or -*ja* 'IMMED' (207).

(206a) niha   i-ni-ri-ki
        why   2SG-AUX-NEG-NONTHEME

   i-ko-'bai-ri-ki
   2SG-VBLZR:POSSN-food-NEG-NONTHEME
   'Why don't you have any food?'

(206b) nahina-a   bi-vi-kha-ri-ki
        person-ERG   3SG-COMIT-MOT-NEG-NONTHEME

   ida   'bai   kodi-moni
   DEM,f   food   me-for
   'No one brought food for me.'

(207)   niha   i-ni-mani-ja   i-o-kha-ri-ki
        why   2SG-AUX-Q-IMMED   2SG-away-MOT-NEG-NONTHEME
        'Why is it you are not going?'

The adjunct phrase is a peripheral constituent which expresses semantic roles of source (208) or target (a location on the body) (209). The distinctive characteristics of the question construction that asks for information about the adjunct are: the auxiliary verb *ni* always has the dependent intransitive form and there is no reduplication; syntactically, the construction is a peripheral element of the main clause; and there is number and gender agreement between the auxiliary verb *ni* and the subject of the main intransitive verb (208) or the object of the main transitive verb (210).

(208a)   niha   ni-na   vani-a
         how   AUX-DEP:INTRANS,m   CONTR-OBL

         abini-ra   ada   abaisana
         die-IMMED   DEM,m   fish,m
         'What did the fish die of?'

(208b)   akona   vani-a   abini-ra   ada   abaisana
         poison   CONTR-OBL   die-IMMED   DEM,m   fish
         'Of fish poison the fish died.'

(209a)   niha   ni-ni   vani-a
         how   AUX-DEP:INTRANS,f   CONTR-OBL

         a-'dani-ja   ida   arakava
         DETRANSVZR-break-IMMED   DEM,f   hen
         'What part of the hen is broken?'

(209b)   kabaha-ni
         thigh-f
         'The thigh (is broken).'

(210a)   niha   ni-na   vani-a
         how   AUX-DEP:INTRANS,m   CONTR-OBL

         bi-vini-ra   ada   mamori
         3SG-shoot-IMMED   DEM,m   *matrinxão*
         'Into what part of the *matrinxão* fish did he shoot the arrow?'

(210b) jarari vani   bi-vini-ra   ada   mamori
        waist   CONTR   3SG-shoot-IMMED   DEM,m   *matrinxão*
        'Half way along its length he shot the fish.'

It is possible to add *-ja* 'directional' to the question word making it unambiguously 'target'.

(211a) niha   ni-na-ja   vani-a
        how   AUX-DEP:INTRANS,m-DIR   CONTR-OBL

        a-'dani-ra   ada   arakava
        DETRANSVZR-break-IMMED,m   DEM,m   cock
        'Which area of the cock is broken?'

(211b) pita-na   ka-jasoni-ja
        side-m   GEN-left-DIR
        'Towards his left side.'

There is another verbal question construction *niha niki* which functions similarly to those just described. It always asks for information about a peripheral constituent but does not have any specific meaning. It is an alternative to one or more of the specific questions already discussed. It does not show number or gender agreement and the auxiliary verb *ni* is always intransitive. The circumstances under which the speaker asks the question is the best guide as to the specific area of information being requested. The examples show location/manner (212), instrument/means (213, 214, 215), and manner/source (216).

(212a) niha   ni-ki-a   kana-ja   ida
        how   AUX-NONTHEME-OBL   bathe-IMMED   DEM,f
        'Where/how does she bathe?'

(212b) gora   adamini-ni-a   taoba   ka-nama-ni   vani-a
        house   port-f-OBL   board   GEN-surface-f   CONTR-OBL

        kana-ja   ida
        bathe-IMMED   DEM,f
        'At the water's edge on a board she bathes.'

(213a) niha   ni-ki-a   kha-ja   hida
        how   AUX-NONTHEME-OBL   MOT-IMMED   DEM,f
        'How did she come?'

(213b)   kanava
   canoe
   'By canoe (she came).'

(214a)   niha ni-ki-a   i-khori-ja   hida
   how AUX-NONTHEME-OBL 2SG-dig-IMMED DEM,f
   'How/with what are you digging it?'

(214b)   tarasara vani-a   o-khori-ja   hida
   machete CONTR-OBL 1SG-dig-IMMED DEM,f
   'With a machete I'm digging it.'

(215a)   niha ni-ki-a   abini-ra   ada   abaisana
   how AUX-NONTHEME-OBL die-IMMED DEM,m fish
   'How did the fish die?'

(215b)   tapajo kaabani
   fish:trap
   '(It was caught in) a fish trap.'

(215c)   kahano-na vani
   drunk-m CONTR
   'It was drunk (with fish poison thus it got caught).'

(216a)   niha ni-ki   vani-a   Onorio-a
   how AUX-NONTHEME CONTR-OBL Onorio-ERG

   bi-gathi-ja   ida   savaharo
   3SG-catch-IMMED DEM,f turtle
   'How did Onorio catch the turtle?'

(216b)   'bisi-ni   a-vithi-ni   vani
   bubbling-f STATVZR-sit-f CONTR

   bi-ko-saka-'i-hi   ida   savaharo
   3SG-canoe-harpoon-ASP-THEME DEM,f turtle
   'While it was sitting on the bottom making bubbles he harpooned
   the turtle.'

11 Imperatives

Second person imperative clauses are marked by absence of any thematic or modal suffix on the verb (217). First and third person imperatives have verb-final suffix -va 'HORT' (218, 219).

(217) Ø-vithi-Ø   hida
 2SG-sit-IMP DEM:LOC
 'Sit here.'

(218) a-'bai-'a-va
 1PL-eat-ASP-HORT
 'Let us eat.'

(219) ka-si-va   ida   arakava
 MOT-up-HORT DEM,f hen
 'Let the hen come up.'

Some of the person prefix markers on an imperative verb are different from those on a non-imperative verb. The differences are:

	Imperative	Non-imperative
2SG:INTRANS	Ø- (220)	i- (221)
2PL:INTRANS/TRANS	va-/vi- (222)	ava-/avi-

(220) Ø-ki'daraha-Ø bana
 2SG-run-IMP   FUT
 'Run.'

(221) i-naba'daha-ni
 2SG-fish-DEP:INTRANS
 'You are fishing.'

(222) va-vi-kha-ra-foni-Ø
 2PL-COMIT-MOT-down-port-IMP
 'Bring it down to the port.'

The second person singular prefix on transitive verbs is normally *i-* for both imperative and non-imperative forms. Sometimes intransitive roots to which a causative prefix is added (thus forming a transitive verb) occur with the zero person prefix in the singular, but we have not determined the reason for this (223).

There is a negative particle that only occurs in an imperative clause: *hari'a*. It always precedes the verb in clause-initial position.

(223) hari'a   bana   ho-ra   Ø-na-namitha-Ø
       NEG:IMP   warning   me-OBJ   2SG-CAUS-tell-IMP
       'Don't tell me.'

The particle *bana* 'FUT, warning', which marks future, warning or permission in a non-imperative context, makes an imperative more polite.

(224) hari'a   bana   gira   Ø-ni-'a-Ø
       NEG:IMP   warning   move   2SG-AUX-ASP-IMP
       'Don't move away.'

The aspect marker -'i/-'a may occur (224, 229), but we have not been able to define a specific reason for its occurrence or absence (sect. 18.2).

The basic constituent order of imperative and declarative clauses is the same (VS, VO or OV). We have not found examples of marked orders or embedded clauses, but a peripheral constituent may occur. The following examples show a VS (225), VO (226), OV (227) and a LOC V (228).

(225) vadi-va   oni   isai
       sleep-HORT   DEM,f   child
       'Let the child sleep.'

(226) i-noki-Ø   bana   oni   i-sa'a-ni
       2SG-see-IMP   FUT:warning   DEM,f   2SG-hand-neut
       'Look at your hand (you will cut it).'

(227) kahami-ra   a-na-joi-va
       palm:nuts-OBJ   1PL-CAUS-return-HORT
       'Let us go back for the palm nuts.'

(228) hana-ja   o-vithi-va
       where-DIR   1SG-sit-HORT
       'Where may I sit?'

There are two types of clause that frequently follow an imperative, an explanation/reason clause or a purpose clause. The explanation clause has the suffix -*ki* 'NONTHEME' on the verb.

(229) ai   ari-hi-'a-va
       depart   1PL-AUX-ASP-HORT

       ni-a-ka-bavi-jana-ki
       NEG-1PL-VBLZR:POSSN-container-more-NONTHEME
       'Let's go, we don't have any more containers.'

(230) jorajora-pa'itxi bana,   tapo'ija-ra
       hurry-small   FUT:warning wild:animal-OBJ

       o-noki-'i-ki-ho
       1SG-see-ASP-NONTHEME-1SG
       'Hurry a little, I've seen a jaguar.'

The purpose clause has an initial particle, *mahija* 'so that', and the dependent transitive suffix *-vini* occurs on both transitive (231) and intransitive verbs (232) (sect. 14.1.2).

(231) kahami-ra   a-na-joi-va,   mahija
       palm:nuts-OBJ   1PL-CAUS-return-HORT   so:that

       ari-ha-vini
       1PL-eat-DEP:TRANS
       'Let's go back for palm nuts so that we can eat them.'

(232) ai   ari-hi-'iana-va,   mahija
       depart   1PL-AUX-again-HORT   so:that

       a-joi-joraki-vini
       1PL-return-quick-DEP:TRANS
       'Let's leave so that we can return quickly.'

There are some imperative nonverbal constructions in common use.

(233) hia bana   khama
       ?   FUT   with
       'Let's go.'

(234) i-va'i-ni   bana
       2SG-liver-neut   FUT
       'Move out of the way.'

(235)   hari'a   kaho
        NEG:IMP   yet
        'Don't yet.' (i.e., 'Wait.').

(236)   ho-ra   bana   kada-bavi-a
        me-OBJ   FUT   your-container-DEMOT:O
        'Give me your container.'

The final example is clearly a case of ellipsis of the verb. The demoted object may be any suitable noun, but never an embedded clause. Example (235) is probably an ellipsis also and the appropriate verb is sometimes added.

The suffix -ha 'distance' indicates that the command is to be fulfilled in a different location.

(237)   a-'bai-'a-va
        1PL-eat-ASP-HORT
        'Let's eat here.'

(238)   a-'bai-ha-'a-va
        1PL-eat-distance-ASP-HORT
        'Let's go and eat (somewhere else).'

The positive response to an imperative is *jakaho* 'okay'. A slightly different form of response word, *jakana*, implies a positive intention and co-occurs with a verb marked with the hortatory suffix -va.

(239)   jakana   kaho   a-nokha-va
        okay   yet   1PL-wait-HORT
        'Let us still wait.'

12 Negation

Sentence negation is expressed by the verb suffix -ri or by the proclitic *ni-* preceding the verb or the initial constituent. (-ri has an allomorph -ra which occurs before -vini and -ra.) -ri/-ra may co-occur with all the thematic verb suffixes. *ni-* almost always governs a -ki 'NONTHEME' suffix on the nuclear verb. -hi/-ha 'THEME' occasionally occurs with -ni but the other thematic perspective suffixes never do. Neither *ni-* nor -ri occurs with an imperative verb (sect. 11).

(240) iniani, o-vai'ami-ri-hi
       no   1SG-hungry-NEG-THEME
       'No, I'm not hungry.'

(241) ni-o-nofi-jana-ki   hida   makari
       NEG-1SG-want-more-NONTHEME   DEM,f   cloth
       'I don't want the cloth any more.'

In conditional and contrafactual sentences -ri negates the first (conditional) clause and ni- negates the second clause (sect. 14.7).

(242) i-o-kha-ri-hi;   ni-o-o-kha-ki
       2SG-away-MOT-NEG-THEME NEG-1SG-away-MOT-NONTHEME
       'If you don't go, I won't go.'

(243) o-ka-oho-ri-ja   vaha;
       1SG-VBLZR-cold-NEG-IMMED   CONTRAFACT

       o-kana-ha-hi
       1SG-bathe-distance-THEME
       'If I didn't have a cold, I would go to bathe.'

The proclitic ni- may also negate a constituent within the clause.

(244) ni-nahina   bi-gathani-ki
       NEG-thing   3SG-reply-NONTHEME
       'No one replied.'

(245) ni-o-kana-na-ra   o-kahi-ki
       NEG-1SG-bathe-DEP:INTRANS-OBJ   1SG-say-NONTHEME
       'I said that I wasn't going to bathe.'

The particle iniani is always used as a negative response to a polar question. The repetition of the question frame in the response is optional. See section 3 on ellipsis.

(246a) i-vadi-mani-ja
        2SG-sleep-Q-IMMED
        'Are you asleep?'

(246b) iniani, o-vadi-ri-hi
        no   1SG-sleep-NEG-THEME
        'No, I'm not asleep.'

Negative intention is expressed by the particle *jokoa* with the obligatory co-occurrence of *-ri* and the thematic verb suffix *-hi*.

(247)   iniani, jokoa   o-kana-ri-hi
        no   NEG:INTENTION   1SG-bathe-NEG-THEME
        'No, I don't intend to bathe.'

The negative particle *hari'a* negates an imperative verb or may be used without a verb but with an imperative meaning (see also sect. 11).

(248)   hari'a   i-ha   oni   ihi'ai
        NEG:IMP   2SG-eat   DEM,f   fruit
        'Don't eat that fruit.'

(249)   hari'a   kaho
        NEG:IMP   yet
        'Wait!'

If a purpose clause follows an imperative clause the particle *mahija* 'so that' occurs clause initially. Such a clause (transitive or intransitive) always has the dependent transitive suffix *-vini* and if negated the use of *-ra* is obligatory.

(250)   i-'daka'daka   oni   boda   ava-ni   mahija
        2SG-cut:in:short:lengths   DEM,f   manioc   stems-f   so:that

        oadani   i-a-vi-kha-ra-vini
        long   2SG-away-COMIT-MOT-NEG-DEP:TRANS
        'Cut the manioc stems in short lengths so that you don't take long pieces.'

An homophonous suffix *-ri* negates a verb root. It occurs in a different suffix order from the *-ri* previously described and does not have an allomorph *-ra*. It usually has a terminal sense, hence the gloss 'stop'.

(251)   ka-barava-'a-ha,
        VBLZR-fever-ASP-THEME

a-afa-ri-'iana-ha
STATVZR-hot-NEG:STOP-again-THEME
'He had a fever, he stopped being hot again.'

A further example shows both the -*ri* suffixes used in the same verb.

(252) jakana   kaho a-nokha-va   hida   ino-Ø
       POS:INTENTION yet   1PL-wait-HORT   DEM,f   tooth-m

       ama-ni. a-ama-ri-hi;
       bleed-f STATVZR-bleed-NEG:STOP-THEME

       hoja-ha-ha,
       remain-distance-THEME

       a-ama-ri-ri-hi;   o-kha-ha
       STATVZR-bleed-NEG:STOP-NEG-THEME   away-MOT-THEME
       'Let us wait yet for this bleeding tooth. If it stops bleeding, he remains here. If it doesn't stop bleeding he will go.'

Another verbal suffix with a negative connotation is -*kamari* 'almost'. It is used of any event that could have happened or very nearly did happen.

(253) ava   va'o-ra   akadai-kamari-'a-vini
       tree them-OBJ   crush-almost-ASP-DEP:TRANS

       adani   Morosi
       DEM:PL   Morosi
       'The tree almost crushed Morosi and her companions.'

13 Anaphora

For a discussion on ellipsis and null forms see section 3. The most frequent use of anaphora is the omission of nominal phrases that have already been introduced and can be recalled from the context. A bound subject prefix obligatorily occurs on all verbs. In the following example the speaker was describing a trip to get palm fruit. In the first and second clauses the palm fruit is the antecedent. In the second clause the recipient of the palm fruit has been previously named.

(254)   o-rako'da-'i-hi,   pita-ni   vani-a
       1SG-pull:off-ASP-THEME   part-f   CONTR-DEMOT:O

       o-no'a-vini   hi-'i-hi   ai
       1SG-give-DEP:TRANS   AUX-ASP-THEME   depart

       ari-hi-'iana-hi
       1PL-AUX-again-THEME
       'I pulled some (palm fruit) off and gave it to her and we left again.'

Free focus/emphasis pronouns (255), emphatic/contrastive pronouns (256), and demonstratives (257) may also make anaphoric references.

(255)   oniaro   hi-ki   kaasi-ra
       S:EMPH,f   AUX-NONTHEME   beach-OBJ

       nako'di-ha-'i-ki   kidi-rakhajahi   ibavi-ni
       seek:for-distance-ASP-NONTHEME   her-planting   place-f

       kaimoni
       PURP
       'She went looking for a beach on which to plant.'

(256)   o-vani   va'o-ra   ka-na-adaha-ha
       3SG,m-CONTR   them-OBJ   canoe-CAUS-travel-THEME
       'It was he who paddled them.'

(257)   va-noki-a-mani-ra   adani
       3PL-see-DETRANSVZR-Q-IMMED   DEM:PL
       'Are they visible?'

As the Paumarí never use the name of their spouse and only infrequently name their children when speaking about them, anaphoric reference is made with a free pronoun, *ovari* 'he', *oniani* 'she', or, with reference to a child's brother or sister, a mother will frequently use *hoariha* 'other'.

(258)   i-no'a-∅   oni   hoariha
       2SG-give-IMP   DEM   other
       'Give it to the other (younger sibling).'

14 Subordinate clauses

In the following subsections we discuss the various types of subordinate clause constructions that occur in the language, distinguishing them primarily by their syntactic function and/or the way the constructions are internally organized: adverbial clauses (14.1); complement clauses (14.2); relative clauses (14.3); nominalized verb constructions (14.4); indirect and direct quotation (14.5); embedded equative clauses (14.6); and subordination by juxtaposition of certain conditional clause constructions (14.7). We close the section (14.8) with a few examples of complex, multi-embedded clauses, and other examples of these are scattered through the other subsections.

14.1 Adverbial clauses. The main characteristic of adverbial clauses is the verb-final suffix, which is either *-vini* 'DEP:TRANS' or *-ni/-na* 'DEP:INTRANS, f/m'. This replaces the verb-final thematic suffixes that occur in main clauses (sect. 18.6.1). Otherwise, the dependent verb has all the potential for affixation of a main verb. This dependent verb form is not restricted to adverbial subordinate clauses. It can also function as a subject, object, or equative predicate complement (14.2). It also occurs at times as the nucleus of an independent clause, with or without a form of the auxiliary verb *hi* following it, but without any main verb to which it is subordinated.

It is this latter characteristic that is common to the three main types of adverbial clause construction we discuss below: dependent verb form alone (14.1.1); dependent verb form and subordinating particle (14.1.2); and dependent verb form and *hi* auxiliary construction (14.1.3). In the case of the subordinating particles, they sometimes occur with thematic suffixes instead of dependent suffixes on the verb. These adverbial clauses have the same word order patterns as main clauses. They most often consist only of the verb, but it is common to find a single nominal constituent plus verb, and the sequences VS, VO and OV all occur frequently. It is rare to find more than one nominal.

There is one other type of adverbial clause which occurs occasionally. This is the participial, in which neither the thematic suffixes nor the dependent suffixes occur (14.1.4).

14.1.1 Adverbial clauses in which the dependent verb form occurs without particle or auxiliary. This is the most generally used type of adverbial clause and it covers a wide semantic range, including: time (259, 260), location (261), purpose (262), manner (263), and reason (264).

(259)   o-voroni-kamari-'i-hi   o-ka-si-na
         1SG-fall-almost-ASP-THEME   1SG-MOT-up-DEP:INTRANS
         'I almost fell as I climbed.'

(260)   hari   hi-ni   ida   vakadi-badani
         end   AUX-DEP:INTRANS   DEM,f   their-work

         va-ka-namonaha-ha   ada   moaba
         3PL-N:CLASS-CAUS:make-THEME   DEM,m   festa:house
         'When they had finished their work they made a festa house.'

(261)   'daja'daja-ni   ari-hi-'i-hi
         thick:undergrowth-DEP:INTRANS   1PL-arrive-ASP-THEME
         'Where the undergrowth was thick we arrived.'

(262)   va-ka'domaha-ha   ada   sipatihi
         3PL-boil-THEME   DEM,m   bananas

         va-a-kojahari-ha-na
         3PL-VBLZR-banana:mush-ACTION-DEP:INTRANS
         'They boiled the bananas to make mush.'

(263)   a-varavara-ri-na   a-o-kha-'i-hi
         1PL-converse-NEG-DEP:INTRANS   1PL-away-MOT-ASP-THEME
         'Without talking we went.'

(264)   Linda   ho-ra   kaja'oria-'i-ki
         Linda   me-OBJ   be:annoyed-ASP-NONTHEME

         o-fini-jora-'i-ni
         DETRANSVZR-fear-beforehand-ASP-DEP:INTRANS
         'Linda was annoyed at me, she being fearful beforehand (of impending danger). '

The only construction in which an adverbial clause of this type does not have the dependent verb suffix -vini or -ni/-na, is when the clause is negated with the proclitic ni- 'NEG'. As nearly always with this clitic, the verb-final suffix is -ki 'NONTHEME' (265). The construction is, in fact, another example of subordination by juxtaposition, as described in section 14.7, with a similar 'result' function for the -ki clause.

(265)   o-a-ka-noki-'i-hi   ida   ava'doro
       1SG-away-N:CLASS-see-ASP-THEME   DEM,f   rafthouse

       ni-o-o-fini-jana-ki
       NEG-1SG-DETRANSVZR-fear-more-NONTHEME
       'I saw the rafthouse so I wasn't afraid anymore.'

14.1.2 Adverbial clauses with subordinating particles. An adverbial clause with a particle retains the same dependent suffix on the verb, but also has a particle expressing time or purpose. These particles are: *naothinia* 'afterwards' (266), *viahania* 'before' (267), *oadani* 'during, until' (268), *kaba'i* 'while' (269), *kamahini* 'when, FUT' (271). The particle *kaba'i* may also express the adversative 'even though' (270). The purpose particles are *kaimoni* (272) and *mahija* (273, 274), the latter occurring only after an imperative. The particles *naothinia* 'afterwards' and *kaba'i* may also link independent clauses (sect. 8). *kaimoni* can also co-occur with a verb that has one of the thematic suffixes -*ki* or -*ja* (see ex. (275) and the discussion at the end of this sub-section).

(266)   bi-ka-vi-kha-vini   naothi-ni-a
       3SG-canoe-COMIT-MOT-DEP:TRANS   after-f-OBL

       ka-barava-'iana-ha
       VBLZR-fever-again-THEME
       'After he had brought it (turtle), he had another fever.'

(267)   hida   ai   ari-hi-na   viahani-a
       DEM:LOC   depart   1PL-AUX-DEP:INTRANS   before-OBL

       o-na-na'dohi-vini   ida   Siri
       1SG-CAUS-ask-DEP:TRANS   DEM,f   Siri,f
       'Before we departed from here, I asked Siri.'

(268)   jaha-ri-na   oadani   ho-vani
       well-NEG-DEP:INTRANS   while   1SG-CONTR

       o-na-abosi-hi   ida   pa'itxi
       1SG-CAUS-pay-THEME   DEM,f   small
       'While he is not well, I will pay some of it.'

(269)   vada   o-ni-na   kaba'i
         look   1SG-AUX-DEP:INTRANS   while

         kha-'a-ha   ada   jara
         MOT-ASP-THEME   DEM,m   non:Indian
         'While I was looking, the non-Indian came.'

(270)   Siri-a   bi-na-iha-vini   kaba'i
         Siri-ERG   3SG-CAUS-medicine-DEP:TRANS   even:though

         ni-jaha-ki   hida   o-nokho
         NEG-well-NONTHEME   DEM,f   1SG-eye
         'Even though Siri treated it, my eye was not better.'

(271)   kha-'i-na   kamahini
         MOT-ASP-DEP:INTRANS   when:FUT

         vara   o-ni-'a-'a-ha
         speak   1SG-AUX-DITRANSTVZR-ASP-THEME
         'When he comes, I will speak to him.'

Verb roots having an auxiliary verb to carry affixation, like *vara* (271), are discussed in section 18.8.

The particle *kaimoni* 'purpose' usually occurs sentence final.

(272)   kanava-ra   ka-kanikharia-ha   ada   Roberto
         canoe-OBJ   N:CLASS-ask:for-THEME   DEM,m   Roberto,m

         hida   kha-na   kaimoni
         DEM:LOC   MOT-DEP:INTRANS,m   PURP
         'Robert asked for a canoe to come here.'

The other particle expressing purpose, *mahija* 'so that', occurs clause initial following an imperative verb.

(273)   i-dioni-'iana-∅   mahija   o-kamitha-vini
         2SG-repeat-again-IMP   PURP   1SG-hear-DEP:TRANS
         'Repeat it so that I can hear it.'

This *mahija* construction is unique in that even if the verb is intransitive the dependent suffix has the transitive form *-vini* 'DEP:TRANS'.

(274) ai   ari-hi-'iana-va   mahija
       depart   1PL-AUX-again-HORT   PURP

       a-joi-joraki-vini
       1PL-return-quickly-DEP:TRANS
       'Let us leave again so that we may return quickly.'

If there are more than two elements other than the particle, *kaimoni* precedes a demonstrative.

(275) . . .   joraki-a   a'diahi-ja   kaimoni   hida
               quickly-OBL   finish-IMMED   PURP   DEM,f

       vakadi-badani
       their-work
       '. . . for the purpose of finishing their work quickly.'

The form *kaimoni* can also function as a benefactive following a nominal. In this case it is inflected and inalienably possessed, the paradigm being:

kodi-imoni	'for me'
kada-imoni	'for you, SG'
kidi-imoni	'for her/for him'
akadi-imoni	'for us'
avakadi-imoni	'for you, PL'
vakadi-imoni	'for them'
ka-imoni	'for named person'

    e.g., *Maria kaimoni*   'for Maria';
    or following a grammatical construction,
    e.g., *osokoaki kaimoni*   'for me to wash'.

In this function, the phrase in which it occurs is an adverbial (oblique) constituent of the clause:

(276) o-namonaha-'i-ki   hida   maravi   kada-imoni
       1SG-CAUS:make-ASP-NONTHEME   DEM,f   fan   you-for
       'I made this fan for you.'

(277) a-ka-sipatihi-ha-hi   akadi-kodanahi
       1PL-VBLZR-bananas-ACTION-THEME   our-roasted:food

kaimoni
PURP
'We went to get bananas to roast them.'

In addition to its occurrence with noun phrases and clauses clearly marked as subordinate by the dependent verb suffix, *kaimoni* also occurs with clauses that have the thematic suffixes *-ki* 'NONTHEME' and *-ja/-ra* 'IMMED, f/m'. One construction in which the *-ki* suffix plus *kaimoni* is sometimes used is the complement clause of the verb *nofi* 'want' (278). (See section 14.2 for another way of expressing complements of 'want'.)

(278) ihai   hida   isai-a   bi-nofi-ja
       medicine DEM,f   child-ERG 3SG-want-IMMED

       bi-kidafi-ki   kaimoni
       3SG-swallow-NONTHEME   PURP
       'It is medicine the child wants to swallow.'

(279) joroma hida   o-ka-risi-ja
       squash DEM,f   1SG-N:CLASS-peel-IMMED

       o-ka'domaha-ja   kaimoni
       1SG-boil-IMMED   PURP
       'I'm peeling this squash to boil it.'

14.1.3 Adverbial clauses that have the dependent verb form and the *hi* auxiliary construction. The *hi* construction consists of a dependent verb followed by *hi* 'AUX'. All the normal verb affixation except the aspectual and final thematic suffixes occurs on the dependent verb; the aspectual and thematic suffixes occur on the auxiliary (see section 18.8.2 for further discussion).

(280) nama-ni   makamaka-ni   hi-ki . . .
       surface-f be:dirty-DEP:INTRANS   AUX-NONTHEME
       'The surface is dirty (because) . . .'

(281) jara-ra   o-a-kaja'oria-vini   hi-hi . . .
       non:Indian-OBJ   1SG-?-be:annoyed:at-DEP:TRANS   AUX-THEME
       'I was annoyed at the non-Indian (because) . . .'

(282)   vanami-ra   o-ka-namonaha-vini   hi-ja . . .
        paddle-OBJ   1SG-N:CLASS-make-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
        'I am making a paddle (because) . . .'

The *hi* construction co-occurs with adverbial clauses that also have the
dependent verb suffix. In this complex construction, which involves two
dependent verb clauses, the *hi* construction containing one of the dependent
verb clauses is functioning as the main clause in relation to the other
dependent verb adverbial clause. Compare the above three examples with
the following, which are complete sentences:

(283)   nama-ni   makamaki-ni   hi-ki
        surface-f   be:dirty-DEP:INTRANS   AUX-NONTHEME

        o-soko-ra-vini
        1SG-wash-NEG-DEP:TRANS
        'The surface is dirty because I haven't washed it.'

(284)   o-na-kaidiva-vini   ida   kodi-piririka
        1SG-CAUS-value-DEP:TRANS   DEM,f   my-fried:food

        jara-ra   o-a-kaja'oria-vini   hi-hi
        non:Indian-OBJ   1SG-?-be:annoyed:at-DEP:TRANS   AUX-THEME
        'Because I valued my fried food (which the non-Indian had eaten),
        I was annoyed at the non-Indian.'

(285)   kodi-pavakari   kaimoni ki-hi-ni
        my-selling:thing   purpose   N:CLASS-be-DEP:INTRANS

        vanami-ra   o-ka-namonaha-vini   hi-ja
        paddle-OBJ   1SG-N:CLASS-make-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
        'For the purpose of it being my selling thing I'm making a paddle.'
        (i.e., 'I'm making a paddle to sell.')

The adverbial clause may precede (284, 285) or follow (283) the *hi*
construction. In the above examples, the adverbial clause expresses reason
(283, 284) and purpose (285). The following examples show the *hi*
construction used with a manner clause (286) and with a purpose clause
that has the particle *kaimoni* 'PURP' and a thematic verb-final suffix
instead of the dependent suffix (287) (see 14.1.2).

(286)   Juracy-ra   o-ka-'ojomo'i-vini
         Juracy-OBJ   1SG-TRNSTVZR-teach-DEP:TRANS

         hi-ki   hida   ino-i
         AUX-NONTHEME   DEM,neut   tooth-NONSPECFC

         raso-ha-ni
         pull-DETRANSVZR-DEP:INTRANS
         'I am teaching Juracy how to pull teeth.'

(287)   papira-ra   vada o-ni-'a-vini
         paper-OBJ   look 1SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-DEP:TRANS

         hi-ki   o-oga-ja   kaimoni
         AUX-NONTHEME   1SG-know-IMMED   PURP
         'I am looking at my book in order for me to know.'

While (286) is semantically a manner clause, it would be more accurate to describe it syntactically as a demoted object (i.e., complement) clause than an adverbial clause. The main verb meaning 'teach' is ditransitive and in these constructions the recipient or beneficiary is always the direct object, marked by the enclitic -ra 'OBJ', with the patient being the demoted object marked either by -a 'OBL' or (as in 286) by a demonstrative. (See section 1.3 for discussion of ditransitive clauses.)

There is one other more complex type of adverbial clause with which the *hi* construction functions as the main clause. This is an equative clause in which the predicate nominal is expressed by means of a dependent verb form. In this construction the whole equative clause is functioning as an adverbial. (For other functions of equative clauses in complex sentences, see 14.2 and 14.6). The equative clause always precedes the *hi* construction. It consists of a predicate nominal, the copula *mani* and a demonstrative. The predicate nominal may consist only of the dependent verb (288) or it may also have a subject (289, 290) or object (291) nominal grammatically related to that verb. The nominal always precedes the verb and, when the verb is transitive, is marked by the appropriate enclitic, -a 'ERG' (290) or -ra 'OBJ' (291). The semantic functions expressed are either reason (288–291) or purpose (292, 293).

(288)   o-vai'ami-na   mani   ida   ho-ra
         1SG-hungry-DEP:INTRANS   COP   DEM,neut   me-OBJ

no'a-vini   hi-ja   'bai-a
give-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED   food-DEMOT:O
'Because I was hungry, she gave me food.'

(289)   nama-ni   makamaka-ni   mani   hida
        surface-f   be:dirty-DEP:INTRANS   COP   DEM,neut

        o-soko-vini   hi-ki
        1SG-wash-DEP:TRANS   AUX-NONTHEME
        'Because the surface is dirty, I am washing it.'

(290)   jara-∅   bi-honaria-vini   mani   hida
        non:Indian-ERG   3SG-order-DEP:TRANS   COP   DEM,neut

        vanami-ra   bada   ka-ni-'a-vini
        paddle-OBJ   work   N:CLASS-AUX-TRNSTVZR-DEP:TRANS

        hi-ja
        AUX-IMMED
        'Because the non-Indian ordered it, he is making a paddle.'

(291)   honai-ra   kajoni-vini   mani   ida
        order-OBJ   refuse-DEP:TRANS   COP   DEM,neut

        o-da-vini   hi-ja
        1SG-hit-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
        'Because she refused (to obey) the order, I hit her.'

(292)   o-ka-'ojomo'i-vini   kaimoni   mani   ida
        1SG-TRNSTVZR-learn-DEP:TRANS   PURP   COP   DEM,neut

        o-na-jiri-vini   hi-ja
        1SG-CAUS-write-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
        'For the purpose of me learning, I'm writing it.'

(293)   kodi-'ojomo'i-hi   kaimoni   hi-ni   mani
        my-learning:thing-NOMLZR   PURP   be-DEP:INTRANS   COP

        ida   o-na-jiri-vini   hi-ja
        DEM,neut   1SG-CAUS-write-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
        'For the purpose of it being my learning thing, I'm writing it.'

In (292) the purpose particle *kaimoni* governs the dependent verb form, whereas in (293) it governs a noun phrase and is itself governed by the dependent verb, which in this case is the dependent form of the auxiliary *hi*, glossed here as 'be'. There is no significant difference in meaning between the two uses of *kaimoni*.

There is, however, a significant pragmatic function served by the use of the equative clause in all these examples (288-293). As noted in 14.6 and section 9.2.3, whenever an equative clause is used in the sentence-initial position, as a single constituent of that sentence, it adds a degree of prominence to that constituent, whether it refers primarily to a participant or, as in these examples, to a proposition. It has much the same effect as a pseudo-cleft construction in English, so that (288), for example, could be glossed something like: 'It is because I was hungry that she gave me food'.

The *hi* construction is also used as the second in a two-clause sequence to express result. In this case, both clauses are main clauses, marked as such by the verb-final thematic suffix.

(294) ka-mokhi-ki   ida   gamo   morobo-ni,
        N:CLASS-deaf-NONTHEME   DEM,f   woman   ear-f

        athi-ra   ka-mitha-ra-vini   hi-ki
        speech-OBJ   VBLZR-hear-NEG-DEP:TRANS   AUX-NONTHEME
        'The woman's ear is deaf, so she can't hear speech.'

(295) bi-karaga-'a-ha   ada   ajotoro   asaaka-na,
        3SG-find-ASP-THEME   DEM,m   crab   dried:up-m

        ho-ra   na-na'dohi-vini   hi-'a-ha
        me-OBJ   CAUS-ask-DEP:TRANS   AUX-ASP-THEME
        'She found a dried up crab, so she asked me about it.'

14.1.4 Participials. The participial form of the verb rarely occurs. When it does, it functions as an adverb describing manner. It has no affixes, other than the adverbializer *-hi* (sect. 20) and the enclitic *-a* 'OBL' marking it as a peripheral constituent, and there is no noun phrase grammatically related to it. The unexpressed subject is coreferential with the subject of the main clause.

The following examples contrast the verb *ki'daraha* 'run', first as a participial (296), and then as an adverbial clause in which the verb has the dependent suffix (297) (sect. 14.1). There is no discernible semantic difference.

(296)   a-kaikahi-'i-hi   ki'darahi-hi-a
        1PL-arrive-ASP-THEME   run-ADVBLZR-OBL
        'We arrived, running.'

(297)   o-ki'daraha-ha-na   o-o-kha-hi
        1SG-run-distance/time-DEP:INTRANS   1SG-away-MOT-THEME
        'I went, running.'

14.2 Complement clauses. Subordinate clauses function as subject and object complement clauses. They occur also as predicate complements in equative clauses (14.6). An example is first given showing the subordinate equative clause construction (298). (Note that this never occurs as a separate main clause in isolation—see 14.6.) This equative clause can function as the subject complement of a causative verb (299), but it is the dependent verb predicate complement that carries the semantic content. See 14.1.3 for the adverbial function of these equative clauses.

(298)   kodi-amia   ho-ra   da-vini   mani   ida
        my-mother   me-OBJ   hit-DEP:TRANS   COP   DEM,neut
        'My mother hitting me. . .'

(299)   kodi-amia   ho-ra   da-vini   mani   ida
        my-mother   me-OBJ   hit-DEP:TRANS   COP   DEM,neut

        ho-ra   na-asara-ja
        me-OBJ   CAUS-cry-IMMED
        'My mother hitting me caused me to cry.'

In (299) the dependent clause predicate nominal is transitive and has both subject and object nominals. The order SOV is virtually obligatory in this construction, since nominals never seem to occur following the dependent verb. When only a subject nominal precedes the (transitive) verb, it has the *-a* 'ERG' marker (300).

The main verb in these constructions can be passivized, with the result that the equative clause can also function as a passive agentive phrase:

(300)   masi-a   bi-anani-vini   mani   ida
        bat-ERG   3SG-bite-DEP:TRANS   COP   DEM,neut

        na-abini-na   hi-ja
        CAUS-die-m   AUX-IMMED,neut
        'He was caused to die by a bat biting him (cock).'

(301)   kidi-so'dini-a   bi-na-kavamoni-ha-vini   mani
         his-chest:pain-ERG   3SG-CAUS-be:ill-DUR-DEP:TRANS   COP

         ida   na-badani-ri-na   hi-ki
         DEM,neut   CAUS-work-NEG-DEP:INTRANS AUX-NONTHEME
         'Because his chest pain caused him to be ill, he was made unable
         to work.'

In all the preceding examples, the dependent verb predicate complement
has been transitive. It can also be intransitive, and the equative clause in
which it occurs may be the subject (302) or the passive agent of the main
verb (303).

(302)   o-noko'isi-na   mani   hida   ho-ra
         1SG-sleepy-DEP:INTRANS   COP   DEM,neut   me-OBJ

         ni-'oma-ja
         CAUS-lie:down-IMMED
         'My being tired caused me to lie down.'

(303)   o-noko'isi-na   mani   hida
         1SG-sleepy-DEP:INTRANS   COP   DEM,neut

         ni-'oma-ni   hi-ja
         CAUS-lie:down-DEP:INTRANS   AUX-IMMED
         'Through my being tired I was caused to lie down.'

A fronted equative clause can also be the object complement of the main
verb, though this seems to occur less frequently than the subject
complement construction. In this case, the predicate nominal is a
nominalized, not a dependent, verb and the equative clause is not followed
by the direct object marker enclitic -ra, since it includes the demonstrative:

(304)   vakadi-fajafaja-hi   mani   oni
         3PL-be:exhausted-NOMLZR   COP   DEM,f

         va-vi-'oma-ja
         3PL-COMIT-lie:down-IMMED
         'They are lying down with their exhaustion.'

In (304), the comitative prefix makes the verb transitive (sect. 18.5.3).

The dependent verb clause may also occur as subject of a main verb without being part of an equative clause. The same semantic function of cause is involved. The dependent clause subject may precede (305) or follow (306, 307) the verb phrase in the main clause.

(305) o-ka'da'di ka-'bana-ni   o-kaaboka-jana-ra-vini
       1SG-head N:CLASS-pain-f 1SG-bear-more-NEG-DEP:TRANS

       ho-ra   ni-'oma-ja
       me-OBJ CAUS-lie:down-IMMED
       'My not being able to bear the headache is causing me to lie down.'

(306) ho-ra   ka-na-siho-ki
       me-OBJ BEN-CAUS-fire-NONTHEME

       o-vai'ami-na
       1SG-hunger-DEP:INTRANS
       'My being hungry caused me to cook.'

(307) ho-ra   a-ra-kha-ri-ki   bahi
       me-OBJ away-CAUS-MOT-NEG-NONTHEME rain

       kha-rari-na   mahi oada-ni arabo'oa
       MOT-down-DEP:INTRANS day   long-f   non:flood:land
       'What is causing me not to go to non-flood land is it is raining all day long.'

The dependent verb construction can also be the direct object of the main verb. This includes complements of the verb *nofi* 'want' (309), but it is not restricted to this category (308). When it precedes the verb, the enclitic *-ra* 'OBJ' occurs (309). (See 14.1.2 for use of *kaimoni* 'PURP' to express complements of 'want'.)

(308) khai   bi-ni-'a-'a-ha   ada
       happy 3SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-ASP-THEME DEM,m

       kahami-ra   ha-vini
       palm:nut-OBJ eat-DEP:TRANS
       'He was happy about eating palm nuts.'

(309)   o-joi-na-ra   o-nofi-vini
        1SG-return-DEP:INTRANS-OBJ   1SG-want-DEP:TRANS

        hi-ki   hida   Maraha
        AUX-NONTHEME   DEM:LOC   Maraha
        'I want to return here to Maraha.'

14.3 Relative clauses. A relative clause has an inflected verb with the suffix *-ki*. This suffix is glossed 'NONTHEME' when it occurs in a main verb and 'DESC' when it occurs as a nominal modifier. In this function, it can often be regarded as a simple adjective (sect. 15.3), as well as a relative clause. The head noun which the clause modifies may be the subject (310, 311), direct object (312, 313), or oblique constituent (314, 315) of the main clause. There do not appear to be any restrictions on the syntactic functions which the relativized constituent can have in the relative clause, the following examples illustrating subject (310, 311, 312), object (313, 314) and genitive (315) relativization. The relative clause normally follows the noun it modifies (but can have another constituent of the noun phrase following it, as in (314) and (315)), and the case markers *-ra* 'OBJ' and *-a* 'ERG' (311, 312) follow the relative clause when this is the final constituent of the whole noun phrase and when that phrase functions as object or subject, respectively, of the main clause in the preverbal position.

(310)   siri   ka-jokira-ri-ki   ho-ra
        turtle   VBLZR-salt-NEG-DESC   me-OBJ

        na-ihamahi-'i-hi
        CAUS-be:angry-ASP-THEME
        'The turtle which was unsalted angered me' or
        'I was angry because the turtle was unsalted.'

(311)   kidi-abi'i   kahano-ki-a   bi-akadai-'i-hi
        her-father   drunk-DESC-ERG   3SG-squash-ASP-THEME
        'Her father who was drunk squashed her.'

(312)   bano   ka-si'aha-na   hoja-roni-ki-ra
        piranha,m   GEN-pot-m   remain-still-DESC-OBJ

        a-na-ibavijaha-'a-ha
        1PL-CAUS-put:away-ASP-THEME
        'We put away the cooking pot of piranhas which had remained.'

(313)   jara   anani   pa'isi-a
        non:Indian   female   small-ERG

        bi-ka-va-ki'daraha-'i-hi   ida   sapiva
        3SG-N:CLASS-COMIT-run-ASP-THEME DEM,f   hat

        o-a-ka-vi-kha-'i-ki
        1SG-away-N:CLASS-COMIT-MOT-ASP-DESC
        'The little non-Indian girl ran with the hat which I had brought.'
        (The *ka-* 'N:CLASS' prefix is governed by *sapiva* 'hat', as direct
        object of the main verb and as head noun of the verb in the
        relative clause.)

(314)   a-va-ko-'omisi-'a-ha   kaasi
        away-3PL-canoe-dock-ASP-THEME   beach

        o-rakhai-vini   o-nofi-ki   a'ini-ni-a
        1SG-plant-DEP:TRANS   1SG-want-DESC   upriver-f-OBL
        'They docked at the upriver beach which I wanted to plant.'

(315)   jara   anani   kidi-isai   jaha-ni   bodi-ni-a
        non:Indian   female   her-child   abdomen-f   inside-f-OBL

        abini-ki   kani   gora-ni   adamini-ni
        die-DESC   place   house-f   port-f

        a-ko-'omisi-'iana-hi
        1PL-canoe-dock-again-THEME
        'We docked at the port of the house of the non-Indian woman
        whose baby had died in her abdomen.'

In (316), there is a headless relative clause, *akadi-ija'ari-ra na-abini-ki*,
embedded in a purpose adverbial clause. The 'f/neut' gender form of the
demonstrative *ida* precludes this from being the head of the relative clause
(*ida*, in fact, refers to the whole dependent clause that follows).

(316)   Orobana   kidi-isai-ra   honaria-vini
        Orobana,m   his-son-OBJ   order-DEP:TRANS

        hi-ni   ida   akadi-ija'ari-ra
        AUX-DEP:INTRANS   DEM,neut   our-people-OBJ

na-abini-ki   joroni-ni
CAUS-die-DESC   gather-DEP:INTRANS
'Orobana ordered his son, so that those who were killing our people should gather together.'

14.4 Nominalized verb constructions. Nominalized verb constructions are more fully discussed and exemplified in section 15.4. Here we just summarize the different types of subordinate clause they express: adverbial clause (317); subject complement clause (318), and object complement clause (319).

(317)   kodi-kana-i   naothinia o-vadi-'i-hi
        my-bath-NOMLZR   after   1SG-sleep-ASP-THEME
        'After my bathing, I slept.'

(318)   'bana-ki   hida   o-sii-na
        be:painful-NONTHEME   DEM,f   1SG-wound-1SG,neut
        'My wound hurts.' (For this use of the suffix -na see sections 15.2 and 15.4.)

(319)   bi-kamitha-'i-hi   ida   kodi-asara
        3SG-hear-ASP-THEME   DEM,f   my-cry
        'He heard my crying.'

14.5 Indirect and direct quotation. There are a number of verbs which govern an indirect quotation as either the object (320) or the demoted object (321). The type of quotation is reflected in the choice of verb. For example, *kahi* 'say' governs a statement, *na'dohi* 'ask' governs a question and *honaria* 'order, request' governs a command.

(320)   a-ka-sipatihi-ha-na-ra   kahi-ha
        1PL-VBLZR-bananas-ACTION-DEP:INTRANS-OBJ   say-THEME

        ada   papai
        DEM,m   father
        'Father said that we would go to get bananas.'

(321)   Siri-a   bi-na-na'dohi-vini   hi-ki
        Siri-ERG   3SG-CAUS-ask-DEP:TRANS   AUX-NONTHEME

```
ida            siriga    mahi  hahavi  hado-na
DEM,neut  rubber   day   every   cut-DEP:INTRANS,m
'Siri asked about rubber being cut daily.'
```

Note that in (321) *siriga* 'rubber' is masculine so the suffix on 'cut' is also masculine. The form of the demonstrative *ida* 'neut' shows grammatical agreement with the entire dependent clause that follows. This indirect speech complement clause functions as a demoted object, since the direct object of the verb *na'dohi* 'ask' is the person of the addressee (not overtly expressed in this example).

```
(322)   oma-na                     bi-honaria-ha        ada      jomahi
        lie:down-DEP:INTRANS  3SG-order-THEME  DEM,m  dog
        'He ordered the dog to lie down.'
```

```
(323)   ija'ari-ra      nahina  kaimoni  va-na-abini-vini
        people-OBJ  what    PURP     3PL-CAUS-die-DEP:TRANS

        va'o-ra    va-na-na'dohi-vini          adani     sorara
        3PL-OBJ  3PL-CAUS-ask-DEP:TRANS  DEM:PL  soldier
        'They asked the soldiers for what purpose they were killing the people.'
```

Some quotation verbs only occur with indirect quotation complements, e.g. *kahi* 'say'; others may have either a direct or an indirect quotation complement. Compare the following direct quotation sentences with (321) and (322) above, where the same main verbs are used:

```
(324)   Siri  ho-ra      na-na'dohi-'i-hi,           nahina  mani  hida
        Siri  me-OBJ  CAUS-ask-ASP-THEME  what    COP   DEM,f
        'Siri asked me, "What is this?" '
```

```
(325)   bi-honaria-ha        ada      jomahi,  oma'a
        3SG-order-THEME  DEM,m  dog       lie:down
        'He ordered the dog, "Lie down." '
```

Other verbs that require the addressee to be the direct object are: *naamina* 'ask (someone) for help with', *kanamoni* 'tell', *kaabani* 'warn', *nanamitha* 'recount, tell' and *nava'isohi* 'advise'. The enclitic *-ra* marks the addressee and the content of the communication is the oblique (demoted) object.

Verbs that may take either a direct or an indirect quotation usually take the latter. Direct quotation is, however, very common and usually has the verb *ni* 'say' as the main verb governing the quotation. The verb *ni* always takes a direct quotation complement. Other verbs are also used as speech verbs (327–330).

(326) i-o-fini-mani-ja
       2SG-DETRANSVZR-fear-Q-IMMED

       o-ni-'a-'i-hi
       1SG-say-TRNSTVZR-ASP-THEME
       ' "Are you afraid?", I said to her.'

(327) kidi-vabo-a   bi-kaabani-'a-ha
       his-brother:in:law-ERG   3SG-warn-ASP-THEME

       ajabona,   hari'a   bana   varavara-jana
       brother:in:law NEG:IMP warning talk-any:more
       'His brother-in-law warned him, "Brother-in-law, don't talk any more." '

(328) kaihivadi-'i-hi   ida   kidi-gamo ho-ra   kada-isai-a
       tease-ASP-THEME DEM,f his-wife   me-OBJ your-child-OBL
       'His wife teased, "Give me your child." '

(329) kidi-amia-a   bi-kaja'oria-'a-ha
       his-mother-ERG   3SG-be:annoyed:at-ASP-THEME

       hari'a   asara
       NEG:IMP cry
       'His mother was annoyed at him, "Don't cry." '

(330) jara-ø   bi-na-na'dohi-hi   ida   prima Bitxi
       non:Indian-ERG 3SG-CAUS-ask-THEME DEM,f cousin Bitxi

       nahina-ra   vi-fini-vini   adani   isai
       what-OBJ   3PL-fear-DEP:TRANS DEM:PL children
       'The non-Indian asked cousin Bitxi, "What are the children afraid of?" '

The 'say' verb margin may precede or follow the quotation. Occasionally it both precedes and follows (332). There may also be direct quotation without any 'say' verb (333).

(331) amo'amo Basai ho-ra   na-na'dohi-mai-hi,
       cousin   Basai,f me-OBJ   CAUS-ask-nearby:house-THEME

       mamai, ada   vanavana-ha-maina-ha
       mother DEM,m   go:to:see-distance-next-THEME
       'Cousin Basai asked me, "Mother, has he gone along to have a
       look?" '

(332) o-ni-ha-hi,   'ba'da-ki   hada,
       1SG-say-distance-THEME   seedy-DESC   DEM,m

       o-ni-ha-hi
       1SG-say-distance-THEME
       'I said, "It is seedy," I said.'

(333) ho, Raofanaro, kahami   hada   a-karaga-'iana-ra.
       ho   Raofanaro   palm:nuts DEM,m   1PL-find-again-IMMED

       va-na-bavi-∅
       2PL-CAUS-container-IMP

       va-vi-kha-ra-foni-∅
       2PL-COMIT-MOT-downwards-port-IMP
       ' "Ho, Raofanaro, we've found palm nuts again."
       "Put them in a container and bring them to the port." '

The quotative margin is usually an independent clause in which the 'say'
verb has the suffix -hi/-ha 'THEME', indicating that the speech act is
regarded as an event in the discourse structure. The subordinating affixes
-vini or -ni/-na also occur quite frequently.

14.6 Embedded equative clauses. In earlier subsections of section 14, we
have shown that equative clauses with dependent verb predicate nominals
can be embedded as a limited number of constituent types in a main
clause: subject, passive agent and adverbial clause. In this subsection we
discuss some general characteristics of these embedded equatives.

Equative clauses are described in section 1.4. Only those clauses that
have the copula *mani* are involved in these embeddings. In every case,
mani is followed by a demonstrative. In the simple equative clause, the
predicate complement is a noun phrase and the demonstrative agrees with
the head noun of that phrase.

(334a) nahina   mani   ida
        what   COP   DEM,f
        'What is that?'

(334b) si'aha   mani   ida
        cooking:pot   COP   DEM,f
        'That is a cooking pot.'

Where the predicate complement contains as its nucleus a dependent verb form or a nominal derived from a verb, the gender distinction is neutralized and the feminine demonstrative is used as the neutral form. This rule applies irrespective of the gender of subject or object nominals that may occur with the dependent verb. Either *hida*, the "near" deictic, or *ida*, the "far" deictic, may be used.

(335)   bada   o-ni-na   mani   hida
        work   1SG-AUX-DEP:INTRANS   COP   DEM,neut

        hida   ho-ra   na-hoja-ja
        DEM:LOC   me-OBJ   CAUS-stay-IMMED
        'My working is causing me to remain here.'

(336)   o-karahoba-ra-vini   mani   ida   bahi-a
        1SG-cover-NEG-DEP:TRANS   COP   DEM,neut   rain-ERG

        bi-na-a'ba-vini   hi-ja
        3SG-CAUS-wet-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
        'Because I didn't cover it over, the rain made it wet.'

There are two types of predicate nominal involving *kaimoni* 'PURP' that result in embedded equatives which function as adverbials. In one, the particle *kaimoni* governs a noun phrase and the demonstrative takes the gender of the head noun (337). In the other, *kaimoni* governs a dependent verb construction and the demonstrative then has neutral (feminine) form (338).

(337)   o-jora-na   kaimoni   mani   hada
        1SG-mat,m-neut   PURP   COP   DEM,m

        o-namonaha-ra
        1SG-CAUS:make-IMMED,m
        'For it to be my mat I'm making it.'

(338)   kodi-makari-ra   o-rokhoi-vini   kaimoni
        my-cloth-OBJ   1SG-sew-DEP:TRANS   PURP

        mani   hida   o-nofi-ja,   va'a
        COP   DEM,neut   1SG-want-IMMED   thread
        'For sewing my material I want it, thread.'

In these embedded constructions, the equative clause is always the first constituent of the main clause. This fits the pattern of fronting constituents and adding certain elements (in this case *mani* + DEM) for the purpose of emphasis, contrast, or prominence of some kind. In the case of the embedded equative construction, as we suggest in 14.1.3, the effect seems to be much the same as the pseudo-clefting device in English. See also section 9.2.3.

The equative clause, as a constituent of the main clause, usually stands alone, without any enclitic or particle following it. Occasionally, as in (339), a particle (*viahania*) may follow, and it seems to function as part of the (adverbial) constituent.

(339)   o-a-na-ja'di-vini   mani   ida
        1SG-STATVZR-CAUS-new-DEP:TRANS   COP   DEM,neut

        viaha-ni-a   o-na-tarara-vini
        before-neut-OBL   1SG-CAUS-pull:down-DEP:TRANS

        hi-ja
        AUX-IMMED
        'Because before I renew it (house), I'm pulling it down.'

When the predicate nominal is a dependent verb construction, this type of equative clause never occurs as an independent main clause or sentence. Its grammatical function appears to be restricted to the three categories: subject, passive agent and adverbial; and the semantic functions seem to be limited to agent, cause-reason and purpose. Equative clauses with noun phrase complements can occur as independent main clauses (334a, b), and also as direct objects (340), as well as subjects (341).

(340)   nahina   mani   hida   i-nofi-ja
        what   COP   DEM,f   2SG-want-IMMED
        'What is it you want?'

(341) nahina mani ida   abini-ja
       what   COP   DEM,f   die-IMMED
       'What died?'

14.7 Subordination by juxtaposition: conditional clauses. A full conditional sentence consists of two sets of two juxtaposed clauses, showing a condition and a result and the alternative condition and result.

(342) i-o-kha-hi;   o-o-kha-hi;
       2SG-away-MOT-THEME   1SG-away-MOT-THEME

       i-o-kha-ri-hi;
       2SG-away-MOT-NEG-THEME

       ni-o-o-kha-ki
       NEG-1SG-away-MOT-NONTHEME
       'If you go, I'll go; if you don't go, then I won't go.'

The alternative condition is often omitted.

(343) o-karaga-hi;   o-a-vi-kha-hi
       1SG-find-THEME   1SG-away-COMIT-MOT-THEME
       'If I find it, I will take it.'

There is no morphological marking for a conditional clause, but it is phonologically marked by rising intonation at the end of the first clause and falling intonation on the second.

If the clause is positive the *-hi/-ha* 'THEME' suffix occurs on both clauses (343). The conditional clause may be negated with the suffix *-ri* 'NEG' and the result clause may be negated with the negative proclitic *ni-* and the thematic suffix becomes *-ki* 'NONTHEME' (344).

(344) aihota-ri-hi;   ni-o-joi-joraki-ki
       better-NEG-THEME   NEG-1SG-return-quickly-NONTHEME
       'If she doesn't get better, then I will not return quickly.'

In modern speech, every Paumarí uses the Portuguese *se* 'if' clause initially, which makes it unambiguously conditional.

The contrafactual conditional relationship is also expressed by two clauses. The first is obligatorily marked by the particle *vaha* 'CONTRAFACT', which usually occurs immediately following the verb, and the thematic suffix is *-ja/-ra* 'IMMED, f/m'; the optional negative marker is the verb suffix *-ri*. The second clause has a *-hi/-ha* 'THEME' suffix, unless

the clause is negative, in which case -*ki* 'NONTHEME' and the negative proclitic *ni-* occur. The particle *vaha* may optionally be repeated in the second clause.

(345)   o-ko-'bai-ja   vaha;   i-ra
       1SG-VBLZR-food-IMMED   CONTRAFACT   you-OBJ

       o-no'a-hi
       1SG-give-THEME
       'If I had food, I would give you some.'

(346)   i-a-ka'oaha-ja   vaha   ida   bakatha;
       2SG-N:CLASS-shut-IMMED   CONTRAFACT   DEM,f   door

       ni-voroni-ki   ida   isai
       NEG-fall-NONTHEME   DEM,f   child
       'If you had shut the door, the child wouldn't have fallen (out of the house).'

(347)   o-ka-oho-ri-ja   vaha;
       1SG-VBLZR-cold-NEG-IMMED   CONTRAFACT

       o-kana-ha-hi
       1SG-bathe-distance-THEME
       'If I didn't have a cold, I would go for a bath.'

14.8 Complex multi-embedded clauses. Throughout section 14 there have been several examples of complex clauses with more than one dependent clause embedded. We close the section by summarizing, with a few examples, the degrees of complexity that can result from multi-embedding.

In (348), there are two -*vini* dependent verb clauses. The first, *kodi-badava ho-ra baranaha-vini-ra*, is a direct object complement clause (note the -*ra* 'OBJ' enclitic at the end of it, as well as another -*ra* 'OBJ' (*ho-ra*) which is the direct object phrase within the clause). This complement clause is embedded within a purpose adverbial clause, which has the dependent verb *o-naaba-vini* in the final position. The main clause is sentence-initial, as is usual when purpose clauses occur.

(348)   o-o-kha-mani-ki-ho   ida   Sete   Boca,
       1SG-away-MOT-COP-NONTHEME-1SG   DEM:LOC   Sete   Boca

kodi-badava   ho-ra   baranaha-vini-ra
my-nephew   me-OBJ   call-DEP:TRANS-OBJ

o-naaba-vini
1SG-obey-DEP:TRANS
'I'm going to Sete Boca, to respond to my nephew's calling me.'

In (349), there is a complex subject complement clause which begins with *arakava* and ends with *oavikhahavini*. The other constituents of the main clause are all that precedes *arakava*, including direct object, main verb and oblique (locative) phrase. Within the subject complement clause is a direct object, *arakava . . . va'o-ra*, which has embedded in it the relative clause *vakaaraboriki-ra*, which also has the object enclitic *-ra*, since it is in apposition with *va'o-ra* ('the chickens that had no land, them.')

(349)   ho-ra   a-ra-kha-misi-ki
         me-OBJ   away-TRNSTVZR-MOT-high:land-NONTHEME

         arabo'oa   kani-a   arakava
         non:flood:land place-OBL   hen

         va-ka-arabo-ri-ki-ra   va'o-ra
         3PL-VBLZR-land-NEG-NONTHEME-OBJ   them-OBJ

         arabo'oa   o-a-vi-kha-ha-vini
         non:flood:land 1SG-away-COMIT-MOT-distance-DEP:TRANS
         'My taking to highland those chickens that had no land (is what) caused me to go to the highland.'

In (350), there is a coordinate sequence of three juxtaposed adverbial clauses, which semantically are a combination of manner and reason and function to modify and explain the main part of the predication, which occurs at the end of the sentence. All three dependent clauses are transitive, with verb-final *-vini*, but each has a slightly different internal structure: the first has an *-a* 'ERG' subject nominal preceding the verb and the *hiki* form of the auxiliary following; the second has a *-ra* direct object preceding the verb and *hini*, the dependent form of the auxiliary, following; and the third has only the verb.

(350)   Raimundo-a   bi-obari-vini
         Raimundo-ERG   3SG-drop:in:water-DEP:TRANS

hi-ki   vajahari-ra
AUX-NONTHEME   alligator-OBJ

ka-n-oba-vini   hi-ni
N:CLASS-CAUS-strike-DEP:TRANS   AUX-DEP:INTRANS

bi-ka-sa'a-faro-vini,
3SG-N:CLASS-hand-slip-DEP:TRANS

o'omari-'i-hi   ida   jori
sink-ASP-THEME   DEM,f   axe
'Raimundo dropping (the axe) in the water, striking the alligator, his hand slipping, the axe sank.'

Syntax of Phrase Types

15 Noun phrase structure

A noun phrase is a noun functioning as head with optional modifiers and particle, or a pronoun. The demonstrative is not considered a constituent of the noun phrase but is discussed in section 15.3.2.

15.1 Marking for case. The subject of a transitive verb is marked with the enclitic *-a* 'ERG' when this constituent occurs immediately before the verb and is not associated with a demonstrative.

(351) mamai-a   bi-n-oba-hi   ida   ava   pa'itxi
       mother-ERG   3SG-CAUS-chop-THEME   DEM,f   tree small
       'Mother chopped down a small tree.'

The subject is also marked when it occurs in the right dislocated clarification position.

(352) bi-dabo-hi,   Ofi-a
       3SG-tie-THEME   Ofi-ERG
       'He tied it, Ofi did.'

The subject enclitic does not occur on the subject of an intransitive verb nor on a subject pronoun.

The direct object of a transitive verb is marked with the enclitic *-ra* 'OBJ' when it occurs immediately before the verb (353) and is not associated with a demonstrative (355). Semantically indirect objects, such as recipient and beneficiary, normally occur as direct objects (354), although beneficiaries can also be expressed as an indirect object in a postpositional phrase (sects. 1.3 and 14.1.2). See also the discussion on ditransitivizing/benefactive affixes in section 18.5.8 and also Derbyshire (1983, 1986) for further discussion.

(353) kahami-ra   a-na-joi-vini
       palm:nuts-OBJ   1PL-CAUS-return-DEP:TRANS
       'We returned to get nuts.'

(354) Maria-ra   o-ka-raba-hi-
       Mary-OBJ   1SG-DITRANSTVZR-weave-DITRANSTVZR-

```
vini          hi-ki             hada     jorai
DEP:TRANS   AUX-NONTHEME   DEM,m   sleeping:mat,m
```
'I made the mat for Mary.'

(355) o-sa'a   hida   o-n-oba-ja
      1SG-hand   DEM,f   1SG-CAUS-chop-IMMED
      'I chopped my hand.'

When the object pronoun occurs, it is always in the preverb position and has bound to it the object enclitic.

(356) mafo ho-ra   anana-ha-'i-hi
      ants   me-OBJ   bite-DUR-ASP-THEME
      'Ants were biting me.'

The -ra 'OBJ' enclitic also occurs on an object phrase in the right dislocated position to clarify the object relating to a grammatically intransitive verb.

(357) a-ka-napajahi-na   vani
      STATVZR-canoe-distant-DEP:INTRANS   CONTR

      a-va-ka-ha'di-ha-'a-ha,
      STATVZR-3PL-canoe-alight-DETRANSVZR-ASP-THEME

      vakadi-motor-ra
      their-motor-OBJ
      'When we were a long way off they ignited (it), their motor.'

The enclitic -a 'DEMOT.O' marks a demoted object (i.e., what is normally the patient in a ditransitive clause) that is not preceded by a demonstrative (cf. 354 and 358).

(358) ihai-a   ho-ra   no'a-vini   hi-ja
      medicine-DEMOT.O   me-OBJ   give-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
      'She gave me medicine.'

The same enclitic -a also has a more general oblique function, signalling locative (359), temporal (360), instrument (361), adjunct (362), and other adverbial (363) phrases.

(359)   kaasi-a   a-ka-kha-'a-va
        beach-OBL   1PL-canoe-MOT-ASP-HORT
        'Let us flee to the beach.'

(360)   mahi-a   a-a-kha-no-hi   ida   kanava
        day-OBL   away-canoe-MOT-arrive-THEME   DEM,f   canoe

        ka-karaho
        N.CLASS-big
        'By day a big canoe will arrive.'

(361)   kodi-hado-a   o-n-oba-hi
        my-knife-OBL   1SG-CAUS-chop-THEME
        'With my knife I chopped at it.'

(362)   akona   vani-a   abini-ra   ada   abaisana
        poison   CONTR-OBL   die-IMMED   DEM,m   fish
        'From fish poison the fish died.'

(363)   vajafori-a   o-ka-si-'i-hi
        slowly-OBL   away-MOT-up-ASP-THEME
        'Slowly I climbed up (the tree).'

Some particles are also used to define time (366) and purpose (368) noun phrases. The same particles are used with subordinate clauses (sect. 14.1.2). The oblique enclitic -a sometimes co-occurs with the particle (364, 365).

(364)   bahi   naothi-Ø-a   va-ka-'ajihi-'a-ha
        rain   after-m-OBL   3PL-canoe-depart-ASP-THEME
        'After the rain they left.'

(365)   akadi-'bai   viaha-ni-a   a-kana-'i-hi
        our-food   before-f-OBL   1PL-bathe-ASP-THEME
        'Before our food we bathed.' (i.e., 'Before eating . . .')

(366)   mahi   oadani   kha-rari-'a-ha
        day   during   MOT-down-ASP-THEME
        'All day long it rained.'

(367)   o-vi-kha-ki   hida   kavari Rosa kaimoni
        1SG-COMIT-MOT-NONTHEME DEM,f scissors Rose PURP
        'I brought the scissors for Rose.'

(368)   i-nofi-mani-ra   hada   mai'da
        2SG-want-Q-IMMED   DEM,m comb,m

        kada-baro-hi   kaimoni
        your-tidy:up-NOMLZR   PURP
        'Do you want this comb for your tidying up?'

In some cases, postpositions are used to determine specific locations. The
-a 'OBL' enclitic always co-occurs.

(369)   ihinika kani-a   a-o-kha-misi-ki   hari
        rituals to:place-OBL   1PL-away-MOT-inland-NONTHEME   1PL
        'We are going into the jungle to the ritual house.'

(370)   mesa   ka-namani-a
        table   N.CLASS-surface-OBL

        bi-na-hoja-ha-ki   ida
        3SG-CAUS-be-DUR-NONTHEME   DEM,f
        'On the table she left it.'

(371)   gora   nabo'ani-a   bi-ka-nako'di-ki
        house   under-OBL   3SG-N.CLASS-look:for-NONTHEME

        ida   kojira
        DEM,f   spoon
        'Under the house she looked for the spoon.'

The directional suffix -ja is used to specify other locations: a'ini-ja
'upriver', nobani-ja 'other side of lake', gora baninini-ja 'outside the house',
etc.
Some body parts are also used to express specific location.

(372)   o-kaida-a   rada-ha-'i-hi   ida   isai
        1SG-back-OBL   pass-DETRANSVZR-ASP-THEME   DEM,f   child
        'The child passed behind me.'

(373) o-viaha   vithi-'i-hi   ida   kidi-kajo'o
       1SG-front   sit-ASP-THEME   DEM,f   her-sister
       'In front of me sat her younger sister.'

15.2 Noun classes, gender, number and possession (genitives). These four categories—class, gender, number and possession—interact with each other, so that it is necessary to discuss them all together.

Nouns can be classified into eight different subclasses on the basis of: masculine vs. feminine gender, non-*ka*- vs. *ka*-NOUN CLASS and alienable vs. inalienable possession. (See Table 1).

Table 1. Categories of noun classification

		FEM	MASC
Non-*ka*-	alienable possession	x	x
NOUN CLASS	inalienable possession	x	x
ka-	alienable possession	x	x
NOUN CLASS	inalienable possession	x	x

There is no distinguishing feature on the noun to indicate its gender, or class, or number. Gender is shown by demonstratives and by the final suffix on verbs and adjectives (-*ni*/-*na* or -*hi*/-*ha*) (sect. 18.4). Noun class is shown by a *ka*- prefix on the noun modifier and verb. Number on inanimate objects must be shown by a quantifying modifier. Larger animals and humans show plural prefixes on modifiers and verbs. Smaller animals are usually treated in the same way as inanimate nouns.

The demonstrative associated with each noun indicates its gender and number:

(374) voroni-'i-hi   ida   kidi-hado
       fall-ASP-THEME,f   DEM,f   his-knife,f
       'His knife fell.'

(375) voroni-'a-ha   ada   kidi-mai'da
       fall-ASP-THEME,m   DEM,m   his-comb,m
       'His comb fell.'

(376)   vi-kha-mai-'a-ha   adani   ija'ari
         3PL-MOT-nearby-ASP-THEME.PL   DEM:PL   people

         vi-'bami-ki
         3PL-two-DESC
         'Two people came to the nearby house.'

The *ka-* nouns form a small subclass that do not seem to have any semantic link with each other. Out of certain classificatory lists (e.g. birds, fruit, objects) a few items will be *ka-* nouns. (Out of 45 animals 2 are *ka-*, out of 80 birds 8 are *ka-*, out of 46 reptiles and insects 10 are *ka-*, and out of 84 fish none are *ka-*.)

To give specific examples, all the following are *ka-* nouns: *katopahiari* 'rainbow', *ho'doko* 'dove', *'ba'dana* 'type of lizard', *bava'do* 'type of frog', *kasi'i* 'alligator', *kaboka* 'type of ant', *moka'a'a* 'spider', *barasia* 'watermelon', *jaro'oa* 'corn', *kabahai* 'thigh', *kajoi* 'intestines', *jokira* 'salt', *kojira* 'spoon', *kanava* 'canoe', *vanami* 'paddle'.

There are a few homophonous words that are distinguished by their noun class:

	(ka-)	(non-*ka-*)
sa'ai	'hand'	'finger'
'damai	'foot'	'toe'
moroboi	'inner ear'	'outer ear' (part visible)
siho	'fire'	'firewood'

A noun modifier within the phrase and a prefix on the verb show agreement with a *ka-* class noun. (The class marker normally has the form *ka-* (377a), but is sometimes *a-* (383), *ko-* or *ki-*.)

The agreement is governed by the head noun in the case of noun modifiers (377a) and by the intransitive subject (377b) or the direct object (377a) in the case of the *ka-* verb prefix.

(377a)   o-ka-nofi-ki   oni   vanami ka-karaho
         1SG-N.CLASS-want-NONTHEME DEM,f paddle,f N.CLASS-big
         'I want the big paddle.' (*vanami* belongs to the *ka-* class and is also feminine.)

(377b)   ka-mokhi-ki   ida   gamo   morobo-ni
         N.CLASS-deaf-NONTHEME   DEM,f   woman   ear-f
         'The woman's ear is deaf.' (*morobo* belongs to the *ka-* class and is also feminine.)

The *ka-* 'N.CLASS' prefix also occurs on the Subject Emphasis pronoun (see (441) in sect. 16.1) and on postpositions (see (466) in sect. 17). It is prefixed to the auxiliary verbs *hi* (sect. 18.8.2 and for an example see (107)) and *ni* (see (767) and (768) in sect. 18.9). As (767) shows, a loan word (*mesa* 'table') can belong to the *ka-* class.

The possessive prefixes on the alienably possessed nouns are: *kodi-* '1SG', *kada-* '2SG', *kidi-* '3SG', *ka-* 'GEN', *akadi-* '1PL', *avakadi-* '2PL', *vakadi-* '3PL'.

(378)   o-vi-kha-'i-ki   ida   Maria ka-maravi
       1SG-COMIT-MOT-ASP-NONTHEME DEM,f Mary   GEN-fan,f
       'I have brought Mary's fan.'

(379)   o-vi-kha-'a-ha   ada   Maria ka-mai'da
       1SG-COMIT-MOT-ASP-THEME,m DEM,m Mary GEN-comb,m
       'I have brought Mary's comb.'

The inalienably possessed nouns have one of the following conjugations:

		NONSPECFC	3SG,f	3SG,m
gora	'house'	Ø- . . . -Ø	-ni	-na
vadi	'arm'	Ø- . . . -Ø	-ni	-Ø
sa'ai	'hand'	Ø- . . . -i	-ni	-Ø
avai	'leg'	Ø- . . . -i	-ni	-na
baasafi	'skin'	ba- . . . -Ø	-ni	-Ø
baamana	'blood'	ba- . . . -na	-ni	-na

The category of inalienable possesion applies to all body parts, except for *joho* 'breast', and *afo'afo* 'lungs'; it also applies to a few personal objects, for example, *gora* 'house', *jorai* 'sleeping mat'. The person prefix in all but the nonspecific possession is the same throughout: *o-* '1SG', *i-* '2SG', *Ø-* '3SG', *a-/ari-* '1PL', *ava-/avi-* '2PL', *va-/vi-* '3PL'.

The second person suffix (both singular and plural forms) is the same as the third person singular feminine, *-ni.*

The first person singular and plural and the third person plural suffixal forms are the same as the third person singular masculine, *-na/-Ø*. Thus, the suffixes *-ni/-na/-Ø* only distinguish gender in the third person singular and may be considered neutral in the other persons.

	'house'	'arm'
1SG	*o-gora-na*	*o-vadi-Ø*
2SG	*i-gora-ni*	*i-vadi-ni*
3SG,f	*gora-ni*	*vadi-ni*
3SG,m	*gora-na*	*vadi-Ø*
1PL	*a-gora-na*	*a-vadi-Ø*
2PL	*ava-gora-ni*	*ava-vadi-ni*
3PL	*va-gora-na*	*va-vadi-Ø*

In a genitive noun phrase the possessor occurs immediately preceding the possessed item and governs gender and number agreement on it. In (380) the verbal theme suffix *-ha* and the demonstrative *ada* agree in gender with *jorai* 'mat', while the possession suffix on the noun, *-ni*, agrees with the possessor, *Maria*.

(380) o-raba-'a-ha   ada   Maria jora-ni
       1SG-weave-ASP-THEME DEM,m Mary mat,m-f
       'I wove Mary's sleeping mat.'

A single name may represent a group, in which case the plural agreement occurs.

(381) Ofi-a   bi-namonaha-'i-hi   ida
       Ofi-ERG   3SG-CAUS:make-ASP-THEME,f DEM,f

       kidi-amia   va-gora-na
       his-mother   3PL-house,f-neut
       'Ofi built their mother's house.'

Nouns with the alienable possession prefixes (*kodi-* 'my', *kada-* 'your, SG', etc.) also show number and gender agreement patterns as described for the inalienably possessed nouns. The verbal theme suffix and the demonstrative agree in gender and number with the noun. The possessive prefix agrees with the possessor.

(382) o-karaga-'i-hi   ida   Fatima   ka-'avi
       1SG-find-ASP-THEME,f DEM,f Fatima GEN-needle,f
       'I found Fatima's needle.'

(383) o-a-karaga-'i-hi   ida   Fatima vakadi-vanami
       1SG-N.CLASS-find-ASP-THEME,f DEM,f Fatima their-paddle,f
       'I found the paddle belonging to Fatima and others.'

(384) o-karaga-'a-ha   ada   Fatima   ka-mai'da
      1SG-find-ASP-THEME,m   DEM,m   Fatima   GEN-comb,m
      'I found Fatima's comb.'

When a body part is mentioned, it usually occurs before the verb, even if this results in a discontinuous noun phrase.

(385) Pedro-a   sa'a-ni   bi-a-gathi-'i-hi
      Peter-ERG   hand-f   3SG-N.CLASS-take:hold:of-ASP-THEME,f

      ida   Raimunda
      DEM,f   Raimunda
      'Peter caught hold of Raimunda's hand' or
      'Peter caught hold of Raimunda by the hand.'

(386) ino-Ø   'bana-ki   'da'di a'a-ni-ra   ka-lata-'i-hi
      tooth-m pain-DESC head,f top-f-OBJ VBLZR-can-ASP-THEME,f
      'He hit with a can the top of the head of the man who had a toothache.'

The genitive construction 'noun + *ka*-NOUN' may be modified to express two other relationships, 'what for' and 'what kind of'. The 'what for' relationship is marked by the prefix *ka*- 'GEN' and the suffix *-ni/-na* on the second noun. The suffix agrees in gender with the modifying noun which precedes it. The head noun governs the gender agreement in the demonstrative.

(387) karagoahi   ka-so'oro-ni   hida
      farinha,f   GEN-basket,f-f DEM,f
      'It is a basket for farinha (i.e., to put farinha in).'

(388) 'doki   ka-ihai-na   hida
      worm,m   GEN-medicine,f-m   DEM,f
      'It is medicine to treat intestinal worms (i.e., worm medicine).'

(389) isai   ino-Ø   'bana-ni   iha-ni   hida
      boy   tooth,f-m   pain-f   medicine-f DEM,f
      'It is the boy's toothache medicine.'

The final example shows the contrast between the genitive construction and the 'what for' relationship in the preceding examples. A genitive relationship exists between 'boy' and 'tooth', shown by the third person singular masculine suffix on 'tooth', which agrees with boy. A 'what for'

relationship exists between 'tooth pain' and 'medicine'. 'Tooth' governs a feminine suffix on 'pain' and 'medicine' and the feminine form of the demonstrative.

The 'what kind of' relationship is marked by the prefix *ka-* 'GEN' and the suffix *-hi*. There is no gender or number agreement between the head noun and the modifying noun which precedes it. The suffix *-hi* is homophonous with the *hi* that occurs as an auxiliary verb and the *hi* 'be'. All three forms may best be regarded as the same morpheme.

(390)   nahina   ka-abaisana-hi   mani   o
             what   GEN-fish,m-AUX   COP   DEM,m
             'What kind of a fish is it?'

(391)   ja'di   ka-gora-hi   oni
             stone   GEN-house,f-AUX   DEM,f
             'It is a house made of stone.'

(392)   jomahi   ka-pamoari-hi   ada
             jaguar GEN-people,m-AUX   DEM,m
             'That is a jaguar kind of person.'

15.3 Modifiers and demonstratives

15.3.1 Modifiers. A noun modifier occurs following the head.

(393)   gora   karaho hida
             house   large   DEM,f
             'It is a big house.'

A modifier may be either an adjective or a verb. Adjectives occur as noun modifiers in their basic forms. They can occur as a verb with the addition of a verbalizer affix.

(394)   ava   'bo'da hida
             wood,f old   DEM,f
             'This is old wood.'

(395)   a-'bo'da-ki   hida   ava
             STATVZR-old-NONTHEME DEM,f   wood
             'This wood endures (i.e., doesn't rot quickly).'

Adjectives which have a final *-ni/-na* suffix agree in gender with the noun they modify.

(396)   bi-va-hoja-ki   ida   ohi   itxa-ni
         3SG-COMIT-be-NONTHEME DEM,f beads,f many:small-f
         'She has lots of small beads.'

(397)   bi-va-hoja-ki   ada   mai'da   hoara-na
         3SG-COMIT-be-NONTHEME DEM,m comb,m one-m
         'She has one comb.'

Adjectives agree with the noun in number and in class (where the noun belongs to the *ka* class).

(398)   o-ka-namonaha-ja   hida   vanami
         1SG-N.CLASS-CAUS:make-IMMED DEM,f paddle,f

         ka-pa'itxi
         N.CLASS-small
         'I made this small paddle.'

(399)   va'o-ra   o-noki-'a-ha   adani   isai vi-'bami-ki
         them-OBJ 1SG-see-ASP-THEME DEM:PL child 3PL-two-DESC
         'I saw the two children.'

A verbal noun modifier is usually an intransitive, adjectival-type verb with a -*ki* 'DESC' margin, and it agrees with the noun in number and noun class. (See section 14.3 for use of -*ki* 'DESC' to form relative clauses.)

(400)   o-nofi-ki   oni   makari   nadara-ki
         1SG-want-NONTHEME DEM,f cloth   red-DESC
         'I want the red cloth.'

(401)   o-ka-nofi-ki   hida   vanami ka-khana-ki
         1SG-N.CLASS-want-DESC DEM,f paddle N.CLASS-heavy-DESC
         'I want the heavy paddle.'

(402)   va-a-kha-'a-ha   adani   jara
         3PL-canoe-MOT-ASP-THEME DEM:PL non:Indian

         va-ka-ipohi-ki
         3PL-canoe-many-DESC
         'Many non-Indians arrived by canoe.'

It is possible to have two modifiers, but not usually more, in a noun phrase.

Subordinate clauses (embedded relative clauses and embedded modifiers) are discussed in section 14.

15.3.2 Demonstratives. Each nominal phrase potentially has a demonstrative linked to it. It is easier to describe the function and distribution of demonstratives if they are not considered as part of the nominal phrase, but as a separate constituent in the clause.

The same set of demonstratives may function as a locative (e.g., 'here', 'there') or a pronoun ('him', 'her'), or as a link between an embedded clause or demoted object and the main clause predication (416). The demonstratives are:

feminine	masculine	plural	
hida	*hada*	*hadani*	'this, these, her, him, here (where the speaker is), now'
oni	*o*		'that, there (where the hearer is)'
ida	*ada*	*adani*	'that, those, them, there (distant from listener or speaker or nonspecific in time or location)'

A demonstrative locative may co-occur in the same clause with a locative phrase but they are two separate locative constituents and as such may both be marked with the oblique enclitic (403, 404). Only when a demonstrative stands as a locative phrase can it be marked with the oblique enclitic -*a* (403–405).

(403) oni-a   mesa   ka-nama-ni-a   na-hoja-∅
       DEM:LOC-OBL   table   N.CLASS-surface-f-OBL   CAUS-be-IMP
       'Put it there on the table.'

(404) ida   ida(-a)   adami-a
       DEM,f   DEM:LOC(-OBL)   port-OBL

       soko-a-hi   Maria
       wash-DETRANSVZR-THEME   Mary
       'There at the port Mary is washing (clothes).'

(405) oni   oni-a   o-ka-na-hoja-hi
       DEM,f   DEM:LOC-OBL   1SG-N.CLASS-CAUS-be-THEME

si'aha
cooking:pot,f
'I put the cooking pot there.'

(406) o-joi-na-ra   o-nofi-vini
      1SG-return-DEP:INTRANS-OBJ 1SG-want-DEP:TRANS

      hi-ki   hida   Maraha
      AUX-NONTHEME DEM:LOC Maraha
      'I want to return here to Maraha.'

(407) o-o-kha-mani-ki-ho   ida   Sete Boca
      1SG-away-MOT-COP-NONTHEME-1SG DEM:LOC Sete Boca
      'I'm going there to Sete Boca.'

Only one non-locative demonstrative may occur in each clause. The noun phrase following the verb is usually preceded by a demonstrative, which agrees in number and gender with the head of the noun phrase.

(408) Maria-ø   bi-ko-soko-ki   ida   si'aha
      Mary-ERG 3SG-N.CLASS-wash-NONTHEME DEM,f pot,f
      'Mary washed the cooking pot.'

(409) Maria-ra   koho-ki   ada   jinabo
      Mary-OBJ sting-NONTHEME DEM,m wasp,m
      'The wasp stung Mary.'

The demonstrative may function as a '3SG' object pronoun, usually following the -*ki* 'NONTHEME' suffix.

(410) o-fini-ki   ada
      1SG-fear-NONTHEME DEM,m
      'I fear him.'

In dialogue there are several different constituent orders involving demonstratives that are pragmatically marked. These are discussed in section 9.2.3. Demonstratives frequently occur as the subject of equative clauses (see examples in section 1.4). The whole equative clause can be embedded as subject or object of another clause and it is then always in the clause-initial position.

(411)   nahina   mani   hida   i-nofi-ja
          what   COP   DEM,f   2SG-want-IMMED
          'What is it you want?'

(412)   nahina   mani   ida   abini-ja
          what   COP   DEM,f   die-IMMED
          'What died?'

When a clause constituent is marked for communication prominence the demonstrative occurs clause initial and the noun phrase with which it is linked may be omitted (413), or may follow it (414), or there may be a discontinuous sequence (404, 405, 415).

(413)   adani   va-ki-'dama-'a-ha   bana
          DEM:PL   3PL-canoe-embark-ASP-THEME   FUT
          'They are going to get into the canoe.'

(414)   ida   kodi-abiha, hana-ja   ka-hoja-'i-hi
          DEM,f   my-arrow,f   where-DIR   N.CLASS-be-ASP-THEME
          'My arrow, where is it?'

(415)   ada   kha-ra-foni-'a-ha   jara
          DEM,m   MOT-down-port-ASP-THEME   non:Indian
          'He's gone down to the port, the non-Indian.'

When the demonstrative refers to an embedded clause, and not simply to a noun, the gender is neutralized and the feminine/neuter form, *ida*, is used.

(416)   Siri-a   bi-na-na'dohi-vini   hi-ki
          Siri-ERG   3SG-CAUS-ask-DEP:TRANS   AUX-NONTHEME

          ida   siriga   mahi   hahavi   hado-na
          DEM,neut   rubber,m   day   all   cut-DEP:INTRANS,m
          'Siri asked about it, the rubber being cut every day.'

15.4 Nominalizations. Most verbs can be nominalized by the addition of a verb-final derivational suffix. Verb-final theme and dependent suffixes (sect. 18.6.1) do not co-occur with these nominalizing suffixes.

Most intransitive verb roots and a few transitive roots take the nominalizer -*i*. The resulting form can be possessed, this being marked by the addition of one of the set of the alienable possession prefixes (15.2). The focus of this nominalization is on the action or state, or the result of the action or state. Examples:

intransitive: *kana* 'bathe'

(417a) o-kana-na
        1SG-bathe-DEP:INTRANS
        'I am bathing.'

(417b) kodi-kana-i
        my-bathe-NOMLZR
        'my bathing'

transitive: *soko* 'wash'

(418a) o-soko-vini
        1SG-wash-DEP:TRANS
        'I am washing it.'

(418b) kodi-soko-i
        my-wash-NOMLZR
        'my washing (it)' or 'the thing I washed'

Some intransitive roots are nominalized without any overt suffixal form. The possessor prefixes still occur, but in some cases they take inalienable possession affixes (420) and in other cases the alienable possession prefixes (419):

(419)   *asara* 'cry'   *kodi-asara* 'my crying'

(420)   *sii*   'be wounded' *o-sii-na*   'my wound'

There is a small set of roots which, when they occur in a verbal construction, are normally uninflected. In these cases they are immediately followed by an inflected form of the auxiliary verb *ni* (sect. 18.8.1). Their roots can also have *-ni* suffixed to them to form a nominalization, which can take the alienable set of possession prefixes. An example is the root *bada* 'work':

(421a) bada   o-ni-na
        work   1SG-AUX-DEP:INTRANS
        'I work.'

(421b) a'diahi-'i-hi   ida   kodi-bada-ni
       complete-ASP-THEME   DEM,f my-work-NOMLZR
       'My work is finished.'

There is a set of intransitive descriptive verb roots which take normal verbal inflection and which are also nominalized by the suffix *-ni*. They are adjectivized by adding to the root the suffix *-ki* 'DESC':

(422) *oada*   'be long'   *oadani*   'length'   *oadaki*   'long'
       rabodi 'be wide'   *rabodini* 'width'   *rabodiki* 'wide'
       ahapi   'be many'   *ahapini*   'many'   *ahapiki*   'many'
       bihia   'be deep'   *bihiani*   'depth'   *bihiaki*   'deep'

Most transitive verbs and a few intransitives are nominalized by adding the suffix *-hi*. Examples:

       transitive: *rokhoi* 'sew'

(423a) o-rokhoi-ki   oni   makari
       1SG-sew-NONTHEME   DEM,f cloth
       'I sewed that cloth.'

(423b) kodi-rokhoja-hi
       my-sew-NOMLZR
       'my sewing' or 'the thing I am sewing'

(A root-final diphthong *ai* or *oi* changes the *i* to *ja* before *-hi* or *-ha*: *rokhoi*, *rokhoja*.)

       intransitive: *oba* 'chop'

(424a) oba-ha-ki   ida   mamai
       chop-ACTION-NONTHEME   DEM,f mother
       'Mother is chopping.'

(424b) akadi-oba-hi
       our-chop-NOMLZR
       'our chopping'

There are several different ways to express subject-focus nominalization, i.e., 'one who performs a certain action or occupation'. In the case of some verbs, the same forms of nominalizer (∅, *-i*, *-hi*) that are used for action nominalization occur, followed by the word *abono* 'self, person'.

(425)   araba   abono
           fish   person
           'one who fishes/fisherman'

(426)   soko-i   abono
           wash-NOMLZR person
           'one who washes (clothes)'

(427)   rakhaja-hi   abono
           plant-NOMLZR person
           'one who plants'

Other transitive verbs take a suffix *-va* 'NOMLZR' followed by *abono*. In this nominalized construction, the enclitic *-ra* 'OBJ' does not occur with the direct object, and the whole construction appears to be functioning as a compound form.

(428)   gora   namonaha-va   abono
           house CAUS:make-NOMLZR person
           'one who constructs houses'

(429)   kanava ka-namonaha-va   abono
           canoe   N.CLASS-CAUS:make-NOMLZR person
           'one who makes canoes'

(430)   dinheiro   kanikhariaha-va abono
           money(Port.loan) ask:for-NOMLZR person
           'one who asks for money' (i.e., beggar)

Another construction with the same function occurs with the suffix *-ki* 'NOMLZR' instead of *-va*, and the word *abono* does not occur. (Compare other functions of *-ki*: 'NONTHEME', a verb suffix, in section 18.6.1; and 'DESC', a noun modifier suffix, in sections 14.3 and 15.3.1). This construction is not very common.

(431)   avião ka-na-ibavijaha-ki
           plane N.CLASS-CAUS-care:for-NOMLZR
           'one who cares for the plane' (i.e., mechanic)

(432)   haria   va-sohi-ki
           1PL:OBJ COMIT-correct-NOMLZR
           'one who supervises us' (i.e., supervisor)

There is a small set of verb roots that can be compounded to the verb *nofi* 'want'. They never function as verbs in their compound form, but they can be nominalized as compounds by adding the suffix *-ki* 'NOMLZR':

bo'di	'steal'	+	*nofi*	=	*bo'dinofiki*	'one who likes to steal'
kaathiri	'refuse'	+	*nofi*	=	*kaathirinofiki*	'one who is stingy'
na'dohi	'question'	+	*nofi*	=	*na'dohinofiki*	'one who is curious, one who likes to ask questions'

16 Pronoun system

All the personal pronouns in the first and second person consist of a root or enclitic and a person prefix: *ho-* '1SG', *i-* '2SG', *hari-* '1PL' and *a'oni-* '2PL'. The root to which these are affixed determines the kind of pronoun. Either the demonstrative or the emphatic pronoun is used in the third person. The demonstratives are: *ida/oni/hida* '3SG,f'; *ada/o/hada* '3SG,m'; and *adani/hadani* '3PL' (see sect. 15.3.2). The emphatic pronouns are *oniani/oniaro* '3SG,f'; *ovari* '3SG,m'; and *va'oniaro* '3PL'.

16.1 Subject pronouns. An unmarked clause does not have a free subject pronoun because the person is marked by a verbal prefix. The subject pronouns are therefore part of the pragmatic information system which is discussed in section 9.2. Subject pronouns are either "contrast/selection" or "emphatic" forms.

The contrast/selection pronouns have the root *vani* 'CONTR' and almost always occur clause initial.

(433)   prima   Bitxi   vara   va'o-ra
         cousin   Bitxi   talk   3PL-OBJ

ka-va-ni-'a-'a-ha,   ho-vani
canoe-COMIT-say-TRNSTVZR-ASP-THEME   1SG-CONTR

o-gai-mori-'i-ki
1SG-MOT-up:hill-ASP-NONTHEME
'Cousin Bitxi talked from the canoe about them, but I went up the bank.'

(434)   va-a-kapita-ha-ha   adani   aajo,
        3PL-VBLZR-fish-ACTION-THEME   DEM:PL   brother

        hari-vani   a-a-kavasi-ha-hi
        1PL-CONTR   1PL-VBLZR-bark-ACTION-THEME
        'Older brothers went to get a certain kind of fish, but we went to
        get inner bark (for weaving).'

In the third person the demonstrative is the person prefix.

(435)   o-vani   va'o-ra   ka-na-adaha-ha
        DEM,m-CONTR   3PL-OBJ   canoe-CAUS-journey-THEME
        '(They didn't paddle) it was he (who) paddled them.'
        (lit., 'He caused them to journey in the canoe.')

(436)   ada-vani   hana-ja   Bano   jahari
        DEM,m-CONTR   where-DIR   Bano   evil

        a-va-ka-kha-ha
        away-3PL-canoe-MOT-THEME
        'Where has that evil Bano gone (with his companion)?'

It should be noted that the noun which is coreferential with the pronoun
may also occur (436). The same contrastive demonstrative may also occur
when it is not a subject pronoun. In (437) it is a locative and in (438) it
has another type of oblique function.

(437)   hida-vani   i-hoja-ja   hidakaba'i
        DEM:LOC-CONTR   2SG-be-IMMED   today

        i-abini-ki-'i
        2SG-die-NONTHEME-2SG
        'Here you are, today you are going to die.'

(438)   hida-vani   i-ra
        DEM,f-CONTR   2SG-OBJ

        o-ka-jorai-ha-vini
        1SG-VBLZR-mat-ACTION-DEP:TRANS
        'Out of this, I will make you a mat.'

The special forms of emphatic pronoun occur only for third person. They
frequently co-occur with the noun with which they are coreferential. This
pronoun does not replace the normal demonstrative.

(439) ni-ha-ha   ada   ovari   Parajairo
      say-?-THEME   DEM,m   S:EMPH,m   Parajairo
      'Said that one Parajairo.'

(440) ovari   Vararibori jaboni   ka-raborabo-ki
      S:EMPH,m   Vararibori also   POSSN-headdress-NONTHEME
      'That one, Vararibori, also had a headdress.'

The emphatic pronoun is also marked for *ka-* NOUN CLASS.

(441) va-ka-'oaniaro   va-a-ka-siaga-ki
      3PL-N.CLASS-S:EMPH,f   3PL-canoe-MOT-follow-NONTHEME
      'Those ones came following in a canoe.'

   The emphatic pronoun is frequently followed by *hi-ki* 'AUX-NON-THEME' (see sect 9.2).

(442) oniaro   hi-ki   ko-'ofi-ki
      S:EMPH,f   be-NONTHEME   canoe-stop-NONTHEME
      'That one, she stopped the canoe.'

(443) va-'oaniaro   hi-ki   kanava   vani-a
      3PL-S:EMPH   be-NONTHEME   canoe   CONTR-OBL

      va-hoja-'a-ha
      3PL-remain-ASP-THEME
      'Those are the ones who remained in the canoe.'

   In the case of first person (and probably second person, but our data base does not supply any examples), it is the person prefix that is attached to *hiki* for emphasis. This does not occur very often.

(444) hari-hi-ki   a-'oma-hahavi-ki
      1PL-be-NONTHEME   1PL-lie:down-all-NONTHEME
      'All of us we lay down.'

(445) ni-hari-hi-ki
      NEG-1PL-be-NONTHEME

ni-ari-a-vanami-ki
NEG-1PL-VBLZR-paddle-NONTHEME
'It was not we (who) paddled.'

When a verb with the suffix *-ki* 'NONTHEME' occurs clause final it is often followed by a suffix which is of the same set as the first and second person pronoun prefixes. The suffix is usually identical in number and person to the subject prefix on the verb. These suffixes either follow the verb or the particle *bana* 'FUT/PERMISSION'. They seem more like enclitics than verb suffixes. It is possible that these originally showed emphasis, but they do not have any obvious function in modern Paumarí.

(446)   o-o-kha-ki   bana-ho
        1SG-away-MOT-NONTHEME   FUT-1SG
        'I will go.'

(447)   i-ka-paha-ha-mani-ki-'i
        2SG-VBLZR-water-ACTION-Q-NONTHEME-2SG
        'Are you going to fetch water?'

(448)   a-ka-'ajihi-ki-hari
        1PL-canoe-depart-NONTHEME-1PL
        'We're leaving.'

There are two particles which may be prefixed with the person markers and used for emphasis: *miro'a* 'first' and *maina* 'next': *ho-miro'a* 'me first', *i-maina* 'you next', *hari-miro'a* 'us first', *a'oni-maina* 'you (PL) next'. In the third person the emphatic pronoun forms co-occur with the particles. *'imidia* 'first' is a variant form of *miro'a* 'first'. Whereas *miro'a* may occur with all the persons, *'imidia* only occurs with 3SG/PL. It also occurs as a verb suffix; *maina* also occurs as a verb suffix, but *miro'a* never does.

(449)   nahina   miro'a   kara'oha-ha
        who   first   shoot-THEME
        'Who first will shoot?'

(450)   ho-miro'a o-o-kha-ra-foni-hi
        1SG-first   1SG-away-MOT-down-port-THEME
        'I first, I went down to the port.'

(451) oniaro-'imidia   Ø-ahoro-rari-'i-ki,   Siri
       S:EMPH,f-first   3SG-sink-down-ASP-NONTHEME   Siri
       'She was the first, she sank down into the mud, Siri.'

(452) Ø-anokhomi-mani-'i-a   ida   oniaro-'imidia
       3SG-finish-COP-ASP-IMMED   DEM,f   S:EMPH,f-first

       o-dioni-ki
       1SG-repeat-NONTHEME
       'That which I was first repeating is finished.'

(453) Siri   maina   hida   oraha-'i-ni
       Siri   next   DEM,f   crawl-ASP-DEP:INTRANS
       'Siri was the next who crawled.'

(454) ho-maina   o-kaijo'a-ki   ida
       1SG-next   1SG-try-NONTHEME   DEM,f
       'I next, I will try it.'

(455) i-maina,   Moro,   jara-ra   va'o-ra da
       2SG-next   Moro   non:Indian-OBJ   3PL-OBJ strike
       'You next, Moro, strike the non-Indians.'

16.2 Object pronouns. The same set of first and second person prefixes occurs as direct object only with the enclitic -ra 'OBJ', which obligatorily occurs immediately preceding the verb or in the right dislocated position. The third person singular has a null realization and the third person plural is va'o-ra. The first plural is irregular in that it does not occur with -ra, but takes either of the forms *hari* or *haria*, and also occurs preverbally.

(456) kada-amia   adani   a'oni-ra   va-ka-asara-ra
       your-mother   DEM:PL   2PL-OBJ   3PL-TRNSTVZR-cry-IMMED
       'Your mothers are crying for you (because you are absent).'

(457) siri   hida   ho-ra   ni-'dorima-ja
       turtle   DEM,f   1SG-OBJ   CAUS-surface-IMMED
       'A turtle has surfaced near me.'

16.3 Indefinite pronouns. The noun *nahina*, which is variously glossed as 'what, who, thing, possessions', serves as the indefinite pronoun 'something' or 'someone'. Negated, it means 'no one' or 'nothing'.

(458)   kodi-badava   ho-ra   baranaha-vini-ra
        my-nephew   me-OBJ   call-DEP:TRANS-OBJ

        o-na-abaha-vini   nahina   vahabini   ida
        1SG-CAUS-respond-DEP:TRANS   whatever   maybe   DEM,f

        ho-ra   nofi-vini   hi-ja
        me-OBJ   want-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
        'I will respond to my nephew's calling me (to find out) whatever it
        may be that he wants me for.'

(459)   ni-nahina-ra   o-nofi-ki
        NEG-thing-OBJ   1SG-want-NONTHEME
        'I don't want anything.'

16.4 Possessive pronouns. (See also sect. 15.2.) The possessive pronouns
have the same personal prefix as the alienably possessed nouns described
in section 15.2. The root marking possession is *-ani*: *kodi-ani* 'mine',
kada-ani 'yours', *kidi-ani* 'his/hers', *akadi-ani* 'ours', *avakadi-ani* 'yours' and
vakadi-ani 'theirs'.

(460)   kodi-ani   hi-ri-hi   oni   hado
        1SG-POSSN   be-NEG-THEME   DEM,f   knife
        'That knife isn't mine.'

   The purpose/benefactive pronoun is similar in function to the possessive,
having the same prefixes with the root *-imoni*: *kodi-imoni* 'for me',
kada-imoni 'for you', *kidi-imoni* 'for him' (cf. sect. 14.1.2).

(461)   o-va'adi-ki   hi-hida   kori-ki,
        1SG-not:let:go:of-NONTHEME   SPECFR-DEM,f   green-DESC

        kada-imoni hi-ri-hi   ida,   kodi-ani   oamani
        2SG-for   be-NEG-THEME   DEM,f   1SG-POSSN   really

        hida   i-gathi-ki   ka-imoni   hi-ri-hi   ida
        DEM,f   2SG-hold-DESC   GEN-for   be-NEG-THEME   DEM,f
        'I don't want to let go of this green (cloth), it isn't for you, it is
        really mine, it is not for you to have.'

16.5 Interrogative pronouns. Interrogative pronouns, while primarily
occurring as a constituent of a direct question construction, are also
occasionally found in embedded indirect question clauses. In the following

pairs of examples the pronoun is shown first as an interrogative and then as a non-interrogative.

(462a) ida   hana   hoja-hi   kodi-papira
        DEM,f   where   be-THEME   my-book
        'Where is my book?'

(462b) ni-o-oga-ki   ida   hana   hoja-ni
        NEG-1SG-know-NONTHEME   DEM,f   where   be-DEP:INTRANS
        'I don't know where it is.'

(463a) nahina-∅   bi-nofi-ja   hida   ikoaka
        who-ERG   3SG-want-IMMED   DEM,f   fishhook
        'Who wants this fishhook?'

(463b) ni-o-oga-ki   ida   ikoaka   nahina
        NEG-1SG-know-NONTHEME   DEM,f   fishhook   who

        bi-nofi-ki
        3SG-want-NONTHEME
        'I don't know who wants the fishhook.'

(464a) niha   ni-ni-na   vani
        how   AUX-REDUP-DEP:INTRANS,m   CONTR

        i-noki-ra   ada   isai   kavamoni-ki
        2SG-see-IMMED   DEM,m   child   sick-DESC
        'How was the sick child you saw?'

(464b) va'o-ra   na-vanavana-'a-∅   bana   adani
        them-OBJ   CAUS-go:look:at-ASP-IMP   FUT   DEM:PL

        kada-'aajo   mahija   va'o-ra   i-oga-vini
        your-older:brother   so:that   them-OBJ   2SG-know-DEP:TRANS

        niha   va-kha-ni-khani-na
        how   3PL-INTRANS-AUX-REDUP-DEP:INTRANS
        'Go and see your older brothers so that you will know how they are.'

The interrogative pronouns are discussed more fully in section 10.

16.6 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns. These pronouns are discussed in section 4.

17 Adpositional phrase structure

Adpositional phrases are not very common as many of the directional and locational constituents are implied, rather than explicitly stated, by using verb suffixes (see sect. 18.6.5–6). For example, 'to a nearby house' would be rendered by the suffix -*mai*. It is only if the location is made explicit that the particular house occurs as a locative or adpositional phrase.

(465) o-o-kha-mai-ki-ho
       1SG-away-MOT-nearby:house-NONTHEME-1SG

       (Maria   gora-ni-a)
       (Mary   house-f-OBL)
       'I'm going ((along to) Mary's house).'

The adpositional phrase consists of a noun phrase followed by a postposition marked with the oblique clitic -*a*. The noun phrase governs number, gender and noun class agreement in the postposition.

(466) kanava   ka-bodi-ni-a
       canoe   N.CLASS-inside-f-OBL
       'in the canoe'

(467) hi-hada   kahami   nabo'a-Ø-Ø   dafi
       SPECFR-DEM   palm:tree   under-m-OBL   lie:on:back

       Ø-ni-ma'oha-Ø
       2SG,m-AUX-ground:DUR-IMP
       'Lie here on the ground under the palm tree.'

The noun phrase in a postpositional phrase may be an embedded clause.

(468) aajo   Topari
       older:brother   Topari

       ka-kahami-'afa-ha-ki   kani-a
       VBLZR-palm:tree-leaf-ACTION-NONTHEME   to:place-OBL

o-kha-'a-ha   ada   kodi-isai
away-MOT-ASP-THEME   DEM my-child
'My child went to the place where older brother Topari was getting palm leaves.'

Postpositional phrases may also be found embedded in other constituents. In the following complex sentence, *aja'di kani-a* 'to deceased people's place' is a locative constituent in the relative clause modifying *hagihi* 'trail' in 'the trail which led to the deceased people's place'. The postpositional phrase *baroki bodipani-a* 'which was bare in the middle' not only contains a relative clause *baroki* 'be bare' but is part of another relative clause describing the trail 'which, in the middle being bare, had sand.'

(469)   a-va-va-kha-no-'i-hi   ida
        away-3PL-COMIT-MOT-arrive-ASP-THEME DEM

        aja'di   kani-a   o-kha-ki   hagihi
        deceased:people to:place-OBL away-MOT-DESC   trail

        karaho, baro-ki   bodipani-a ka-kaasi-ki
        big   be:bare-DESC middle-OBL VBLZR-sand-DESC
        'They arrived at the large trail which led to the deceased people's place, which (trail), in the middle being bare, had sand (was sandy).'

Body parts are frequently used as postpositions. (They also occur as verb roots (sect. 18.7.1).) There are very few others: *nabo'a-* 'under', *kani* 'to place', *nama* 'above, over', *'diha* 'beside' and *i'oari* 'alongside' (see also sect. 15.1).

18 Verb and verb phrase structure

18.1 Tense. There are no tense categories or regularly occurring tense morphemes. Most clauses do not have any overt expression to distinguish past, present and future on the time line. There are usually some occasional references to time within a discourse to establish general temporal settings or relative time periods. This is achieved by means of adverbial time words, phrases and subordinate clauses. There are some affixes, particles and words, mentioned below, that include a component of time.

Temporal adverbial words and phrases occur as oblique constituents of the clause, e.g., *afokajoma* 'tomorrow', *'bo'dakari* 'a long time ago'.

(470)   afokajoma   o-o-kha-ki-ho
        tomorrow   1SG-away-MOT-NONTHEME-1SG
        'Tomorrow I will go.'

(471)   mahi   'bo'da-kari   ni-o-oga-'i-ki
        day   old-past   NEG-1SG-know-ASP-NONTHEME

        hida   varani
        DEM,f   talk
        'A long time ago I didn't know this talk.'

Subordinate temporal clauses occur in the periphery of a clause.

(472)   ka-'afokajoma-ni   a-'ajihi-hi
        VBLZR-tomorrow-DEP:INTRANS   1PL-depart-THEME
        'On the next day we departed.'

(473)   isai   o-hi-na   kari . . .
        child   1SG-be-DEP:INTRANS   past
        'When I was a child, . . .'

The form *kari* (473) is a subordinating particle with a very restricted usage, always referring to time in the past. Another particle, *kamahini* 'when', always indicates future.

(474)   o-adaha-na-ra   o-nofi-vini
        1SG-travel-DEP:INTRANS-OBJ   1SG-want-DEP:TRANS

        kamahini   o-adaha-hi
        when   1SG-travel-THEME
        'When I want to travel, I will travel.'

The particle *bana* 'FUT, warning' is used to ask permission (475), give warnings (476), and make imperatives more polite (477).

(475)   o-o-ka-si-ki   bana   ho
        1SG-away-MOT-up-NONTHEME   FUT   1SG
        'May I come up (into the house).'

(476)   makha   bana   i-ra   anani-ra   bana
        snake   warning 2SG-OBJ   bite-IMMED   FUT
        'A snake will bite you.'

(477) vithi bana hida
      sit   FUT   DEM:LOC
      'Sit here.'

The demonstrative indicates a time/space relationship as well as a number and gender agreement. The forms *hida/hada/hadani* 'this, here, f/m/PL' and *oni/o* 'that, there, f/m' can all signify present tense or immediate past or immediate future. *ida/ada/adani* 'a, the, there, f/m/PL' all indicate a remote situation in either time or space.

(478) i-nofi-mani-ja   hida   ihai
      2SG-want-Q-IMMED   DEM   medicine
      'Do you want this medicine?' (now)

(479) nahina bi-ka-namonaha-ja   ida   kanava
      who   3SG-N.CLASS-CAUS:make-IMMED   DEM   canoe
      'Who is making the canoe?' (probably present in time but distant in space)

(480) o-na-na'dohi-hi   ida   xoni
      1SG-CAUS-ask-THEME   DEM,f younger:sibling
      'I asked my younger sister.' (past)

Tense in discourse is usually established by temporal constituents. Tense in dialogue is partly indicated by the thematic verb-final suffix. *-ki* 'NONTHEME' frequently marks future and often co-occurs with *bana* 'FUT'.

(481) o-o-kha-mani-ki-ho   ida   Sete Boca
      1SG-away-MOT-COP-NONTHEME-1SG   DEM:LOC   Sete Boca
      'I will be going there to Sete Boca.'

-ja/-a/-ra 'IMMED' usually marks an immediate situation in the present, immediate past or immediate future. The co-occurrence of the aspect suffix *-'i/-'a* defines it as past.

(482a) i-'bai-mani-ja
       2SG-eat-Q-IMMED
       'Are you eating?'

(482b) i-'bai-mani-'i-a?
         2SG-eat-Q-ASP-IMMED
         'Have you eaten?'

-hi/-ha 'THEME', when used in a dialogue, usually has a remote-in-time-or-space element of meaning. Even so, it may also be used in the present.

(483)   xoni, ni-asia   mani   dano-manani-hi   isai
        sister NEG-still COP   strong-upwards-THEME   child
        'Sister, are the contractions no longer strong?'

(484)   jokoa   ari-hoja-roni-jana-ri-hi
        NEG:intention 1PL-remain-still-more-NEG-THEME
        'We don't intend to remain any longer.'

-hi/-ha may also be used with a distant future meaning. The demonstrative locative in (485) is not indicating present time but present location.

(485)   ava-joi-hi,   bada o-ni-hi   hida
        2PL-return-THEME work 1SG-AUX-THEME DEM:LOC
        'When you return, I will work here.'

Example (485) is one way of expressing (semantic) subordination, i.e., by means of juxtaposition of two main clauses, the first of which is semantically subordinate to the other. For other, morphologically marked ways of expressing subordination (e.g., suffixes and particles), see section 14. These include a number of different types of temporal subordinate clauses that express relative time periods within a discourse.

18.2 Aspect. There are overt forms for expressing the following aspects: completive (or perfective), continuous, iterative and durative. Ingressive and terminative meanings can be optionally expressed by using a regular verb.
    The completive aspect suffix *-'i/-'a* may occur before any thematic suffix or dependent suffix (*-'i* precedes *-ki*, *-a*, *-ni/-na* and *-hi*; *-'a* occurs elsewhere). In a dialogue, *-'i/-'a* marks completive/perfective aspect.

(486)   i-kana-mani-'i-a
        2SG-bathe-Q-ASP-IMMED
        'Have you bathed?'

In a discourse, this function is not quite so clearly defined and native speakers sometimes add or remove this aspect suffix with respect to a text

they are editing. It frequently occurs on the final clause of a series of clauses, but may also appear on the intermediary ones.

(487)   o-araga-foni-hahavi-hi   ida   avaafa-ni,
         1SG-sweep-port-all-THEME   DEM   leaves-f

         baro-'i-hi   ida   arabo
         bare-ASP-THEME DEM   land
         'I will sweep all the leaves down to the port and the land will be bare.'

(488)   hari,   abosi-'i-hi   hida   mokitiro   bona
         then   exchange-ASP-THEME DEM,f mosquito:net certainly

         o-adaha-Maraha-khama-na-ra
         1SG-travel-down:river-DISTRIB-DEP:INTRANS-OBJ

         o-nofi-'i-hi
         1SG-want-ASP-THEME
         'Then (when) the mosquito net is paid for, certainly I will want to travel downriver and back.'

The continuous aspect form *-ha'oadaha* is a verbal suffix. It may also be part of an adverb: *afoha'oadaha* 'continuously'.

(489)   kha-rari-ha-ha'oadaha-ha   ada   bahi dano-ki
         MOT-down-DUR-continuously-THEME DEM   rain   strong-DESC
         'Strong rain came down continuously.'

There are several iterative suffixes. The suffix *-'iana* 'again' indicates the repetition of an action on a different occasion but not necessarily involving the same participants. This suffix may also occur with *afo-* 'ADVBLZR' *afo'iana* 'again'.

(490)   bi-ka-vi-kha-ha   ada
         3SG-canoe-COMIT-MOT-THEME DEM,m

         vanajo afo-'iana
         turtle ADVBLZR-again
         'He brought by canoe another turtle.'

In the text, there was no mention that he had previously brought a turtle.

(491) bi-ka-vi-kha-vini   naothini-a
       3SG-canoe-COMIT-MOT-DEP:TRANS   after-OBL

       ka-barava-'iana-ha
       VBLZR-fever-again-THEME
       'After he had brought it, he had a fever again.'

The fever had been previously mentioned.

(492) oba-hi   hi-'iana-hi   ida   Kasai,   mina'di
       shock-NOMLZR   be-again-THEME   DEM,f   Kasai   electric:eel

       vani-a   bi-n-oba-'iana-hi
       CONTR-ERG   3SG-CAUS-shock-again-THEME
       'Kasai was also shocked, it was an eel that shocked her.'

An eel had previously shocked a different participant, but this was the first record that Kasai was shocked. There is no way of knowing if it was the same eel.

Another iterative suffix is *-bakhia* 'repeatedly, frequently'. This is also the nearest equivalent to 'habitually', but does not need to bear that meaning. It is used of any repeated action that takes place. It may also occur as an adverb *'afobakhia* 'frequently'.

(493) a-karaga-'iana-hi   ida   mavaso   ava-ni
       1PL-find-again-THEME   DEM,f   type:of:small:fruit   tree-f

       hoariha,   a-odora-dora-bakhia-'oamani-hi
       other   1PL-gather:up-REDUP-frequently-really-THEME
       'We found another *mavaso* tree and we really kept on gathering up (the fruit).'

This example shows repeated action on one occasion; *-bakhia* may also be used of an action that takes place daily.

(494) o-o-kha-bakhia-ki   escola   kani-a
       1SG-away-MOT-repeatedly-NONTHEME   school   place-OBL
       'I go repeatedly to the school.'

A further iterative suffix, *-risaha*, we have only found in a few examples, all of which are combined with the reciprocal *ka-* . . . *-khama* to form *ka- . . . -risaha-khama-*. It seems to have the meaning of different people all performing the same action on the same occasion.

(495)   va-ka-joi-risaha-khama-'a-ha
         3PL-DISTRIB-return-ITER-DISTRIB-ASP-THEME
         'They each one came returning from different directions.'

(496)   ija'ari   va-ipohi-ki-a   va-ka-
         people   3PL-many-DESC-ERG   3PL-TRNSTVZR:DISTRIB-

         abada-bada-risaha-khama-ha
         touch-REDUP-ITER-DISTRIB-THEME
         'Each of the many people was in turn touching him.'

Another common method of indicating repeated action is the reduplication of the final two syllables of the verb root. Examples of this are found in (493) and (496) above. Root reduplication is discussed in section 18.6.3.

There is no ingressive morpheme. The idea of starting and completing actions, if overtly stated, is accomplished with the use of verbs.

(497)   oniaro-a   jara   gora-ni kama'da-'i-hi   Manaova
         then-OBL   non:Indian house-f start-ASP-THEME   Manaus
         'Then (they) started (making) the non-Indians' houses in Manaus.'

(498)   gora-ra   va-namonaha-vini   a'diahi-'a-ha
         house-OBJ   3PL-CAUS:make-DEP:TRANS   finish-ASP-THEME
         'They finished building houses.'

(499)   oniaro-a   hari hi-ni   ida   vakadi-badani
         then-OBL   end AUX-DEP:INTRANS DEM,f   their-work
         'Their work ended.'

There is a morpheme *-ha* 'DURATIVE' which occurs on the verb root (500, 501). Many of the verb suffixes have a different (longer) form which includes this durative aspect morpheme (cf. 502 and 503).

(500)   abini-ha-ki   ida   arakava
         die-DUR-NONTHEME   DEM,f   hen
         'The hen is dying.'

(501)   o-'bo'da-ha-ki-ho
         1SG-old-DUR-NONTHEME-1SG
         'I am becoming old.'

The following two examples show the suffix -nai 'direction towards water' in the shorter and longer forms.

(502)   a-rahoka-nai-'a-ha
        1PL-pull-towards:water-ASP-THEME
        'We pulled (bananas) towards the water.'

(503)   a-joi-najaha-ribanaha-'i-hi
        1PL-return-towards:water:DUR-trail:DUR-ASP-THEME
        'We were returning along the trail towards water.'

18.3 Mood. For a description of: conditional constructions, see section 14.7; interrogatives, see section 10; and imperatives, see section 11.

We have not found a debitive construction. The strongest suggestion of obligation seems to be expressed by the verb *jaha* 'be good'.

(504)   a-joi-'i-na   vani   jaha-ja
        1PL-return-ASP-DEP:INTRANS CONTR good-IMMED
        'It is good that we return.' (i.e., 'We ought to return.')

The equivalent phrase in Portuguese is also used, but the Portuguese debitive 'deve' ('ought') is not used. An imperative or hortatory construction expresses some components of the debitive meaning (sect. 11).

The optative is expressed by the verb *nofi* 'want, need, like'.

(505)   o-joi-na-ra   o-nofi-vini
        1SG-return-DEP:INTRANS-OBJ 1SG-want-DEP:TRANS

        hi-ki   bada o-ni-na   hida
        AUX-NONTHEME work 1SG-AUX-DEP:INTRANS DEM:LOC
        'I want to return to work here.'

The optative may also be expressed by using particles showing positive or negative intention: *jakana* 'POS.INTENTION' always co-occurs with the thematic suffix -va 'HORT' on the main verb.

(506)   jakana   kaho a-nokha-va
        POS.INTENTION yet   1PL-wait-HORT
        'Let us wait yet.'

(507) jakana   isika   o-hoja-va   hida   kaho
       POS.INTENTION ?   1SG-remain-HORT   DEM:LOC   yet
       'I intend to remain here still (even if I do go hungry)'
       or 'Let me remain here still.'

The particle *jakaho* 'POS.INTENTION' is very similar, being the positive reply to a command or suggestion.

(508) jakaho   afokajoma   ai   a-ki-hi-va
       POS.INTENTION   tomorrow   depart   1PL-canoe-AUX-HORT
       'All right, tomorrow we intend to leave' or
       'All right, let us leave tomorrow.'

(509) jakaho   o-ni-na   kaba'i
       POS.INTENTION   1SG-be-DEP:INTRANS   even:though

       o-kha-va   kaho
       1SG-MOT-HORT   yet
       'Let me go, even though I am (in this state).'

The particle *jokoa* 'NEG.INTENTION' expresses a negative intention, and the main verb always contains the negative -*ri* and the thematic suffix -*hi*, or -*a* if it is a negative interrogative.

(510) jokoa   o-soko-ha-ri-hi
       NEG.INTENTION   1SG-wash-distance-NEG-THEME

       jakaho   hoariha   maina   bi-soko-va
       POS.INTENTION   other   next   3SG-wash-HORT
       'I don't intend to wash it, let another wash it next time.'

(511) jokoa   o-o-kha-ri-hi
       NEG.INTENTION   1SG-away-MOT-NEG-THEME
       'I don't intend to go.'

Degrees of certainty may be expressed by a number of different particles, which may co-occur with the previously expressed moods: *vahabini* 'maybe' expresses a doubt over a situation (512, 513, 514); *vanivaha* 'yes, but' expresses a desire but with no real expectation of fulfilment (515, 516); *bona* 'certainly' expresses a degree of certainty concerning a future event or state (517, 518).

(512)   jokoa   vahabini   o-kaaboka-ri-hi
        NEG.INTENTION   maybe   1SG-able-NEG-THEME

        ida   badani   khana-ki   hida
        DEM   work   heavy-DESC   DEM:LOC
        'I don't expect that I will be able to do heavy work here.'

(513)   jokoa   vahabini   o-o-kha-'i-ri-hi
        NEG.INTENTION   maybe   1SG-away-MOT-ASP-NEG-THEME

        kodi-mokitiro-ra
        my-mosquito:net-OBJ

        o-na-abosi-jora-vini-ra
        1SG-CAUS-exchange-beforehand-DEP:TRANS-OBJ

        o-nofi-vini   hida
        1SG-want-DEP:TRANS   DEM:LOC
        'I don't maybe intend to go because I want to pay beforehand for
        my mosquito net here.'

(514)   nahina   vahabini   ida   bi-ni-kha-ja
        what   maybe   DEM,f   3SG-CAUS-MOT-IMMED

        Siri   kani-a,   ihai   vahabini   ida
        Siri   place-OBL   medicine   maybe   DEM,f

        ka-inamo-'i-a
        TRNSTVZR-lack-ASP-IMMED
        'What maybe is it that he has come to fetch from Siri, medicine
        maybe he is lacking?'

(515)   o-o-kha-na   o-nofi-ki
        1SG-away-MOT-DEP:INTRANS   1SG-want-NONTHEME

        vanivaha   mas   ni-niha ni-ki-a
        but:suppose   but (Port.loan)   NEG-how AUX-NONTHEME-OBL

        o-o-kha-na-ra   o-oga-ki
        1SG-away-MOT-DEP:INTRANS-OBJ   1SG-know-NONTHEME
        'I want to go I suppose, but I do not know how to go.'

(516) o-ka-thima-na   o-nofi-mani-a
       1SG-MOT-upriver-DEP:INTRANS 1SG-want-COP-IMMED

       hida   vanivaha   kodi-isai-ra
       DEM:LOC   but:suppose   my-daughter-OBJ

       o-va-ipohi-ha-vini
       1SG-COMIT-many-distance-DEP:TRANS
       'I would like to go upriver I suppose to accompany my daughter.'

(517) ho-ra   ka-'ojomo'i-hi   bona
       me-OBJ   TRNSTVZR-teach-THEME   certainly

       o-oga-hi   amonaha-ni   hida   varaja
       1SG-know-THEME make-DEP:INTRANS DEM,f   basket
       'If she teaches me, certainly I will know (how) to make a basket.'

(518) abosi-'i-hi   ida   mokitiro   bona
       exchange-ASP-THEME   DEM,f   mosquito:net   certainly

       o-adaha-maraha-khama-na-ra
       1SG-travel-downriver:DUR-DISTRIB-DEP:INTRANS-OBJ

       o-nofi-'i-hi
       1SG-want-ASP-THEME
       'When the mosquito net is paid for, certainly I will want to travel
       up and down river.'

A monitory expression is recognized by the use of *bana* 'FUT, warning'
early in the clause, usually following the first constituent that indicates the
problem; *bana* can be repeated in the clause and a reason clause often
follows it.

(519) jomahi bana   oni   i-ra   ari-ja   bana
       jaguar warning   DEM   2SG-OBJ   maul-IMMED   FUT
       'Be careful, a jaguar may maul you.'

(520) ki'daraha-Ø   bana   i-a'ba-ki   bana-'i
       run-IMP   warning   2SG-wet-NONTHEME   FUT-2SG
       'Run or you will get wet.'

A prohibition is expressed by *hari'a* 'NEG.IMP' followed by an imperative
verb. *bana* optionally follows *hari'a* or the verb. There is little discernible

difference in meaning except that *bana* makes the prohibition more polite and when following immediately after *hari'a* it adds a warning constituent of meaning.

(521a) hari'a   bana   adaha-'a-∅
        NEG.IMP   warning   walk:around-ASP-IMP
        'Don't walk around.'

(521b) hari'a   adaha-'a-∅
        NEG.IMP   walk:around-ASP-IMP
        'Don't walk around.'

(521c) hari'a   adaha-'a-∅   bana
        NEG.IMP   walk:around-ASP-IMP   FUT
        'Don't walk around.'

Some warnings are not any different in form from a normal statement, but the 'watch out' implication is no less present.

(522)   hi-'adani   jara   va-kahano-ki   bana
        SPECFR-DEM   non:Indian   3PL-drunk-NONTHEME   FUT
        'Those non-Indians are going to get drunk.'

The potential mood is expressed through the verb *kaaboka* 'be able'.

(523)   ni-o-kaaboka-ki   ida   o-gama-na
        NEG-1SG-able-NONTHEME   DEM,f   1SG-get:up-neut
        'I am not able to get up.'

(524)   bi-a-kaaboka-ki   ida   vanami
        3SG-N.CLASS-able-NONTHEME   DEM,f   paddle

        ka-khana-ki
        N.CLASS-heavy-DESC
        'He is able to (use) the heavy paddle.'

18.4 Person, number and gender. Person and number of the subject are expressed by the person prefix which obligatorily occurs on all verbs. Noun modifiers also have prefixes which primarily signal number agreement with the head noun (sect. 15.3).

    There are some forms that contrast as between imperative and non-imperative, and between transitive and intransitive.

	NON-IMP		IMP	
	INTRANS	TRANS	INTRANS	TRANS
1SG	*o-*	*o-*	*o-*	*o-*
2SG	*i-*	*i-*	*ø-*	*i-*
3SG	*ø-*	*bi-*	*ø-*	*bi-*
1PL	*a-/ari-*	*a-/ari-*	*a-/ari-*	*a-/ari-*
2PL	*ava-/avi-*	*ava-/avi-*	*va-/vi-*	*va-/vi*
3PL	*va-/vi-*	*va-/vi-*	*va-/vi-*	*va-/vi-*

No distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive first person. Dual does not occur as a distinct category, but may be signalled in certain restricted contexts by the verbal affixes *ka-* . . . *-khama* 'reciprocal' (525, 526) or *-'bamakhama* 'both' (527). (Note: the verb *'dani* 'break' can be transitive (525) or intransitive (526).)

(525) bi-a-ka-'dani-khama-vini
       3SG-STATVZR-DISTRIB-break-DISTRIB-DEP:TRANS
       'He broke it into two pieces.'

(526) a-ka-'dani-khama-ni
       STATVZR-DISTRIB-break-DISTRIB-DEP:INTRANS
       'It broke into two pieces.'

(527) bi-nofi-'bama-khama-ki   ida
       3SG-want-two-DISTRIB-NONTHEME   DEM,f
       'He wants both of them.'

As these examples show, 'dual' refers to the object or intransitive subject.

Plural prefixes only occur for human and large animal participants. Small animals, fish, etc., and inanimate objects take a singular person prefix. The words *ija'ari* 'people', *jara* 'non-Indian' and some other nouns may govern either the singular prefix *bi-*, when it is understood collectively, or the plural *va-*.

(528a) kodi-ija'ari o-kha-nanava-ki,   jara
        my-people   away-MOT-first-DESC   non:Indian

bi-da-ki   varani hi-ni
3SG-strike-NONTHEME talk   be-DEP:INTRANS
'My people who went first (i.e., my ancestors), the non-Indians
attacking (them) (is what) is being talked about.'

Example (528a) shows the nouns *ija'ari* 'people' and *jara* 'non-Indian' being
used with the collective meaning. In example (528b) they are both plural.

(528b) jara   va'o-ra   vi-da-ki
        non:Indian   them-OBJ   3PL-strike-NONTHEME

        adani   kodi-ija'ari
        DEM:PL   my-people
        'The non-Indians attacked my people.'

Gender agreement is expressed by some of the verb-final suffixes:

> -ja/-a/-ra   'IMMED' f/f/m
> -hi/-ha   'THEME' f/m
> -ni/-na   'DEP:INTRANS' f/m

The other verb-final suffixes do not show gender agreement. The gender
distinction applies only to the third person singular categories. For all other
person-number categories the distinction is neutralized, and either the
feminine or masculine form is used according to certain rules. The
constituent which is not marked by the ergative or object enclitic, and
which follows the verb, governs gender agreement in both demonstratives
and verb-final suffixes. This constituent is usually the intransitive subject
(529a) or the direct object (529b), but can also be the transitive subject
when this is postverbal and the direct object precedes the verb (529c). It
can also be the demoted object in a ditransitive construction (529d).

(529a) voroni-'i-hi   ida   kidi-hado
        fall-ASP-THEME,f DEM,f   his-knife,f
        'His knife fell.'

(529b) Dono-a   bi-ko'diraha-'a-ha   ada
        Dono-ERG   3SG-pinch-ASP-THEME,m DEM,m

        isai   hoariha
        child,m   other
        'Dono pinched the other boy.'

(529c)   maravi-ra   namonaha-hi   ida   mamai
        fan-OBJ   make-THEME,f   DEM,f   mother,f
        'Mother made a fan.'

(529d)   Maria-ra   o-no'a-vini   hi-hi
        Mary-OBJ   1SG-give-DEP:TRANS   AUX-THEME,f

        ida   savaharo   vadi-ni
        DEM,f   turtle,f   arm-f
        'I gave Mary the turtle arm.'

18.5 Voice. The passive voice is described in section 5. Some information concerning causatives is given in section 6, but further details are given here, in 18.5.2.

There are several derivational affixes which may occur singly or in combinations. Table 2 identifies these and gives the subsections where they are discussed.

Table 2. Verb derivational affixes

4	3	2	1		1	2
a-	*ka-*	*ka-*	*a-/o-*	*Stem*	*-ha*	*-vaha*
STATVZR	DITRANSTVZR/	VBLZR/	DETRANSVZR	NOUN	ACTION	DESCVZR
(18.5.6)	BEN	TRNSTVZR	(18.5.7)	(18.7)	(18.5.1)	(18.5.9)
	(18.5.8)	(18.5.1)		or		
		na-		VERB	*-'a*	
		CAUS			TRNSTVZR	
		(18.5.2)			(18.5.4)	
		va-			*-a/-ha*	
		COMIT			DETRANSVZR	
		(18.5.3)			(18.5.5)	
					-hi	
					BEN	
					(18.5.8)	

18.5.1 The prefix *ka-/ko-/ki-/ra-* 'VBLZR/TRNSTVZR' occurs on many intransitive roots to make them transitive. The form *ko-* usually occurs before implosives and s; the other forms occur with different sets of roots (531b).

(530a)   o-jari'da-'i-hi
         1SG-disbelieve-ASP-THEME
         'I disbelieve.'

(530b)   bi-ka-jari'da-hi   ida   i-athi-ni
         3SG-TRNSTVZR-disbelieve-THEME   DEM,f   2SG-word-f
         'He disbelieves your word.'

The examples (531a, 531b) show an intransitive root *dafi* 'swallow' occurring with the auxiliary verb (see sect. 18.8.1) and the suffixal transitivizer *-'a* (531a) and the transitivizer *ki-* (531b) in a non-auxiliary construction.

(531a)   dafi   i-ni-'a-∅
         swallow   2SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-IMP
         'Swallow it.'

(531b)   bi-ki-dafi-ki   ida   ihai
         3SG-TRNSTVZR-swallow-NONTHEME   DEM   medicine
         'He is swallowing the medicine.'

The form *ra-* only occurs with intransitive motion verbs. The *ka-* NOUN CLASS prefix (which marks, among other items, canoe travel) is frequently prefixed to motion verbs, so the variant form is perhaps motivated for reducing possible confusion.

(532)   bi-a-ra-kha-'i-hi   ida   papira
         3SG-away-TRNSTVZR-MOT-ASP-THEME   DEM,f   book
         'He handed over the book.'

(533)   bi-a-ka-ra-ka-si-hi   ida   kojira
         3SG-away-N.CLASS-TRNSTVZR-MOT-up-THEME DEM,f spoon
         'He handed up the spoon.'

The form *ka-* 'VBLZR' may also be applied to some nouns to make a transitive stem with an active meaning.

(534)   o-'da'di-ra   o-a-ka-mai'da-hi
         my-head-OBJ   1SG-N.CLASS-VBLZR-comb-THEME
         'I comb my hair.'

(535)   o-ka-pavakari-'i-hi   ida   avi
        1SG-VBLZR-selling:thing-ASP-THEME   DEM,f   needle
        'I bought the needle.'

(536)   hari   ka-ka-ahoi-hi   ida   kodi-isai
        1PL:OBJ canoe-VBLZR-vine-THEME   DEM,f   my-daughter
        'My daughter pulled us in the canoe with a vine.'

The form *ka-* 'VBLZR' may be applied to most nouns to express possession. The resulting clause is intransitive.

(537)   o-ka-paha-ja
        1SG-VBLZR-water-IMMED
        'I have water.'

(538)   i-ka-abi'i-mani-ja?
        2SG-VBLZR-father-Q-IMMED
        'Do you have a father?'

The suffix *-ha* 'ACTION' may be applied to the above construction to show an action to possess, make, or fetch the item indicated in the verb. The resulting forms are transitive, with the direct object being the beneficiary of the action.

(539)   i-ka-paha-ha-mani-ja?
        2SG-VBLZR-water-ACTION-Q-IMMED
        'Are you fetching water (for yourself)?'

(540)   i-ko-'bai-ha-mani-ja?
        2SG-VBLZR-food-ACTION-Q-IMMED
        'Are you preparing food (for yourself)?'

(541)   o-ka-so'oro-ha-ki-ho
        1SG-VBLZR-basket-ACTION-NONTHEME-1SG
        'I am going to make a basket (for myself).'

If not otherwise specified, it is understood that the subject will be the possessor or beneficiary of the action (as in the above examples). This may be explicitly stated:

(542) o-abono   o-ka-paha-ha-ki-ho
       1SG-self   1SG-VBLZR-water-ACTION-NONTHEME-1SG
       'I'm getting water for myself.'

Or the person who is the beneficiary may be made explicit.

(543) i-ra   o-ko-'bai-ha-ki-ho
       2SG-OBJ   1SG-VBLZR-food-ACTION-NONTHEME-1SG
       'I'm preparing food for you.'

The suffix -ha 'ACTION' may also be applied to some intransitive resultative clauses. The resulting clause is still intransitive but the subject role changes from patient to actor.

(544a) oba-ki   ida   ava
        be:chopped-NONTHEME   DEM,f   tree
        'The tree is chopped down.'

(544b) oba-ha-hi   ida   Gisi
        be:chopped-ACTION-THEME   DEM,f   Gisi
        'Gisi was chopping.'

(545a) a-ha'di-ki   ida   lamparina
        STATVZR-alight-NONTHEME   DEM,f   lamp
        'The lamp is alight.'

(545b) Ø-a-ha'di-ha-ki   ada
        3SG-STATVZR-alight-ACTION-NONTHEME   DEM,m
        'He will light.'

The suffix -ha 'ACTION' may also be a verbalizer when it is applied to a restricted set of nouns. The resulting clause is intransitive.

(546) o-hado-ha-'iana-hi
       1SG-knife-ACTION:VBLZR-again-THEME
       'I cut again.'

18.5.2 The prefix na-/no-/ni-/n- 'CAUS/TRNSTVZR' may be applied to most intransitive verbs (see also sect. 6). In the resulting clause the subject is the initiator of the action. If the verb is active the object is caused to perform the action.

(547a) 'bai-hi   ida   kodi-isai
        eat-THEME   DEM   my-child
        'My child is eating.'

(547b) o-no-'bai-hi   ida   kodi-isai
        1SG-CAUS-eat-THEME   DEM   my-child
        'I am causing my child to eat.' (i.e., 'I am feeding her.')

If the verb is descriptive then the object is caused to fit that description.

(548)   o-na-jaha-hi   ida   gora   bodini
        1SG-CAUS-be:clean-THEME   DEM   house   inside
        'I caused the inside of the house to become clean.'
        (i.e., 'I cleaned the inside of the house.')

(549)   o-n-oba-'i-hi   ida   parai   ava-ni
        1SG-CAUS-be:chopped-ASP-THEME   DEM   palm   tree-f
        'I caused the palm tree to be chopped down.'
        (i.e., 'I felled the palm tree.')

Sometimes *na-* 'CAUS' is used to make a peripheral element nuclear. In the following pair of examples *Inaviha* is a peripheral locative constituent of the first clause and the object in the second.

(550a) o-araba-ha-hi   Inaviha
        1SG-fish-distance-THEME   Inaviha
        'I fished at lake Inaviha.'

(550b) o-na-araba-hi   ida   Inaviha
        1SG-CAUS-fish-THEME   DEM   Inaviha
        'I fished lake Inaviha.'

The prefix *na-* 'CAUS' frequently co-occurs with *a-* 'STATVZR', which is described in 18.5.6. The following examples show a progression of affixation.

(551a) o-noki-'i-hi   ida   lamparina   ha'di-ki
        1SG-see-ASP-THEME   DEM   lamp   alight-DESC
        'I saw the lamp alight.'

(551b)   a-ha'di-ki   ida   lamparina
         STATVZR-alight-NONTHEME   DEM   lamp
         'The lamp is burning.'

(551c)   o-a-na-ha'di-'i-hi   ida   lamparina
         1SG-STATVZR-CAUS-alight-ASP-THEME   DEM   lamp
         'I light the lamp.'

This last example may be contrasted with (545b) which shows the intransitive active. The *-ha* 'ACTION' suffix may not co-occur with the causative prefix in this construction.

The causative *na-* may also co-occur with the prefix *o-* 'DETRANSVZR' discussed in 18.5.7. This prefix only occurs on one verb: *fini* 'fear'.

(552a)   isai-a   bi-fini-ha   ada   makha
         child-ERG   3SG-fear-THEME   DEM   snake
         'The child feared the snake.'

(552b)   o-fini-ha   ada   isai
         DETRANSVZR-fear-THEME   DEM   child
         'The child was afraid.'

(552c)   jomahi-a   bi-na-o-fini-ha   ada   isai
         dog-ERG   3SG-CAUS-DETRANSVZR-fear-THEME   DEM   child
         'The dog caused the child to be afraid.'
         (i.e., 'The dog frightened the child.')

The prefix *na-* 'CAUS' may also occur on a few noun roots. The resulting construction is transitive.

(553)   jora-ki-a   o-na-hado-hi   ida   siri
         quick-DESC-OBL   1SG-CAUS-knife-THEME   DEM   turtle
         'Quickly I cut the turtle up.'

(554)   a-na-bavi-ha   ada   bahina   a'ba-na
         1PL-CAUS-container-THEME   DEM   honey   wet-m
         'We put the honey in a container.'
         (lit., 'We containered the honey.')

The prefix *na-* 'CAUS' may also co-occur with the suffix *-a* 'DE-TRANSVZR' (18.5.5).

(555) o-abono   o-na-noki-a-hi
      1SG-self   1SG-CAUS-see-DETRANSVZR-THEME
      'I caused myself to be seen.'

The causative prefix may also co-occur with the ditransitive affixes. These are elaborated in section 18.5.8 and 18.7.1.

18.5.3 The prefix *va-/vi-* 'COMIT/TRNSTVZR' is the third in this set of transitivizers. It may be applied to many intransitive verbs. The resulting construction is transitive. When the verb is active, the subject and object are co-actors or co-experiencers. When the object is inanimate then the subject acts with the object.

(556) mamai-a   bi-a-vi-kha-'i-hi
      mother-ERG   3SG-away-COMIT-MOT-ASP-THEME

      ida   kidi-isai
      DEM   her-child
      'Mother took (i.e., went with) her child.'

(557) papai-a   bi-ka-va-adaha-hi
      father-ERG   3SG-N.CLASS-COMIT-travel-THEME

      ida   kodi-vanami
      DEM   my-paddle
      'Father travelled around with my paddle.'

(558) kodi-adia-∅   bi-va-asara-hi   ida   kidi-isai
      my-sister-ERG   3SG-COMIT-cry-THEME DEM   her-child
      'My sister cried with her child.'

If the verb is descriptive, the subject is expressing a value judgment on the basis of experience.

(559) o-va-jaha-ki   hida   parai a'ba-ni
      1SG-COMIT-good-NONTHEME DEM   palm   wet-f
      'I like the palm juice.'
      (i.e., 'I have tested it and declare it to be good.')

(560) bi-va-txina-ki   ida   ihi'ai
      3SG-COMIT-sweet-NONTHEME DEM   fruit
      'He tasted the fruit and found it to be sweet.'

The comitative prefix may also be used to promote an oblique constituent to direct object. If the verb root is basically transitive, a detransitivizer -a co-occurs following the root. Example (561b) shows an instrument, and (562) a locative occurring as the object.

(561a) mamai-a   bi-soko-hi   ida   makari   sabao-a
        mother-ERG   3SG-wash-THEME   DEM   clothes   soap-OBL
        'Mother washed the clothes with soap.'

(561b) mamai-a   bi-vi-soko-a-vini
        mother-ERG   3SG-COMIT-wash-DETRANSVZR-DEP:TRANS

        ida   sabao
        DEM   soap
        'Mother washed with soap.'

(562)   Gisi-a   bi-va-'bana-ki   ida   Porto   Velho
        Gisi-ERG   3SG-COMIT-pain-NONTHEME   DEM   Porto   Velho
        'Gisi gave birth in Porto Velho.'

A further use of va- 'COMIT' is to change the semantic roles of some transitive verbs. The following two examples contrast 'to speak to' and 'to speak about'. (The suffix -'a 'TRNSTVZR' is discussed in 18.5.4.)

(563)   vara   i-ra   o-ni-'a-'i-hi
        speak   2SG-OBJ   1SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-ASP-THEME
        'I spoke to you.'

(564)   vara   o-va-ni-'a-'i-hi
        speak   1SG-COMIT-AUX-TRNSTVZR-ASP-THEME

        ida   kodi-amia
        DEM   my-mother
        'I spoke about my mother.'

The next three examples show the verb *baranaha* 'call' being used as a transitive verb with a recipient, a patient, and a reflexive as the direct object constituent. The latter two have *vi-* 'COMIT' in the verb.

(565)   Maria   ho-ra   baranaha-'i-hi
        Mary   1SG-OBJ   call-ASP-THEME
        'Mary called me.'

(566)   Maria-a   bi-vi-baranaha-'i-hi   ida   'bai
        Mary-ERG   3SG-COMIT-call-ASP-THEME   DEM   food
        'Mary called about the food.'

(567)   abono-ra   vi-baranaha-ha   ada   makhira
        self-OBJ   COMIT-call-THEME   DEM   man
        'The man called out for himself (in order to be heard).'

Two further constructions with *va-* are discussed in 18.5.8 and 18.7.1.

18.5.4 The suffix *-'a* 'TRNSTVZR' occurs with the verb *ni* 'say'.

(568)   ni-hi   ida   gamo
        say-THEME   DEM   woman
        'The woman said.'

(569)   ho-ra   ni-'a-hi   ida   gamo
        1SG-OBJ   say-TRNSTVZR-THEME   DEM   woman
        'The woman said to me.'

-'a is also used to transitivize *ni* when it functions as an auxiliary verb. There is a subclass of verbs which usually does not take affixation on the root but on the auxiliary verb which follows it (18.8.1).

(570)   bada   o-ni-na
        work   1SG-AUX-DEP:INTRANS
        'I am working.'

(571)   bada   o-ni-'a-vini   ada   abaisana
        work   1SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-DEP:TRANS   DEM   fish
        'I am working on the fish.' (i.e., 'I am preparing it for cooking.')

Some of the verbs which are transitivized with *-'a* may alternatively be transitivized with *na-* 'CAUS' with apparently no change of meaning.

(572)   o-na-bada-ni-ha   ada   abaisana
        1SG-CAUS-work-AUX-THEME   DEM   fish
        'I am working on the fish.'

In (572), *-ni-* may not be the auxiliary. The nominalized form of *bada* 'to work' is *bada-ni* 'work' (sect. 15.4), and it may be preferable to analyze the verb as *na* + noun rather than *na* + verb + AUX. There are other verbs that take affixation either on the auxiliary verb or on the main root, in which latter case the auxiliary does not co-occur at all (see 18.9).

(573)   txo   bi-ni-'a-vini   ida
        suck (put:lips:to) 3SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-DEP:TRANS DEM

        hoariha   'ba'da-ni
        cheek-f   other
        'She kissed the other (person's) cheek.'

(574)   bi-na-txotxo-ki   ida   manga
        3SG-CAUS-suck(put:lips:to)-NONTHEME DEM   mango
        'She sucked the mango.'

18.5.5 The suffixes *-a* and *-ha* are detransitivizers. They are added to transitive verb stems, and the resulting intransitive clause may have the subject as either actor or patient. The following sets of examples show both of these affixes with the same function.

(575a) mamai-a   bi-soko-ki   hida   makari
        mother-ERG   3SG-wash-NONTHEME   DEM   clothes
        'Mother is washing these clothes.'

(575b) soko-a-ki   hida   mamai
        wash-DETRANSVZR-NONTHEME   DEM   mother
        'Mother is washing.'

(575c) soko-a-ki   hida   makari
        wash-DETRANSVZR-NONTHEME   DEM   clothes
        'The clothes are being washed.'

(576a) jomahi-a   bi-khori-ki   hida   nami
        dog-ERG   3SG-dig-NONTHEME   DEM   soil
        'The dog is digging this soil.'

(576b) khora-ha-ki   hida   jomahi
        dig-DETRANSVZR-NONTHEME   DEM   dog
        'This dog is digging.'

(576c) khora-ha-ki   hida   nami
        dig-DETRANSVZR-NONTHEME   DEM   soil
        'The soil is being dug.'

(577a) koko-a   bi-rakhai-ki   hida   siroi
        uncle-ERG   3SG-plant-NONTHEME   DEM   field
        'Uncle is planting the field.'

(577b) rakhaja-ha-ki   ada   koko
        plant-DETRANSVZR-NONTHEME   DEM   uncle
        'Uncle is planting.'

(577c) rakhaja-ha-ki   ida   siroi
        plant-DETRANSVZR-NONTHEME   DEM   field
        'The field is being planted.'

(When -*ha* 'DETRANSVZR' is added, a preceding *i* becomes *a*, or, if it is part of a preceding diphthong *oi* or *ai*, the *i* becomes *ja*.)

Only action verbs allow the subject-as-actor role. Verbs of perception like 'see' (578) require an experiencer subject, and this cannot be the subject after the detransitivizing process takes place:

(578a) o-noki-ki   ida   gora
        1SG-see-NONTHEME   DEM   house
        'I see the house.'

(578b) noki-a-ki   ida   gora
        see-DETRANSVZR-NONTHEME   DEM   house
        'The house is visible.'

but not:

(578c) *o-noki-a-ki
        1SG-see-DETRANSVZR-NONTHEME
        'I am seeing/I see.'

When -*a* 'DETRANSVZR' is applied, then the causative, which only occurs on intransitive roots, may also be applied.

(578d) o-na-noki-a-ki   ida   gora
        1SG-CAUS-see-DETRANSVZR-NONTHEME   DEM   house
        'I cause the house to be seen.'

This verb is more frequently found as a reflexive:

(578e)   o-abono   o-na-noki-a-ki
          1SG-self   1SG-CAUS-see-DETRANSVZR-NONTHEME
          'I showed myself.'

or as a benefactive:

(578f)   i-ra   o-na-noki-a-hi-vini
          2SG-OBJ   1SG-CAUS-see-DETRANSVZR-BEN-DEP:TRANS

          hi-ki   ida   gora
          AUX-NONTHEME   DEM   house
          'I show you the house.'

The -a 'DETRANSVZR' may also co-occur with va- 'COMIT'. In the following example an oblique (instrument) constituent has been promoted to direct object (18.5.3).

(579)   mamai-a   bi-vi-soko-a-vini
         mother-ERG   3SG-COMIT-wash-DETRANSVZR-DEP:TRANS

          ida   sabao
          DEM   soap
          'Mother washes with soap.'

18.5.6 The prefix a- 'VBLZR/STATVZR' occurs on adjectives to change them to intransitive verbs.

(580)   ava   'bo'da   hida
         wood   old   DEM
         'This is old wood.'

(581)   a-'bo'da-ki   hida   ava
         STATVZR-old-NONTHEME   DEM   wood
         'This wood is durable (i.e., does not rot quickly).'

This clause may be contrasted with one that has the durative aspect suffix -ha in the verb (18.2):

(582)   o-'bo'da-ha-ki-ho
         1SG-old-DUR-NONTHEME-1SG
         'I am becoming old.'

Another example of *a-* 'STATVZR' is:

(583)   'bai   pa'itxi   hida
        food   little   DEM
        'Here is a little food.'

(584)   a-pa'itxi-ki   hida   'bai
        STATVZR-small-NONTHEME   DEM   food
        'There remains a little food.'

The prefix *a-* may co-occur with *na-* 'CAUS':

(585)   isai   ipohi-ki   ni-karagoahi-ra
        child   many-DESC   NEG-farinha-OBJ

        a-na-'bo'da-ki
        STATVZR-CAUS-old-NONTHEME
        'Many children cause the farinha to not last long.'

The stativizer *a-* may also occur on some intransitive verbs alone or with *va-* 'COMIT'. The following possibilities using these two prefixes reveal contrastive meanings:

(586)   a-'boa-ki   ida   makari
        STATVZR-cut-NONTHEME   DEM   cloth
        'The cloth is cut (into two pieces).'

(587)   bi-a-va-'boa-vini   ida   makari
        3SG-STATVZR-COMIT-cut-DEP:TRANS   DEM   cloth
        'She cut the cloth (into two pieces).'

(588)   bi-va-'boa-vini   ida   makari
        3SG-COMIT-cut-DEP:TRANS   DEM   cloth
        'She cut the cloth (round the pattern).'

18.5.7 The prefixes *a-* and *o-* 'DETRANSVZR' have very limited application, each occurring with only one verb: *a-* with *'dani* 'break' and *o-* with *fini* 'fear'.

(589)   bi-'dani-'i-hi   ida   ikoaka   ava-ni
        3SG-break-ASP-THEME   DEM   fishhook   wood-f
        'He broke the fishing rod.'

(590) a-'dani-'i-hi   ida   ikoaka   ava-ni
      DETRANSVZR-break-ASP-THEME   DEM   fishhook   wood-f
      'The fishing rod broke.'

(591) bi-fini-ki   ida   mabidiri
      3SG-fear-NONTHEME   DEM   water:snake
      'He feared the water snake.'

(592) i-o-fini-mani-ja?
      2SG-DETRANSVZR-fear-Q-IMMED
      'Are you afraid?'

18.5.8 The co-occurrence of the prefix *ka-* and suffix *-hi* makes the verb ditransitive and yields a 'BENEFACTIVE' meaning. (In this paper, these affixes are sometimes glossed as 'DITRANSTVZR'.) The direct object occurs preverbally marked by the enclitic *-ra* 'OBJ' and refers to the beneficiary (a semantically indirect object which can also be expressed as an oblique clause constituent when there is a *na-* 'CAUS' prefix in the verb instead of *ka-* . . . *-hi*; cf. (593b) and (593c)). This derivation is more often applied to an intransitive stem (cf. (593a, c) and (595b)), but can also be applied to a transitive stem (594a, b). The (semantic) patient, which is the direct object in the normal transitive clause (593b, 594a, 595a), becomes a DEMOTED OBJECT in the benefactive ditransitive construction (593c, 594b, 595b). This may be marked as such by the *-a* 'DEMOTED:O' enclitic, as in (595b), or it may occur postverbally with a demonstrative but no other marking (593c, 594b). In this latter case it is not morphologically distinguished from a postverbal direct object in an ordinary transitive clause (e.g., 593b, 595a), but it is syntactically distinguished as demoted, rather than direct, by the co-occurrence of the preverbal direct object marked with *-ra* (593c, 594b).

(593a) abini-'i-hi   ida   arakava
       die-ASP-THEME   DEM   hen
       'The hen died.'

(593b) bi-na-abini-hi   ida   arakava   kodi-imoni
       3SG-CAUS-die-THEME   DEM   hen   me-for
       'He killed the hen for me.'

(593c) ho-ra   ka-abini-hi-vini   hi-ki
       me-OBJ   BEN-die-BEN-DEP:TRANS   AUX-NONTHEME

ida   arakava
DEM   hen
'He killed the hen for me.'

(594a)   'bai-ra   o-sa-mai-hi
          food-OBJ   away-take:and:leave-nearby:house-THEME

          kodi-moni
          me-for
          'She took the food to the other house for me.'

(594b)   ho-ra   a-ko-sa-mai-hi-vini
          me-OBJ   away-BEN-take:and:leave-nearby-BEN-DEP:TRANS

          hi-ni   ida   'bai
          AUX-DEP:INTRANS   DEM   food
          'She took the food to the other house for me.'

If the subject and object are co-referential the reflexive pronoun is used for the object.

(595a)   i-na-jaha-mani-ja   ida   kada-siroi
          2SG-CAUS-clean-Q-IMMED   DEM   your-field
          'Are you cleaning your field?'

(595b)   i-abono   i-ka-jaha-hi-mani-ja
          2SG-self   2SG-BEN-clean-BEN-Q-IMMED

          kada-siroi-a?
          your-field-DEMOT:O
          'Are you cleaning your field for yourself?'

Some verbs are irregular, the final vowel of the root becoming *a* before *-hi* (596), or the *-hi* being omitted (598).

(596)   ho-ra   ka-khora-hi-vini   hi-ni
         me-OBJ   BEN-dig-BEN-DEP:TRANS   AUX-DEP:INTRANS

         ida   nami
         DEM   soil
         'He dug the soil for me.' (*khori* 'dig')

(597)   ho-ra   ka-rakhaja-hi-vini   hi-ni
          me-OBJ BEN-plant-BEN-DEP:TRANS AUX-DEP:INTRANS

          ida   siroi
          DEM field
          'He planted the field for me.' (*rakhai* 'plant')

(598)   Maria ho-ra   ka-'boi-vini   hi-ni
          Mary me-OBJ BEN-cut-DEP:TRANS AUX-DEP:INTRANS

          ida   makari
          DEM cloth
          'Mary cut out the pattern for me.' (*'boa* 'cut')

The causative is occasionally found co-occurring with the benefactive construction, sometimes with a noun root (599) and also with a verb root (600).

(599)   i-ra   o-ka-na-siho-hi-vini
          2SG-OBJ 1SG-BEN-CAUS-fire-BEN-DEP:TRANS
          'I am cooking for you.'
          (lit., 'I am causing you to benefit from my cooking.')

(600)   bi-ka-na-ihota-hi-vini   ada   babadi
          3SG-BEN-CAUS-escape-BEN-DEP:TRANS DEM pirarucu
          'He caused the pirarucu fish to escape.'

An optional oblique object makes specific the action mentioned in the verb.

(601)   Sal va'o-ra   ka-na-kakodia-hi-ha-vini
          Sal them-OBJ BEN-CAUS-help:with-BEN-distance-DEP:TRANS

          (siroi   khanokhano-ni-a)
          (field chop:undergrowth-DEP:INTRANS-OBL)
          'Sal helped them (with field cutting).'

The general meaning up to this point of all these *ka-* . . . *-hi* constructions is: 'the subject causes the object to benefit from the action mentioned in the verb.' There is one usage of *ka-* . . . *-hi* that does not fit this pattern. The comitative *va-* co-occurring with *ka-* . . . *-hi* has the meaning: 'the subject uses the item mentioned in the direct object to be instrumental in performing the action indicated by the verb.' There is no beneficiary involved, least of all the direct object referent.

(602)   hado-ra   ka-va-abini-hi-vini
        knife-OBJ   BEN-COMIT-die-BEN-DEP:TRANS

        hi-ki   ida   arakava
        AUX-NONTHEME DEM hen
        'He killed the hen with a knife.'

18.5.9 The suffix *-vaha* 'DESCVZR' signals some inherent quality of an object. The verb is usually intransitive and may be regarded as a pseudo-passive. Few examples are found in continuous text material, but they can be readily elicited. It can often be translated as 'can/may be'.

(603)   ha-vaha-ki   hida   baimana
        eat-DESCVZR-NONTHEME DEM   meat
        'This meat is edible.' (lit., 'This meat can be eaten.')

(604)   anana-ha-vaha-ki
        bite-DETRANSVZR-DESCVZR-NONTHEME
        'It may be bitten.'

(605)   ramosa-vaha-ki   ida   misai
        smell-DESCVZR-NONTHEME DEM perfume
        'The perfume can be smelled.'

(606)   kaimaha-vaha-ri-ki   ida   makari
        wear-DESCVZR-NEG-NONTHEME DEM cloth
        'The cloth is not wearable.'
        (i.e., 'It has not yet been made up into a garment.')

    There are a few examples of *-vaha* following the prefixes *ka-va-*.

(607)   ka-va-hodi-ha-vaha-ki
        ?BEN-COMIT-hole-ACTION-DESCVZR-NONTHEME

        ida   gora   ava-ni
        DEM   house wood-f
        '(The ground) has holes in it for house poles.'

(608)   ka-vi-khora-ha-ha-vaha-ni
        ?BEN-COMIT-dig-DETRANSVZR-PL-DESCVZR-DEP:INTRANS

ida   bohada
DEM   beach:shelter
'(The ground) has had holes dug in it for the beach shelter.'

The next two pairs of examples show more clearly the basic
pseudo-passive function of -vaha.

(609a) bi-na-rokoroko-ki   ida   ihai
        3SG-CAUS-shake-NONTHEME DEM   medicine
        'She is shaking the medicine.'
        (lit., 'She is making the medicine shake.')

(609b) na-rokoroko-vaha-ni
        CAUS-shake-DESCVZR-DEP:INTRANS
        'It can be shaken.'

(610a) bi-na-koko-ki   ida   ihi'ai
        3SG-CAUS-suck-NONTHEME DEM   fruit
        'She is sucking the fruit.'

(610b) na-koko-vaha-ki
        CAUS-suck-DESCVZR-NONTHEME
        'It can be sucked.'

18.6 Other categories

18.6.1 Verb-final suffixes. All verbs have one of a small set of suffixes in
the final position which simultaneously indicate several different types of
information, such as primary/foreground vs. secondary/background; dialogue
vs. monologue; declarative vs. imperative; main vs. subordinate clause;
establishment of topics and settings; description; gender; and number. They
fall into three main groupings: thematic suffixes, imperative suffixes and
dependent verb suffixes.

1)   Thematic suffixes:

   -hi/-ha 'THEME': monologue event line, remote in time/space
   from the speaker, conditional:

   —1SG/PL, 2SG/PL and 3SG,f have the *-hi* form (usually glossed
   'f'); 3SG,m and 3PL have the *-ha* form (usually glossed 'm').

   —Gender and number agreement may be with the subject or
   object depending on the constituent order and the use of the
   ergative and object enclitics (sect. 18.4).

-ja/-a/-ra 'IMMED': dialogue, interrogative, contrafactual, near in time or space to the speaker, identificational:

—1SG/PL, 2SG/PL and 3SG,f have the *-ja/-a* forms; 3SG,m and 3PL have the *-ra* form.

-ki 'NONTHEME/DESC': background information such as description, explanation or comment; occurs also with noun modifiers, some nominalizations, and with the negative enclitic *ni-*.

2) Imperative suffixes (sect. 11):

-ø 'IMP (2nd person)'
-va 'HORT (1st and 3rd persons)'

3) Dependent verb suffixes (sect. 14.1):

-vini 'DEP:TRANS'
-ni/-na 'DEP:INTRANS'; 1SG/PL, 3SG,m and 3PL have the *-na* form; 2SG/PL and 3SG,f have the *-ni* form.

18.6.2 Directional prefixes and the *ka*-NOUN CLASS prefix. The *ka*-NOUN CLASS prefix (*ka-/ko-/ak-/ki-/a-*) may occur on any verb when the subject or object of that verb is a member of the *ka*-noun class. There is no overt marker on the noun to distinguish it from other nouns. In this case "subject or object" is not restricted to postverbal position or nonoccurrence of a case-marking clitic, as it is in the case of gender agreement (sect. 18.4).

(611)   o-ka-nofi-ki   oni   vanami
        1SG-N.CLASS-want-NONTHEME DEM   paddle
        'I want that paddle.'

It also occurs on all motion verbs when travel is in one vehicle, whether by land, river or air. When the vehicles are plural, the 'walking-by-land' form of the verb is used. The word for 'canoe', *kanava*, is a *ka*- CLASS word and *ka*- occurs in the verb, but in this case it is glossed 'canoe', since this is often the only reference in the clause to 'canoe'.

(612)   a-o-kha-ki   hari
        1PL-away-MOT-NONTHEME   1PL
        'We went (walking by land or in several canoes or other vehicles).'

(613)   a-a-ka-kha-ki   hari
        1PL-away-canoe-MOT-NONTHEME 1PL
        'We went (in one canoe).'

The direction 'away from' prefix *a-/o-/ri-/ra-* may occur on all motion verbs (612, 613) and a few non-motion verbs. In the latter case, the meaning is that of distance not direction (614).

(614)   bi-a-noki-'i-hi   ida   gora
        3SG-away-see-ASP-THEME DEM   house
        'He saw in the distance a house.'

18.6.3 Root reduplication. Reduplication of the verb root occurs quite frequently. Some verbs are not found in an unreduplicated form, suggesting that one of the meanings implied by reduplication is an integral part of the meaning of the verb. Two such verbs are: *boaboa* 'boil' and *sasa* 'melt'. It is the final two syllables of a root that are reduplicated. Although the various meanings of reduplication described below may be distinct, they often merge into each other.

Reduplication may indicate that a quality is not quite the standard expected for that referent. For example, *nadara-ki* 'red', *nadara-dara-ki* 'almost red'; *pahi-ni-ki* 'without salt', *pahipahi-ki* 'with inadequate salt.'

A related meaning is that a process has started but not yet reached culmination: *'batha-ki* 'rotten', *'batha-'batha-ki* 'becoming rotten'.

It may indicate plurality or repetition: *kari-kari-ha-ni* 'striped'; *kabo-kabo-ki* 'dripping'. The distinction between repetition and plurality is not always clear. The last example could be either. There is a similar doubt regarding the reduplicated form of *bi-na-kabodi-vini* 'he mixes two items', which is *bi-na-kabodiha-diha-vini* 'he mixes several different things'.

There is sometimes the meaning of extension (all over): *jaro-jaro-ki* 'rough surface'; *kaboro-boro-ki* 'covered with mildew'.

18.6.4 Frozen compound forms of verbs and suffixes. Some verb stems, consisting of root and one or more suffixes that immediately follow the root, have become frozen forms with distinct meanings. The affixes still occur freely with other roots. The following five examples show frozen forms and the constituents from which they are derived: *-ma* 'into canoe' (615, 616), *'da-* 'with foot' (616, 617), *-ra/-ri* 'downwards' (617, 619) and *-fa/-fi* 'into water' (618, 619, 622).

(615)   bi-o-sa-ma-'i-hi   ida   dai-na
         3SG-away-take:and:leave-in:canoe-ASP-THEME   DEM   load-m
         'He put his load into the canoe.' (*sama* 'put in canoe')

(616)   ki-'da-ma-'a-ha
         MOT-foot-in:canoe-ASP-THEME
         'He got into the canoe.' (*ki'dama* 'embark')

(617)   ki-'da-ra-ha-'a-ha
         MOT-foot-downwards-DUR-ASP-THEME
         'He ran.' (*ki'daraha* 'run')

(618)   bi-o-sa-fa-foni-
         3SG-away-take:and:leave-into:water-water's:edge-

         'i-hi   ida   boda
         ASP-THEME DEM   manioc
         'He put the manioc into the water at the water's edge.'
         (*safa* 'put into water')

(619)   ka-fa-ri-ki   ida   ihi'ai
         MOT-into:water-downwards-NONTHEME DEM   fruit
         'The fruit came down from a height into water.'
         (*kafari* 'fall into water')

Other frozen forms occur with the root *'o* 'stop':

(620)   o-a-ko-'o-mari-'afo-
         1SG-away-canoe-stop-down:through:water-stationary-

         'i-hi
         ASP-THEME
         'I sank in the water.' (*ko'omari* 'to sink')

(621)   a-ko-'o-misi-na   idia-ja
         1PL-canoe-stop-towards:shore-DEP:INTRANS DEM:LOC-DIR
         'We came to shore over there.' (*ko'omisi* 'to dock')

(622)   va-ko-'o-fi-ha
         3PL-canoe-stop-into:water-THEME
         'They stopped the canoe.' (*ko'ofi* 'to stop canoe')

The suffix -ra/-ri 'downwards' which occurs in examples (617) and (619) occurs in the verb gari 'go down', also a frozen form.

(623)   o-ga-ri-Ø   bana
        away-MOT-downwards-IMP   FUT
        'Go down.'

The variant -ra occurs with stative or descriptive verbs and verbs of action of short duration and with some roots produces frozen compound stems:

(624)   nokho-ni a-rafo-ra-bakosi-ni
        eye-f   STATVZR-be:swollen-downwards-one:side-DEP:INTRANS
        'Her eye was swollen shut on one side.'

(625)   a-boa-ra-kosi-ni
        STATVZR-boil-downwards-container-DEP:INTRANS
        'It was boiling over.' (i.e., 'It was coming down out of container.')

(626)   o-kha-ra-foni-'a-ha
        away-MOT-downwards-water's:edge-ASP-THEME
        'He went down to the port.'

The compound suffix forms -raha and -rahana occur on verbs showing repetitive and durative action in a downward direction.

(627)   i-'bana-raha-karaho-mani-ja   bana
        2SG-pain-downwards+DUR-big-COP-IMMED   FUT
        'You will suffer a lot of labour pain.'

(628)   o-karaga-raha-farahana-vini
        1SG-find-downwards:DUR-in:water:DUR:PL-DEP:TRANS
        'I found it down in the water after much harpooning downwards.'

(629)   majori-ra   va'o-ra
        vulture-OBJ   them-OBJ

        a-ra-ga-rahana-'i-ki
        away-TRNSTVZR-MOT-downwards:DUR:PL-ASP-NONTHEME

        igitha   ima-ni-ra
        animal   flesh-f-OBJ

va-ka-no-'bai-ha-ra   kaimoni
3PL-BEN-CAUS-food-ACTION-IMMED   PURP
'What caused the vultures to keep coming down was to eat animal meat.'

Examples of the first order of suffixes occurring with other roots in non-frozen forms are:

-ha
'distance', 'action performed at a distance from the speech act'.

(630)   bi-n-oba-ha-mi-'i-hi
        3SG-CAUS-chop-distance-in:jungle-ASP-THEME
        'She chopped it away in the jungle' or 'She went to chop it in the jungle.'

(631)   o-vadi-ha-ki-ho
        1SG-sleep-distance-NONTHEME-1SG
        'I will go (to another place) to sleep.'

(632)   o-ka-pavakari-ha-'i-hi   ida   makari
        1SG-VBLZR-buy/sell-distance-ASP-THEME   DEM   cloth
        'I bought the cloth elsewhere' or 'I went to buy the cloth.'

-no
'arrive (at an intermediary point on a journey).'

(633)   a-kha-no-nai-na
        1PL-MOT-arrive-towards:water-DEP:INTRANS
        'We arrived at the water's edge (coming from the jungle).'

(634)   avião   a-a-kha-no-ri-ni   oadani
        plane   away-N.CLASS-MOT-arrive-NEG-DEP:INTRANS   while
        'until the plane arrives'

The motion verb *kha* appears in several forms, depending on the affix which follows it. One example of each form is: *kha* 'MOT' (basic form); *ka-si* 'MOT-up'; *ga-ri* 'MOT-down'; *gai-mori* 'MOT-up:bank'; *ki-'da-ma* 'MOT-foot-canoe (embark)'.

18.6.5 Directional suffixes. The second order of suffixes after the verb root contains forms with a directional meaning. Most of these affixes have a simple and a compound form. For example *-mori/-mora + ha* 'go up a bank'. The simple form occurs on stative and descriptive verbs and on action

verbs when the speaker views the action as a short single event. The compound form has the durative marker -*ha*, with or without a subsequent -*na* 'PL:of:REPET'. The speaker uses the durative when the action is viewed as having taken a long time or was repetitive. For example, the suffix -*ra*/-*ra*+*ha* 'downwards' described in section 18.6.4, occurs in the verbs *ki'daraha* 'run' and *'banaraha* 'suffer labour pains'. In the former there is repetitive action of putting the foot down, in the second there is a repetition of pain downwards.

There are approximately 26 directional suffixes. Most of them have a general area of meaning that is made specific by the context. For example:

-*misi*/-*misaha*
'to go from mid-water towards the shore',
'to go from the shore towards the jungle',
'to go from open ground into the jungle', or
'to bring two vertical objects together.'

(635)   o-o-kha-misi-ki-ho
        1SG-away-MOT-towards:jungle-NONTHEME-1SG
        'I'm going to the jungle.'

(636)   a-ka-'dakha-misi-ni
        STATVZR-N.CLASS-hard-bring:together-DEP:INTRANS

        ida   bakatha
        DEM   door
        'The door is shut.'

(637)   bi-na-'dakha-misi-vini
        3SG-CAUS-hard-bring:together-DEP:TRANS
        'He put it against (the wall).'

        -*nai*/-*najaha*
        'coming from jungle towards water' or
        'going from shore to the middle of a lake or river.'

        -*mai*/-*majaha*
        'parallel to water's edge' or
        'from one house to another.'

The above three suffixes give a horizontal orientation.

-mi/-maha
'movement within a defined area'
(e.g., within house, within jungle, on a cloth).

(638)   i-a-ka-rokojoho-mi-Ø   ida   mesa
        2SG-away-N.CLASS-push-within:house-IMP DEM   table
        'Push the table.'

(639)   va-rabo-maha-khama-'a-ha   jomahi
        3PL-fly-within:house:DUR-DISTRIB-ASP-THEME jaguar

        gora-ni   bodini-a
        house-f   inside-OBL
        'They were flying back and forth within the jaguar's house.'

(640)   o-a-kaiba'i-mahana-ki   ida   boda
        1SG-away-carry-within:house:DUR:PL-NONTHEME DEM manioc
        'I was continually carrying the manioc in the farinha house.'

(641)   o-kha-mi-'i-hi   ida   mamai
        away-MOT-within:jungle-ASP-THEME   DEM   mother
        'Mother went from one place in the jungle to another.'

There are two affixes which indicate movement into or out of a defined area:

-jakosi/-jakosaha
'going into a house or mosquito net on the same level'.

(642)   'biri   a-kha-ni-jakosi-ni
        disappear   away-N.CLASS-AUX-inside-DEP:INTRANS
        'It disappeared going inside.'

-onani/-onanaha
'coming from within a defined area'.

(643)   vi-kha-onani-'a-ha
        3PL-MOT-out:of-ASP-THEME
        'They came out (from the rubber cutting center).'

There are several suffixes showing upward direction:

-mori/-moraha 'to go up a bank from water's edge to top', 'to go from floodable ground to ground which does not flood', or 'to get out of water onto land'.

(644) siriga-ra   vi-gai-mori-'a-ha
       rubber-OBJ   COMIT-MOT-up:bank-ASP-THEME
       'He went up the bank with the rubber.'

(645) o-a-kahana-morahana-mani-hi
       1SG-canoe-bump:into-up:bank:DUR:PL-COP-THEME
       'I kept pulling the canoe up onto the shore as I pulled it along in the water.'

-si/-saha/-sahana
'up in air', 'up in house' or 'up in tree'.

(646) o-a-na-maakari-si-hi   ida   kajaviro
       1SG-away-CAUS-near-up-THEME   DEM   species:of:palm

       'da'di-ni
       head-f
       'I came near going upwards to the palm fruit.'

-manani/-mananaha
'into the vertical upwards'
(cf. *-rimanani/-rimanahana* 'from the vertical downwards.')

(647) i-ka-na-roa-rimanani-Ø   oni   kara'ina
       2SG-N.CLASS-CAUS-roll-from:vertical-IMP   DEM   pole:ladder
       'Roll the steps away from their upright position.'

(648) o-noki-manani-hi
       1SG-see-upwards-THEME
       'I looked up (from ground to horizontal).'

There are directionals which give orientation according to rivers and streams:

-thima/-thimaha	'upriver'
-mari/-maraha	'downriver'
-baoni/-baonaha	'along shoreline'
-bakosi/-bakosaha	'along shoreline by water'

By using these and similar directional affixes the need for locative clause constituents is greatly reduced.

18.6.6 Positional and locational suffixes. There is a set of suffixes which indicate position or location. Some suffixes of this set include a directional component of meaning and the two orders, directional and positional, frequently seem to merge into one (650, 652). The absolute order of all affixes has not been established for lack of adequate data for showing co-occurrence restrictions. Some of these suffixes only appear in combination with another suffix in a frozen form. For example: *-ma'o* 'on ground, on horizontal plane' (649) occurs freely with many verbs, and sometimes following another suffix, as in *-ria-ma'o* 'on the floor, chair, log, flat roof' (*-ria/-riaha* rarely occurs alone) (650, 651) and in *ja-ma'o* 'in abdomen, cave' (*-ja* never occurs alone) (652).

(649) o-'oma-ma'o-na-ra
       1SG-lie:down-on:ground-DEP:INTRANS-OBJ

       o-nofi-ri-hi
       1SG-want-NEG-THEME
       'I don't want to lie on the ground.'

(650) vada ni-riama'o-ki   ada
       look AUX-on:floor-NONTHEME DEM
       'He looked down on the floor.'

(651) gora   'da'di-ni a'a-ni sohi-riama'o-ki
       house head-f   top-f   straight-on:flat:roof-DESC
       'a flat housetop'

(652) mamai-a   bi-na-jaha-jama'o-ki
       mother-ERG   3SG-CAUS-good-in:abdomen-NONTHEME

       ida   isai
       DEM   child
       'Mother corrected the position of the unborn child.'

Other examples of frozen forms occur with *-kosi* 'container, canoe, any two equal objects or locations (tree to tree, paper to paper, etc.)' (653), *-rakosi* 'down outside of container' (654) and *-nakosi* 'front of canoe' (655).

(653)   o-a-ra-kha-kosi-vini
         1SG-away-CAUS-MOT-container-DEP:TRANS

         ida   papira   hoariha
         DEM   paper   other
         'I will copy it onto another paper.'

(654)   a-boa-ra-kosi-ki   ida   paha
         STATVZR-boil-downwards-container-THEME   DEM   water
         'The water boiled over.'

(655)   o-a-sarada-nakosi-'i-hi
         1SG-away-squat-front:bench:canoe-ASP-THEME
         'I was going squatting on the front bench of the canoe.'

Other suffixes in this set include: -saga 'fixed at one extremity' (656),
-rivana 'hanging downwards, in hammock' (657), -hanini 'secured by corners'
(658), -ribani/-ribanaha 'change direction, make line behind' (659). This last
suffix frequently co-occurs with the directional affixes, and it then seems to
indicate a trail (660).

(656)   ava   o-ka-saga-'afo-ki
         tree   away-MOT-fixed:extremity-without:motivator-DESC
         'The tree was swaying in the current.'

(657)   o-na-aho-rivana-ki   hada   sipatihi
         1SG-CAUS-tie:with:cord-hanging-NONTHEME   DEM   banana
         'I will hang these bananas from a cord.'

(658)   a-ka-aho-hanini-khama-ki
         STATVZR-DISTRIB-tie:with:cord-corners-DISTRIB-NONTHEME

         ida   makari
         DEM   cloth
         'The cloth was tied by the corners.'

(659)   vada   ni-ribani-ha
         look   AUX-behind-THEME
         'He looked behind him.'

(660)   a-joi-najaha-ribanaha-'i-hi
1PL-return-towards:shore-trail-ASP-THEME
'We returned towards the shore on a trail.'

18.6.7 Distributive affixes. There is a distinct category which we call distributive. One of the distributives is formed by the co-occurrence of a prefix *ka-* and a suffix *-khama* in discontinuous sequence.

(661)   bi-ka-na-pita-khama-vini
3SG-DISTRIB-CAUS-divide-DISTRIB-DEP:TRANS
'He divided them in two parts/two groups.'

Two additional affixes are also found co-occurring with *ka-. . . . -khama*. One is the prefix *a-* 'away' (662); and see section 18.6.2. The other is the suffix *-na*, which possibly means 'multi-directional', as opposed to two directions. This suffix is homophonous with the *-na* (described in 18.6.5), which sometimes follows the durative *-ha* in compound affixes and appears to have a plural or repetitive meaning.

(662)   bi-a-ka-ra-kha-na-khama-
3SG-away-DISTRIB-CAUS-MOT-MULTIDIR-DISTRIB-

-vini
-DEP:TRANS
'He handed over some to each one.'

(663)   Ø-a-a-kha-na-khama-ki
3SG-away-DISTRIB-MOT-MULTIDIR-DISTRIB-NONTHEME
'It was put in different places.'

(664)   bi-a-ka-na-pita-ha-na-khama-
3SG-away-DISTRIB-CAUS-divide-DUR-PL-DISTRIB-

'i-hi   ida   igitha
ASP-THEME   DEM,f   animal
'He divided each animal in two pieces down the middle and separated the pieces.'

This distributive category occurs with both intransitive (665) and transitive constructions (666, 667).

(665)   a-ka-aho-hanini-khama-ki
   STATVZR-DISTRIB-tie:with:cord-corners-DISTRIB-NONTHEME

   ida makari
   DEM cloth
   'The cloth was tied by the corners.'

(666)   vada
   look

   i-a-ka-ni-'a-na-khama-$\emptyset$
   2SG-away-DISTRIB-AUX-TRNSTVZR-MULTIDIR-DISTRIB-IMP

   oni arabo
   DEM land
   'Look in all directions at the land.'

(667)   arabo-ra i-a-ka-noki-na-khama-hi
   land-OBJ 2SG-away-DISTRIB-see-MULTIDIR-DISTRIB-THEME
   'You see land in all directions.'

The sequence *ka-. . . -khama* is also used for reciprocal constructions, when it co-occurs with the inflected free form reflexive *abono* 'self' (sect. 4.2). In this case the subject and the object (reflexive form) agree in person and number. The affixes *a-* and *-na* do not occur in the reciprocal construction.

(668)   va-abono va-ka-ra-kha-khama-vini
   3PL-self 3PL-DISTRIB-CAUS-MOT-DISTRIB-DEP:TRANS
   'They stopped holding each other.' (i.e., 'They released each other.')

The suffix *-khama* may also occur without the prefix *ka-*. The meaning does not seem to be substantially different.

(669)   o-roa-roa-rimanani-khama-na
   1SG-roll-REDUP-upwards-DISTRIB-DEP:TRANS
   'I was rolling back and forth (in bed).'

-khama may also occur in combination with *-'bama* as a frozen form meaning 'both'.

(670) va-vijava-'bama-khama-mani-'a-ha   adani   isai
       3PL-grow:up-two-DISTRIB-COP-ASP-THEME DEM:PL child
       'Both children grew up together.'

Another distributive construction is formed by the discontinuous sequence
ka- . . . *-kosoa* 'alone, separated from', which indicates that a person or
group is isolated from others, usually in a house alone.

(671) igitha   ka-abini-kosoa-ki
       animal   DISTRIB-die-alone-NONTHEME
       'The animal died in the cage.'

(672) 'bai-a   haria   ka-ka'doma-kosoa-ki
       food-DEMOT   1PL:OBJ   DISTRIB-ask:for-alone-NONTHEME
       'He asked us (who were alone in the house) for food.'

Two more suffixes which appear to be part of this set are: *-oni* 'in
different places' (673, 674) and *-nana* 'each one' (675, 676).

(673) vada   a-ni-'a-oni-vini
       look   1PL-AUX-TRNSTVZR-different:places-DEP:TRANS

       cebola,   feijão,   maxixi   hi-ki
       onions   beans   *maxixi*   AUX-NONTHEME
       'We looked at the different places where there were onions, beans
       and *maxixi* (growing).'

(674) ai   vi-hi-'a-ha   ihi'ai-ra
       depart   3PL-AUX-ASP-THEME   fruit-OBJ

       a-va-nako'di-oni-vini
       away-3PL-search:for-different:places-DEP:TRANS
       'They departed, going to different places to search for fruit.'

(675) jinabo-a   bi-a-koho-nana-'a-ha
       wasp-ERG   3SG-away-sting-each:one-ASP-THEME
       'The wasps were each stinging him.'

(676) ahida-nana-hahavi-'i-hi   ida   ija'ari
       drown-each-all-ASP-THEME   DEM   people
       'Each one of the people, they all drowned.'

-roni 'remain, still' has a similar distributive function and may be found singly (677) or combined with *ka-* . . . *-kosoa* (678).

(677)   ari-hoja-ha-'i-hi
        1PL-be-DUR-ASP-THEME

        a-dora-ha-roni-na
        1PL-gather:up-DUR-remain-DEP:INTRANS
        'We remained behind gathering up (while others went on ahead).'

(678)   a-a-ga-roni-kosoa-'i-hi
        1PL-DISTRIB-MOT-remain-alone-ASP-THEME
        'We were alone in the house (after others had left).'

(*a-* is an alternative form of *ka-* occurring before *k* and *g*.)

18.6.8 Adjectival/adverbial suffixes. Many adjectives that normally occur as noun modifiers and verbs may occur as verb suffixes with an adverbial function. The most common of these are: *-jahaki* 'good, well' (679), *-joraki* 'quickly' (680), *-pa'itxi* 'little' (681), *-'bo'da* 'old, long time ago' (682), *-danoki* 'strong, insistently' (683).

(679)   ni-o-kamitha-jahaki-ki   oni   ava-athi-ni
        NEG-1SG-hear-well-NONTHEME   DEM   2PL-speech-neut
        'I didn't hear well what you said.'

(680)   o-hado-ha-joraki-'iana-hi
        1SG-knife-ACTION-quickly-again-THEME
        'I cut again quickly.'

(681)   jokoa   va-hoki-pa'itxi-ri-ha
        NEG.INTENTION   3PL-alive-little-NEG-THEME
        'I don't intend that they remain alive much longer.'

(682)   va-ka-'ojomo'i-ha-'bo'da-'i-ki
        3PL-TRNSTVZR-teach-DUR-long:ago-ASP-NONTHEME
        'They taught a long time ago.'

(683)   va'o-ra va-nako'di-danoki-'iana-vini
        them-OBJ 3PL-seek-insistently-again-DEP:TRANS
        'They were seeking hard again to find them.'

18.6.9 Time sequence suffixes. These suffixes do not all occur in the same position or order of suffixes and some may co-occur (687, 688); -*'bo'da* 'old, long time ago', described in 18.6.8, could also be part of this set. They include: -*biinini* 'first time' (684), -*maina* 'next' (685), -*imidia* 'beforehand, first' (686), -*kajoma* 'early next morning' (687), -*siaga* 'following' (688), -*bakhia* 'repeatedly' (689), -*'iana* 'again' (690), -*jora* 'ahead of time' (691), -*ha'oadaha* 'all the time, continually' (692).

(684) o'oi-biinini-ki   ida
       enter-first:time-NONTHEME   DEM
       'She entered for the first time.'

(685) kidi-abi'i   kha-maina-'a-ha
       her-father   MOT-next-ASP-THEME
       'Next her father came.'

(686) bi-ka-na-ragaraga-'imidia-hi
       3SG-N.CLASS-CAUS-poke:at-first-THEME
       'He poked at it first.'

(687) o-ka-siho-kajoma-'iana-hi
       1SG-VBLZR-fire-early:morning-again-THEME
       'I cooked again in the early morning.'

(688) bi-noki-siaga-'iana-ha   ada   vakoro
       3SG-see-following-again-THEME   DEM   water:rat
       'She saw the water rat again as she followed.'

(689) a-odoradora-bakhia-'oamani-hi
       1PL-gather:up-repeatedly-really-THEME
       'We really kept on gathering them up (fruit).'

(690) a-afa-ri-'iana-ha
       STATVZR-hot-NEG:stop-again-THEME
       'His fever passed again.'

(691) o-na-va'i-sohi-jora-'i-hi
       1SG-CAUS-liver-correct-beforehand-ASP-THEME
       'I advised her beforehand.'

(692)   asara-ha'oadaha-hi   ida   Linda
          cry-continually-THEME   DEM   Linda
          'Linda cried continually.'

18.6.10 Negative and unrealized action/state suffixes. There are six verb suffixes which singly or in pairs imply that the action/state was not realized: -*ri*/-*ra* 'NEG' (693) (sect. 12); -*kamari* 'almost' (694); -*'ia* 'not yet, never' (695); -*jana* 'no more' (696) (these last two suffixes co-occur with either the negative suffix -*ri*/-*ra* or the negative clitic *ni*-); -*'badara* 'falsely, deceiving' (697); and -*'imarini* 'in vain' (698).

(693)   i-o-kha-ni-ra   i-nofi-ri-a
          2SG-away-MOT-DEP:INTRANS-OBJ   2SG-want-NEG-IMMED
          'Don't you want to go?'

(694)   o-voroni-kamari-na   o-ka-si-na
          1SG-fall-almost-DEP:INTRANS   1SG-MOT-up-DEP:INTRANS
          'I almost fell as I climbed up.'

(695)   ni-o-ha-'ia-ki   ida   makha   ima-na
          NEG-1SG-eat-never-NONTHEME   DEM   snake   meat-m
          'I've never yet eaten snake meat.'

(696)   siho-ra   a-nofi-jana-ra-vini
          firewood-OBJ   1PL-want-no:more-NEG-DEP:TRANS
          'We don't need any more firewood.'

(697)   ino-Ø   'bana-'badara-'i-hi
          tooth-m   pain-falsely-ASP-THEME
          'He pretended that his tooth was hurting.'

(698)   o-abono   o-ka-va'i-poni-'imarini-vini
          1SG-self   1SG-TRNSTVZR-liver-insipid-in:vain-DEP:TRANS

          abaisana-ra   o-a-na-githi-vini
          fish-OBJ   1SG-STATVZR-CAUS-hook-DEP:TRANS
          'I had false expectations of catching fish.'

18.6.11 Intensifier suffixes. This set of suffixes describes the attitude of the speaker to the event being described: -*ka'oa* 'really, truly, only' (699), -*doro* 'really' (700), -*'oamani* 'truly, really' (701). The form *ka'oa*, followed by the auxiliary *hi*, may also be used as a verb (700).

(699)   Ø-avanami-ka'oa,   Linda   mahija
      3SG-paddle-really   Linda   so:that

      a-ka-napaja-hi-vini
      1PL-N.CLASS-distant-be-DEP:TRANS
      'Really paddle, Linda, so that we can get far away.'

(700)   ka'oa   hi-doro-hi   ida   Agosto   athi;
      true   AUX-really-THEME   DEM   Agosto   word

      ni-o-naba'daha-jana-ri-ki
      NEG-1SG-fish-no:more-NEG-NONTHEME
      'If Agosto's message is really true, then I won't have to go fishing any more.'

(701)   a'ba-'oamani-'i-hi
      wet-really-ASP-THEME
      'She was really wet.'

18.6.12 The question and copular suffix -mani. (Sects. 1.4 and 10.) The suffix *-mani* 'Q/COP' does not appear to be part of any other set of affixes. Its primary function is to link two or more propositions. Thus, it is obligatory in most questions and frequently occurs also in the answer (702b). It also often occurs in the action response to a command (703). It may also link one event with another that has been overtly stated or implied (704).

(702a)   i-noki-mani-ja   hida   papira
      2SG-see-Q-IMMED   DEM   book
      'Do you see this book?'

(702b)   ha'a,   o-noki-mani-ja oni
      yes   1SG-see-Q-IMMED DEM
      'Yes, I see it.'

(703)   o-ka-si-Ø   o-ka-si-Ø   bana   va'o-ra
      away-MOT-up-IMP   away-MOT-up-IMP   FUT   them-OBJ

      ni-'a-ha,   o-ka-si-ha   cadeira   nama
      say-ASP-THEME   away-MOT-up-THEME   chair   on

ka-hoja-ki-a,   oma-na
N.CLASS-be-NONTHEME-OBL   lie:down-DEP:INTRANS

bi-honaria-ha   oma-mani-ha,   raofa-na
3SG-order-THEME   lie:down-COP-THEME   jump-DEP:INTRANS

bi-honaria-ha   raofa-mani-ha,
3SG-order-THEME   jump-COP-THEME

a-joi-si-na   bi-nofi-ha,
away-return-up-DEP:INTRANS   3SG-want-THEME

sarada-na   bi-honaria-ha   sarada-mani-ha
squat-DEP:INTRANS   3SG-order-THEME   squat-COP-THEME
' "Go up, go up," he said to them (lions at circus). He (lion) went
up. On top of chair he stayed. He ordered him to lie down and he
lay. He ordered him to jump and he jumped. He wanted him to
return up (on chair). He ordered him to squat and he squatted.'

(704)   a-ka-kha-onani-hi,
1PL-canoe-MOT-out:of:confined:space-THEME

a-ka-vanami-ha-'i-hi   haria
1PL-VBLZR-paddle-ACTION-ASP-THEME   1PL:OBJ

va-ka-noki-mani-ha   adani   vi-'bami-ki
3PL-canoe-see-COP-THEME   DEM:PL   3PL-two-DESC
'We came out in the canoe (from hiding). We paddled and the two
saw us.'

18.7 Incorporation

18.7.1 Verb derivation from noun roots. The derivation of verbs from noun
roots is very common. Generally speaking, the noun that is incorporated is
indefinite or generic compared with a non-incorporated noun. For example,

(705)   o-ko-'bai-ha-ki-ho
1SG-VBLZR-food-ACTION-NONTHEME-1SG
'I am preparing food.'

is not specific as to the manner of preparing (e.g. boiling, frying) nor to
the kind of food being prepared. Some of the specific information may

co-occur in the same clause. Examples are given below for each combination of derivational affixes, with an approximate general meaning. The following combinations involve derivational affixes that occur with verb roots as well as noun roots and have been described in other subsections: *ka*-NOUN (18.5.1); *ka*-NOUN-*ha* (18.5.1); NOUN-*ha* (18.5.1); *na*-NOUN (18.5.2); *ka-na*-NOUN-*hi* (18.5.8).

The following four combinations are now discussed in this subsection: *ka-na*-NOUN, *ka-va*-NOUN, *ka-na*-NOUN-*ha* and *ka-va*-NOUN-*ha*.

The *ka-na*-NOUN construction has the general meaning 'the subject causes the direct object (*-ra*) to have the item mentioned in the verb.' If an oblique (demoted) object is present, that referent is specific, and the item in the verb is generic.

(706) xoni-ra   o-ka-no-'bai-vini   hi-hi
       brother-OBJ   1SG-BEN-CAUS-food-DEP:TRANS   AUX-THEME

       i'oa   ba'ona-∅
       tambaqui   underpart-DEMOT:O
       'I cause the (raw) *tambaqui* (fish) underpart to be food for my brother.' (i.e., 'I gave him some raw *tambaqui*.')

This meaning is in contrast with a similar construction without the causative and involving other derivational affixes:

(707) xoni-ra   o-ko-'bai-ha-vini   i'oa
       brother-OBJ   1SG-VBLZR-food-ACTION-DEP:TRANS   *tambaqui*

       ba'ona-∅
       underpart-OBL
       'I prepare food from *tambaqui* fish for my brother.'

The *ka-va*-NOUN construction has the general meaning 'the subject possesses the item in the verb to use in conjunction with, or for the benefit of, the object.' The optional oblique again makes specific the item referred to generically in the noun root.

(708) koko   kidi-gamo-ra   ka-vi-'bai-vini
       uncle   his-wife-OBJ   BEN-COMIT-food-DEP:TRANS

       ada   dikosi
       DEM   monkey
       'Uncle has monkey meat food for his wife.'

(709)   ho-ra   ka-va-badani-vini   hi-ki
        me-OBJ   BEN-COMIT-work-DEP:TRANS   AUX-NONTHEME

        ida   papira
        DEM   paper
        'She is working with me on the paper.'

(710)   va'o-ra   ka-va-vanami-vini
        them-OBJ   BEN-COMIT-paddle-DEP:TRANS
        'He paddled them.'
        (i.e., 'He used his paddle for taking them in a canoe.')

(711)   arakava-ra   ka-va-paha-ki   ida
        hen-OBJ   BEN-COMIT-water-NONTHEME   DEM
        'She put water on the chicken (in the pot).'

   This same construction has a second meaning: 'the subject is using the direct object entity as the item mentioned in the verb.' This reflects the instrumental meaning associated with *va-*, as distinct from the strictly comitative meaning that is the focus in the first set of examples above (sect. 18.5.3).

(712)   baida-ra   o-ka-va-si'aha-vini
        turtle:shell-OBJ   1SG-BEN-COMIT-cooking:pot-DEP:TRANS
        'I used the turtle shell as a cooking pot.'

(713)   avida-ra   o-ka-va-ihiaba-vini
        piaú (fish)-OBJ   1SG-BEN-COMIT-fish:bait-DEP:TRANS
        'I used the fish as fish bait.'

   The *ka-na*-NOUN-*ha* construction has the general meaning 'the subject causes the specific item that occurs as direct object to become the generic item in the verb.'

(714)   babadi   ima-na-ra
        pirarucu   meat-m-OBJ

        o-ka-no-'bai-ha-vini
        1SG-BEN-CAUS-food-ACTION-DEP:TRANS
        'I caused the pirarucu meat to become my food.'

(715)   bi-ka-na-ihiaba-ha-vini
        3SG-BEN-CAUS-fish:bait-ACTION-DEP:TRANS
        'He made it (the fish) into fishbait.'

(716)   bi-ka-na-gamo-ha-vini   ida   Ruth
        3SG-BEN-CAUS-woman-ACTION-DEP:TRANS   DEM   Ruth
        'He will cause Ruth to become his wife.'

This same construction also has a secondary meaning: 'the subject causes
the incorporated noun to work negatively against the item in the object.'
This meaning seems to be appropriate when the noun root refers to
abstract notions, in contrast with the concrete entities to which reference is
made in the preceding set of examples.

(717)   va'o-ra   va-ka-na-hahani-ha-ha
        them-OBJ   3PL-BEN-CAUS-laugh-ACTION-THEME
        'They laughed at them.'

(718)   ho-ra   va-ka-na-varani-ha-vini
        me-OBJ   3PL-BEN-CAUS-conversation-ACTION-DEP:TRANS

        varani   jaha-ri-ki-a
        conversation   good-NEG-DESC-OBL
        'They were conversing badly about me (i.e., gossiping).'

(719)   papira-ra   i-ka-na-badani-ha-vini
        paper-OBJ   2SG-BEN-CAUS-work-ACTION-DEP:TRANS
        'You were meddling with the paper.'

The oblique object in (718) is optional, making specific the meaning
intended by the incorporated noun.
    The *ka-va*-NOUN-*ha*- construction has the general meaning: 'the subject
uses the instrument that occurs as direct object to perform the action
indicated in the verb.'

(720)   kodi-mai'da-ra ka-va-mai'da-ha-vini   ida
        my-comb-OBJ BEN-COMIT-comb-ACTION-DEP:TRANS DEM
        'She is using my comb to comb (her head) with.'

(721)   jinabo-a   bi-ka-va-gora-ha-vini
        wasps-ERG   3SG-BEN-COMIT-house-ACTION-DEP:TRANS

ida   i-gora-ni
DEM   2SG-house-neut
'Wasps are house building using your house.' (i.e., 'Wasps are
making their nest in your house.')

A further use of this construction implies the verb 'to fetch', which is
also implicit in the *ka*-NOUN-*ha* construction (sect. 18.5.1). It has the
general meaning of: 'the subject goes to fetch the item referred to in the
noun root for the benefit of the entity that occurs as direct object.'

(722)   koko   kidi-gamo-ra ka-vi-'bai-ha-vini
         uncle   his-wife-OBJ BEN-COMIT-food-ACTION-DEP:TRANS

         ada   dikosi
         DEM   monkey
         'Uncle went hunting to kill a monkey as food for his wife.'

(723)   cebola-ra   o-ka-va-paha-ha-ki-ho
         onions-OBJ   1SG-BEN-COMIT-water-ACTION-NONTHEME-1SG
         'I'm fetching water to water the onions.'

(724)   kidi-isai-ra   ka-va-bahina-ha-ki   ada
         his-child-OBJ   BEN-COMIT-honey-ACTION-NONTHEME   DEM
         'He is fetching honey for (for performing a ritual on) his child.'

The verbalized noun root, as well as being generic, is also indefinite. It is
never marked with possessive affixes or adjectives. For all these verbalized
noun constructions, there is an alternative verb root construction with
separate noun phrase constitutent, which allows for more specific and
definite information.

(725)   i-ko-'bai-ha-mani-ja
         2SG-VBLZR-food-ACTION-Q-IMMED
         'Are you preparing food?'

(726)   i-ka'domaha-mani-ra   ada   abaisana
         2SG-boil-Q-IMMED   DEM   fish
         'Are you boiling the fish?'

The semantic class of noun roots which frequently occur as verb roots is
the class of body parts. Members of this class usually require the addition
of at least one derivational affix, but (734, 735) are examples where nouns
function as verb stems without the addition of any derivational affix or verb
root.

(727)   bi-ka-'damai-vini   ida   ava
        3SG-VBLZR-foot-DEP:TRANS   DEM   wood
        'He kicked the wood.'

(728)   bi-ka-nokho-'ba'da-vini   ida
        3SG-VBLZR-eye-seed-DEP:TRANS   DEM
        'She looked for it.'

(729)   bi-ka-ma'adosi-ha-vini   ida
        3SG-VBLZR-shoulder-ACTION-DEP:TRANS   DEM
        'He put it on his shoulder.'

(730)   bi-a-kaida-ha-vini   ida   makari
        3SG-VBLZR-back-ACTION-DEP:TRANS   DEM   clothes
        'She put her dress on backwards.'

(731)   ka-bodi-ha-'a-∅
        VBLZR-mouth-ACTION-ASP-IMP
        'Put it in your mouth.'

(732)   jo'o-ha-mi-ki   ada
        bottom-ACTION-within:area-NONTHEME   DEM
        'He went backwards.'

(733)   bi-matha-ha-vini
        3SG-back:of:neck-ACTION-DEP:TRANS
        'He went following (another).'

(734)   kajo'atha-rari-vini
        knee-down-DEP:TRANS
        'He knelt.'

(735)   'da'di-rari-ki   ida
        head-down-NONTHEME   DEM
        'It is head downwards.'

(736)   bi-na-'da'di-si-vini
        3SG-CAUS-head-up-DEP:TRANS
        'He put it with the head up (i.e., upright).'

(737)   bi-a-na-matha-ha-vini   ida   isai
          3SG-STATVZR-CAUS-back:of:neck-DEP:TRANS   DEM   child
          'She rocked the child backwards.'

18.7.2 Compound verb stems involving *va'i* 'liver'. The noun root (and body part) *va'i* 'liver' can be compounded to certain verb roots, with meanings that relate to perception and feelings. These are the only regularly occurring constructions in which a noun is compounded with a verb root to form a verb stem. The compound stem always co-occurs with one of the derivational affixes: *ka-* 'TRNSTVZR' or *na-* 'CAUS' and thus always results in a transitive clause. They follow the usual pattern in the language whereby a reflexive pronominal form can occur as direct object (742, 743).

(738)   bi-ka-va'i-hoki-ki   ida   papira
          3SG-TRNSTVZR-liver-be:alive-NONTHEME   DEM   book
          'She remembered the book.'

(739)   bi-na-va'i-hoki-ki   ida   kidi-isai
          3SG-CAUS-liver-be:alive-NONTHEME   DEM   his-child
          'He reminded his child.'

(740)   bi-a-ka-va'i-'birini-ki
          3SG-STATVZR-TRNSTVZR-liver-be:out:of:view-NONTHEME

          ida   papira
          DEM   book
          'She forgot the book.'

(741)   bi-a-na-va'i-'birini-ki
          3SG-STATVZR-CAUS-liver-be:out:of:view-NONTHEME
          'She caused him to forget.'

(742)   o-abono   o-a-na-va'i-'o'ani-hi
          1SG-self   1SG-STATVZR-CAUS-liver-be:accustomed-THEME

          ida   gora   ja'di-ni
          DEM   house   new-f
          'I accustomed myself to the new house.'

(743)   o-abono   o-ka-va'i-poni-'imarini-vini
          1SG-self   1SG-TRNSTVZR-liver-be:unsalted-in:vain-DEP:TRANS

abaisana-ra   o-a-na-githi-vini
fish-OBJ   1SG-STATVZR-CAUS-hook-DEP:TRANS
'I deceived myself that I would catch fish.'

This body part *va'i* is frequently used in a figurative way as a noun in a clause.

(744)   o-va'i   vida-vida-ha-'i-hi
          1SG-liver   restless-REDUP-ACTION-ASP-THEME
          'I was restless to leave.'

(745)   kodi-badani o-va'i-ra   o-sa-sa-ki
          my-work   1SG-liver-OBJ away-take-REDUP-NONTHEME
          'My work keeps my attention.'

(746)   va'i-ni   bodi-ni-a   joko   ni-ki
          liver-3SG,f inside-f-OBL angry AUX-NONTHEME
          'She was angry inside.'

18.7.3 Verb derivation from postpositions. A few postpositions can function as verb roots with certain derivational affixes. These include *nabo'a* 'underneath', *nama* 'on, above' and *i'oari* 'beside':

(747)   ka-nabo'a-ja-ma'o-ki   ida
          VBLZR-underneath-DIR-ground-NONTHEME DEM
          'She fell underneath.'

(748)   a-ka-nama-ja-manani-ribani-na
          STATVZR-VBLZR-above-DIR-rising-return-DEP:INTRANS
          'He came up onto the top of (in a fight).'

(749)   bi-a-na-i'oari-ribani-vini
          3SG-STATVZR-CAUS-beside-return-DEP:TRANS
          'He caused it to come alongside.'

18.8 Auxiliary verbs. There are two auxiliary verbs, *ni* and *hi*, which can both at times be translated as 'be'.

18.8.1 The auxiliary verb *ni* carries the affixation when it co-occurs with a class of verbs whose root forms are never inflected or affixed. The auxiliary verb normally occurs immediately after the main verb root, though a pronoun object may come in between.

(750)   Maria-ra   vara   o-ni-'a-ki-ho
        Mary-OBJ   speak   1SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-NONTHEME-1SG
        'I will speak to Mary.'

(751)   vara   i-ra   o-ni-'a-ki-ho
        speak   2SG-OBJ   1SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-NONTHEME-1SG
        'I will speak to you.'

See section 18.9 for more examples and for discussion of the class of uninflected verbs with which *ni* 'AUX' occurs. Note that *ni* may occur with both transitive (766, 768) and intransitive (767) main (uninflected) verbs. This is reflected, not only in the semantics of the main verbs, but also in the affixes on the auxiliary: the prefix *bi-* '3SG' for the transitive construction (766, 768) and the suffix *-ni* 'DEP:INTRANS' for the intransitive (767). The *-vini* 'DEP:TRANS' suffix can also occur on the auxiliary when the construction is transitive (see ex. 287).

When *ni* 'AUX' occurs in an intransitive construction and the subject is plural, the *ni* root is preceded by the prefix *kha-* 'INTRANS', which specifically marks the construction as intransitive. (This prefix does not occur when the subject is singular.) That prefix is preceded by the normal person-marking prefix, which can be any one of the three person plural forms (sect. 18.4). See earlier examples (113, 193a, 195, 200).

18.8.2 The auxiliary verb *hi* occurs in several constructions and it always has a thematic suffix or a dependent intransitive suffix. It may carry a person prefix, a noun class agreement prefix and other affixes, but these latter are not common. The occurrence of the *hi* 'AUX' is particularly associated with subordinate clauses that have the verb-final dependent suffixes *-vini* 'DEP:TRANS' and *-ni/-na* 'DEP:INTRANS'. This form of the verb, followed by *hi* 'AUX', is the normal way of expressing a main ditransitive clause in which there is an additional nuclear constituent, the demoted object. The auxiliary then occurs with one of the thematic suffixes.

(752)   ho-ra   no'a-vini   hi-ki   ihai-a
        me-OBJ   give-DEP:TRANS   AUX-NONTHEME   medicine-OBL
        'She gives me medicine.'

(753)   i-ra   o-ka-mona-hi-vini   hi-ki
        2SG-OBJ   1SG-BEN-tell-BEN-DEP:TRANS   AUX-NONTHEME

hida   o-athi   ka-papira-ni
DEM   1SG-message   GEN-paper-f
'I will tell you my written message.'

See section 18.5.8 for discussion of ditransitive constructions.

The same construction, dependent verb form followed by *hi* with thematic suffix, also constitutes the main verb when adverbial phrases and clauses occur as oblique constituents of the clause (sect. 14.1.3).

(754)   o-soko-vini   hi-ki   nama-ni
         1SG-wash-DEP:TRANS   AUX-NONTHEME   surface-f

         makamaka-ni
         dirty-DEP:INTRANS
         'I am washing it (floor) because the surface is dirty.'

(755)   afa-ni   a-ja'di-ni   mani   ida
         roof-f   STATVZR-new-DEP:INTRANS   COP   DEM

         o-na-tharara-vini   hi-ja
         1SG-CAUS-dismantle-DEP:TRANS   AUX-IMMED
         'Because the roof is being renewed I am pulling it (the old roof) down.'

The *hi* auxiliary with thematic suffix is also used in passive constructions, where the semantically main verb has the dependent intransitive suffix *-ni/-na* (sect. 5).

(756)   'bai-ra   nofi-vini   mani   ida
         food-OBJ   want-DEP:TRANS   COP   DEM

         na-asara-ni   hi-ja
         CAUS-cry-DEP:INTRANS   AUX-IMMED
         'Because she wants food she is being caused to cry.'

hi occurs following a list of items or people. This often occurs as clarification (sect. 8.1).

(757)   isai   vi-'bami-ki   imidia   hadani   vi-'oraha-ha
         child   3PL-two-DESC   first   DEM:PL   3PL-crawl-THEME

Fatima,   Nego   vi-hi-ki
Fatima   Nego   3PL-AUX-NONTHEME
'Two children were the first to crawl, they were Fatima and Nego.'

hi may also occur with the subject-emphasis pronoun to signal a division of major participants into groups or to change the focus from one major participant to another (sect. 9.2.5).

(758)   nokho'afora-'a-ha   ada   ovari   hi-ki
        wake:up-ASP-THEME   DEM   S:EMPH   AUX-NONTHEME
        'That one woke up.' (His two companions had been long awake and had left.)

There are a few adjectival and locative clauses which are verbalized by using *hi* 'AUX' as a copula.

(759)   na'arihavi   vi-hi-ki   adani   ija'ari
        old(person)   3PL-AUX-NONTHEME   DEM   people
        'The people are old.'

(760)   banini   hi-'i-hi   ida   isai
        outside   AUX-ASP-THEME   DEM   child
        'The child was born.'

(761)   napaja   hi-ri-hi   ida   gora
        distant   AUX-NEG-THEME   DEM   house
        'The house is not far away.'

There are two roots which take the auxiliary *hi* in the same way that other roots take the *ni* 'AUX' (see 18.8.1): *ai* 'depart' (sect. 18.9) and *fori* 'be like' (sects. 7.1 and 7.2).

18.9 Verb classes. There are two major classes of verb, one that is inflected and affixed directly on the verb root, and the other that is not affixed on the root but on an auxiliary verb which follows it. There is no general semantic basis for the difference between these two classes.

Verbs inflected directly on the root, which are by far the bigger class, include: *sa* 'take and leave'; *vithi* 'sit'; *pororo* 'black'; *giha* 'grate'; *ihamahi* 'angry'; *nako'di* 'search for'; *riha* 'borrow'; *asohi* 'be correct'; *sajo* 'be sharp'; and *noki* 'see'.

Verbs inflected on the auxiliary *ni* include: *gira ni* 'move to another place'; *viro ni* 'swing'; *bara ni* 'be dark-colored'; *jodi ni* 'sit on top of'; *khai ni* 'be happy, contented'; *tootoo ni* 'knock'; *bavi ni* 'make larger'; *jara ni* 'be

sticking out'; *daro ni* 'lean, incline'; *vada ni* 'look at'.
Some examples of each type in full clauses follow:

(762) bi-giha-hi   ida   boda
       3SG-grate-THEME   DEM   manioc
       'She grated the manioc.'

(763) bi-nako'di-hi   ida   kidi-hado
       3SG-seek-THEME   DEM   his-knife
       'He was looking for his knife.'

(764) sajo-ki   ida   jori
       sharp-NONTHEME   DEM   axe
       'The axe is sharp.'

(765) o-noki-'i-hi   ida   igitha   pororo-ki
       1SG-see-ASP-THEME   DEM   animal   black-DESC
       'I saw a black animal.'

(766) bavi   bi-ni-'a-hi   ida   hagihi
       enlarge 3SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-THEME   DEM   trail
       'He widened the trail.'

(767) daro   kha-ni-ni   ida   mesa
       incline N.CLASS-AUX-DEP:INTRANS DEM   table
       'The table is not level.'

(768) too-too   bi-ka-ni-
       knock:on-REDUP   3SG-N.CLASS-AUX-

       'a-'i-hi   ida   bakatha
       TRNSTVZR-ASP-THEME   DEM   door
       'He knocked on the door.'

(769) jodi   i-ni-'a-∅
       sit:on   2SG-AUX-ASP-IMP
       'Sit on top of it.'

A few verbs appear in both classes with some modification of meanings. The following pairs of examples show some of the differences.

(770a)   o-bada-bada-ja
         1SG-work-REDUP-IMMED
         'I work quickly (to finish the job).'

(770b)   bada o-ni-ja
         work 1SG-AUX-IMMED
         'I am working.'

(771a)   a-khara-ki   ida   ba'ba'da
         STATVZR-have:hole-NONTHEME   DEM   seed
         'The seed has a hole through it.'

(771b)   khara   ni-ki   ida ava
         have:hole   AUX-NONTHEME   DEM tree
         'The tree is hollow.'

(772a)   o-ka-mitha-ki   ida   itho-ni
         1SG-TRNSTVZR-hear-NONTHEME   DEM   sound-f
         'I hear the sound.'

(772b)   mitha o-ni-'a-ki   ida   itho-ni
         hear   1SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-NONTHEME   DEM   sound-f
         'I listen to the sound.'

(773a)   o-ka-pavakari-'i-hi   ida   avi
         1SG-VBLZR-buy/sell-ASP-THEME   DEM   needle
         'I bought the needle.'

(773b)   pavakari o-ni-ha-'i-hi   ida   avi
         buy/sell 1SG-AUX-ACTION-ASP-THEME   DEM   needle
         'I sold the needle.'

There is one verb which may take either the *hi* or the *ni* auxiliary: *ai/'ajihi* 'depart'; *hi* occurs with intransitive forms of the verb and *ni* with transitive forms. The verb may also occur without an auxiliary. The possible constructions for this verb are illustrated below: intransitive without the auxiliary (774a); intransitive with the auxiliary *hi* (774b); transitive without the auxiliary (774c); and transitive with the auxiliary *ni* (774d).

(774a)   a-'ajihi-ki   hari
         1PL-depart-NONTHEME   1PL
         'We will leave.'

(774b) ai   ari-hi-ki   hari
        depart   1PL-AUX-NONTHEME   1PL
        'We will leave.'

(774c) bi-va-'ajihi-ki   ida
        3SG-COMIT-depart-NONTHEME   DEM
        'He will depart with it.'

(774d) ai   bi-va-ni-ha-ki   ida
        depart   3SG-COMIT-AUX-ACTION-NONTHEME   DEM
        'He will depart with it.'

19 Adjective phrase structure

Adjectives are discussed in section 15.3.1. There are very few adjectives, most noun modifiers being descriptive verbs. An adjective follows the noun which it modifies. It is rare to get a sequence of more than two adjectives. A number follows the adjective if they co-occur.

(775) isai   pa'itxi   vi-'bami-ki
       child   small   3PL-two-DESC
       'Two small children.'

There are very few numerals (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10) and the present generation of Paumarí tends to use the Portuguese numerical system. Numbers are inflected for number, person, gender and noun class: *hoara-ni* 'one,f', *hoara-na* 'one,m', *ka-hoara-ni* 'one of a *ka*-NOUN CLASS', *o-hoara-na* 'I one/only'.
Reduplication of adjectival roots occurs (cf. sect. 18.6.3).

(776) makari   nadara-dara-ki
       cloth   red-REDUP-DESC
       'not quite red cloth'

(777) joma   'bo'dahi-'dahi-ni
       night   late-REDUP-f
       'late night (approx. 11-12 p.m.)'

Adverbs do not modify adjectives.

20 Adverb phrase structure

There are very few adverb roots, but several ways of deriving adverbs from other forms.

The most common derivation is formed with the prefix *afo-* 'ADVBLZR' added to a verbal suffix; e.g., *afo-'iana* 'again', *afo-hahavi* 'all', *afo-mai* 'nearby'.

Demonstratives and some noun modifiers may become adverbs by adding the directional suffix *-ja/-aja/-jaja*; e.g., *banini-ja* 'towards outside', *oni-aja* 'over there', *nama-jaja* 'upwards', *hoarani-ja* 'once'.

The suffix *-hi* 'ADVBLZR' occurs on the verb *ki'daraha* 'run' and (but very rarely) on other verbs.

(778)   a-kaikahi-'i-hi   ki'darahi-hi-a
        1PL-arrive-ASP-THEME run-ADVBLZR-OBL
        'We arrived running.'

Particles

21 Particles

21.1 Sentence particles. There is only one sentence particle *oniani ida/hida*. *oniani* in other contexts is a subject emphasis pronoun (sect. 16). It also occurs as a discourse particle (21.2). *oniani ida/hida* occurs following a brief pause and introduces a resultative clause. This may be independent (779, 780) or grammatically linked with the preceding clause by its occurrence with a dependent clause auxiliary verb construction (sect. 14.1.3), as in (781): *oniani bana hida . . . ohonariavini hihi.* In this case it is similar to *mani ida/hida*, also discussed in section 14.1.3.

(779) joima   vani   va'o-ra   na-abini-ha   adani
      wild:Indian CONTR   them-OBJ   CAUS-die-THEME   DEM:PL

      jaboni   napaja   ija'ari-a   bi-va-hoja-ri-ki
      also   distant   people-ERG   3SG-COMIT-be-NEG-NONTHEME

      kani-a   a-vi-ga-ki,   akadi-ija'ari,   oniani
      to:place-OBL   flee-3PL-flee-NONTHEME   our-people   PRT

      ida   jaboni   kodi-ija'ari-ra   ni-ihima-ki
      DEM   also   my-people-OBJ   CAUS-destroy-NONTHEME
      'Wild Indians also killed our people who fled far away to places where there were no people (living). This also resulted in my people being killed off.'

(780) hoariha   karagoahi   adafi   hi-ki,
      other   farinha   maggots   become-NONTHEME

      arabani-a   bi-a-ni-ha-'i-ki,
      shaman-ERG   3SG-STATVZR-CAUS-become-ASP-NONTHEME

      oniani   ida   va-ka-hagi   ka-dai-ni-ra
      PRT   DEM   3PL-GEN-boat   GEN-cargo-f-OBJ

      ni-ihima-'i-hi   jaboni,   vai'ami   abani
      CAUS-destroy-ASP-THEME   also   hungry   product

vi-hi-na
3SG-be-DEP:INTRANS
'The other (people's) farinha became maggots. The shaman destroyed (all their food supplies), with the result that they also destroyed their boat's cargo, and the others went hungry.' (i.e., 'The shaman turned all the food supplies of the people into maggots, ants, termites, etc., so that there was no cargo left and the invaders went hungry.')

(781)   nahina   ho-ra
        who   me-OBJ

ka-mokitiro-ha-jana-ki,
VBLZR-mosquito:net-ACTION-no:more-NONTHEME

ni-o-ka-makhira-jana-ki   oniani hida
NEG-1SG-VBLZR-husband-no:more-NONTHEME PRT   DEM

o-na-abosi-vini   o-nofi-jahaki-vini
1SG-CAUS-exchange-DEP:TRANS 1SG-want-well-DEP:TRANS

hida   ho-ra   na-girani-jana-ri-ki,   oniani
DEM   me-OBJ CAUS-move-no:more-NEG-NONTHEME PRT

bana hida   o-athi   ka'oa-ra   o-honaria-vini
FUT   DEM   1SG-word   only-OBJ   1SG-send-DEP:TRANS

hi-hi
AUX-THEME
'Who (no one) will provide a mosquito net for me any more. I don't have a husband any more, which results in me wanting much to buy it (the net), so this causes me not to move (not go with them) away, as a result of which I will only send my message (with them).'

21.2 Discourse particles. There are three particles used to mark boundaries in narrative. There appears to be considerable flexibility regarding their use, some speakers using them more than others in comparable texts. Repetition and setting information may also mark new sub-topics. A particle is not used to introduce a narrative. The particles all occur in the clause-initial position followed by a pause. The particles are: *hari* 'then', which in other contexts may be a verb root with an auxiliary verb following, meaning 'finish, enough, goodby', and *oniaro* and *oniani*, which in other contexts are the subject emphasis pronouns.

oniaro always has the oblique clitic *-a* to mark it as a setting particle 'then'. It is simultaneously a time constituent at sentence level. It is used to initiate a new thematic subdivision. The clause of which *oniaroa* is the first constituent often contains new participants or a change of activity and marks progression in the narrative. *oniaroa* may occur alone (782, 783) or in conjunction with *hari*. *hari oniaroa* marks the end of one sequence of events and initiates the next thematic section (784, 785).

(782)   mina'di   vani-a   bi-n-oba-'iana-hi.
         electric:eel CONTR-ERG   3SG-CAUS-shock-again-THEME

         oniaro-a   a-o-kha-hi
         then-OBL   1PL-away-MOT-THEME
         'The eel shocked her again. Then we went.'

The topic of eels was not mentioned again and the story continues with the next event in their journey.

(783)   . . . o-ni-'a-ha-hi
         . . . 1SG-say-TRNSTVZR-distance-THEME

         a-gai-mori-na.   iniani, ba'ai, ida
         1PL-MOT-up:bank-DEP:INTRANS   no   sister DEM

         o'oma-ri-hi   ho-ra   ni-'a-mani-hi
         be:still-down-THEME   me-OBJ   say-TRNSTVZR-COP-THEME

         ida   xoni.   oniaro-a   a-a-vaga-hi,
         DEM   younger:sibling   then-OBL   1PL-STATVZR-early-THEME

         bi'i-a   bi-ka-vi-kha-'a-ha
         father-ERG   3SG-canoe-COMIT-MOT-ASP-THEME

         ada   a'do   ipohi-ki
         DEM   pacu (fish)   many-DESC
         'I asked (my younger sister about her labor pains) as we came up from the port. "No, sister, it is still," said younger sister to me. Then, early in the morning, father brought many fish.'

(784)   kidi-ijori   ka-na-varara-ni
         his-magic   N.CLASS-CAUS-scatter-DEP:INTRANS

hi-ni   bi-fini-vini.   hari,   oniaro-a,
AUX-DEP:INTRANS   3SG-fear-DEP:TRANS   then   then-OBL

ai   va-ki-hi-'iana-ha
depart   3PL-canoe-AUX-again-THEME
'He was afraid that his magic powers would be scattered. Then,
they departed again by canoe.'

(785)   kha-manana-oni-'a-ha   ada   mabidiri
         MOT-upwards-many:places-ASP-THEME   DEM   water:snake

karahoda.   ija'ari   gora-ni   rabodi-ni   fori   hi-ki
large   person   house-f   width-f   like   AUX-NONTHEME

ida   kaida.   mabidiri   karahoda   oamani   ada.   hari,
DEM   back   snake   large   really   DEM   then

oniaro-a,   'dorima-'i-hi   ida   'da'di   hoariha
then-OBL   to:surface-ASP-THEME   DEM   head   other
'A large water snake came to the surface. Its back was like the
size of a person's house. It really was very large. Then, his other
head came to the surface.'

In (785), *hari* is used to terminate a digression (the two descriptive
clauses that precede it), and *oniaroa* initiates a new theme. The particle
hari never has an oblique clitic. It may occur in much the same type of
context as *oniaroa*, and is more likely to be marking the end of the
previous theme (cf. 784) rather than the start of a new one (786). *hari* may
also introduce a digression (787) as well as terminate one (785).

(786)   vada   bi-ka-ni-'a-hi   ida   'darasa
         look   3SG-N.CLASS-AUX-TRNSTVZR-THEME   DEM   vine

ka-afa-ni,   bi-ko-'daka-vini.   hari
N.CLASS-leaf-f   3SG-N.CLASS-break:off-DEP:TRANS   then

bi-ka-na-hoaraha-'i-hi,
3SG-N.CLASS-CAUS-spread:out-ASP-THEME

∅-'oma-ma'o-'a-ha   aajojahiki-ra
3SG-lie:down-ground-ASP-THEME   older:brother-OBJ

```
va'o-ra      nokha-vini
3PL-OBJ      wait-DEP:TRANS
```
'He looked at the vine leaves. He broke some off. Then he spread some on the ground, and lay on them, waiting for his brothers.'

(787)
```
hari,   kidi-vabo          ada   Vararibori
then    his-brother:in:law DEM   Vararibori
```

```
o-ka-siaga-'i-ki                      joikahi-na
away-MOT-follow-ASP-NONTHEME   catch:up-DEP:INTRANS
```
'Then, his brother-in-law Vararibori went after them to go with them.'

(787) is an explanation as to how this participant got into the story.

The particle *hari* also occurs in two fixed idiomatic expressions. The first, *hari ida vani mani*, initiates a major break in the story, equivalent to a chapter. This use is not common and mostly occurs in long legend stories (788). There is no pause within the idiomatic expression or between it and the remainder of the clause. The other, *hari ida vani 'oamani*, is occasionally used to conclude a narrative, and also to end letters and brief messages (789). Sometimes, only *hari* is used for these purposes.

(788)
```
hari  ida   vani    mani  igitha  na'baha-ki         maina
then  DEM   CONTR   COP   animal  many:large-DESC    next
```

```
ka-pamoari-hi-ra          va-ka-na-kaikahi-vini
GEN-people-AUX-OBJ        3PL-canoe-CAUS-arrive-DEP:TRANS
```

```
hi-'i-ki
AUX-ASP-NONTHEME
```
'Next then they arrived at the large animal kind of people.'

(788) introduces the next section of the journey, where the participants began to meet mythological animal people.

(789)
```
hari  ida   vani     'oamani  kodi-varani  pa'itxi
then  DEM   CONTR    really   my-speech    small
```
'This is the end of my brief message.'

The third particle *oniania* 'there' may mark a juncture in a story but not a new thematic paragraph, unless it follows *hari* (792). It serves to mark a locational setting within the event line, linking what has gone before to the continuing story. The verb that follows *oniania* is often repeated in the subsequent clause. There is no change of participants or events.

(790)   oniani-a,   ari-hoja-'i-hi.   ari-hoja-'i-hi
        there-OBL   1PL-remain-ASP-THEME   1PL-remain-ASP-THEME

        kha-manani-'i-hi
        MOT-upwards-ASP-THEME
        'There, we stayed. We stayed and the contractions started.'

The previous sentence states that they had slept and continued to stay in the same place.

(791)   oniani-a,   a-jomini-jahaki-'i-hi.
        there-OBL   1PL-get:dark-well-ASP-THEME

        a-jomini-jahaki-hi,   a-gai-moraha-hi
        1PL-get:dark-well-THEME   1PL-MOT-up:bank:DUR-THEME
        'There we were when it got completely dark. We were completely in the dark. We went up on shore.'

The preceding clause describes where the participants were on the journey when it got dark.

(792)   onimanari   ka-pamoari-hi   kani-a
        seagull   GEN-people-AUX   to:place-OBL

        va-ka-vadi-'iana-ha.   hari, oniaro-a, jaha-ri-ki
        3PL-canoe-sleep-again-THEME   then then-OBL   good-NEG-DESC

        ni-a-vi-khaa-jana-ki.
        NEG-STATVZR-3PL-choke:up-more-NONTHEME

        hari, oniani-a,   ai   va-ki-hi-'iana-ha
        then there-OBL depart 3PL-canoe-AUX-again-THEME
        'They slept again at the seagull people's place. Then, they didn't choke up (fish as they had done in other places). Then, from there they departed.' (For the suffix *-hi* 'AUX' in *kapamoarihi*, see the last paragraph of section 15.2.)

21.3 Verification particles. There are only two verification particles and these have very limited use: *kasavaha* is used when the speaker is quoting what someone else has said and he is not sure if it is correct (793, 794); and *mona* 'they say, it is said' is used when the speaker wishes to detach himself from responsibility for the utterance which has been reported to him (795).

(793)   a-gai-moraha-hi   hida
         1PL-MOT-up:bank:DUR-THEME   DEM:LOC

         ni-ha-ra   kasavaha   Maria,
         say-distance-IMMED   something:like   Mary

         jokoa   avi-gai-mori-ri-a
         NEG.INTENTION   2PL-MOT-up:bank-NEG-IMMED
         'We came up the hill here and he said something like, "Mary, don't
         you intend to come up?" '

(794)   Jane   ka-ni   mani   kasavaha   hida   plastico
         Jane   GEN-neut   COP   something:like   DEM   plastic
         'It is Jane's plastic container, I think someone said.'

(795)   hi-'ida   kaasi   nokho-ni-a   hoja-ni   mona   gora
         SPECFR-DEM   beach   point-f-OBL   be-THEME   they:say   house

         o-kha-nini-ki   juracy   gora-na
         away-MOT-furthest-DESC   Juracy   house-m
         'At the point of the beach, the last house, they say, is Juracy's
         house.'

The Paumarí use the Portuguese particles *daí* 'from there' and *então*
'then' extensively in modern speech.

Phonology

22 Phonology

The description of the phonology that follows is of the "pre-modified form" of Paumarí (see Introduction). The phonology of the Portuguese that has been introduced into the language has not been systematically studied.

22.1 Syllable structure. Syllables consist of a nuclear vowel, V, with or without an initial consonant, C; i.e., V and CV. Sequences of CVV occur, but the two vowels are regarded as separate syllable nuclei, since the duration of the sequence is equal to that of two syllables. (Where the first of the vowels is [ʋ] in an unstressed syllable, and the preceding consonant is a bilabial, velar, or glottal stop, the duration is equal to a single syllable, but this ʋV sequence also is regarded as two separate syllable nuclei on the grounds of general patterning). Some examples of syllable patterns (syllable division is indicated by .):

kanava	[ˈkʌ.nnʌ.wʌ]	'canoe'
amabokoi	[ʌ.mʌ.ˈbʋ.kkʋ.ɩ]	'elbow'
'daama	[ˈɗa.a.mʌ]	'tapir'
aihi	[ʌ.ɩ.hĩ]	'our lips'

(Note that [nn] and [kk] represent phonetically long consonants, but they are single segmental units. See 22.2.1.)

22.2 Segmental phonology

22.2.1 Consonants. There are twenty-two consonants, represented in the orthography as (corresponding phonetic values are shown in brackets where orthographic symbols are significantly different):

    stops: p, t, k, '[ʔ], b, d, g, th, kh, 'b[ɓ], 'd[ɗ]
    affricates: tx[č], j[ǰ]
    fricatives: f, s, x[š], h, v[w] or [v]
    nasals: m, n
    vibrants: r[ř], r[ɾ̃]

All consonants except v, r[ř], and r[ɾ̃] are lengthened following a stressed syllable with a short vowel. Consonant length and stress are shown here

only in the phonetic transcriptions; length is indicated by repeating the consonant, and stress by '. (Note that in the orthographic transcriptions throughout this paper stress is not shown and the symbol ' represents the consonant [ʔ].)

p, t, k, and ' are voiceless, unaspirated stops at bilabial, alveolar, velar, and glottal points of articulation respectively. Only k has variants, which are in complementary distribution: [k], which occurs in a syllable with a high back vowel or adjacent to a syllable containing an implosive stop; and [k], which occurs in other environments. Examples: *parai* ['paaɾʌɪ] *'acai* fruit', *topava* ['tʊppʌwʌ] 'shell', *kavari* ['ka:wʌɾ̥ɪ] 'scissors', *kooraru* ['kuuɾʌɾ̥ʊ] 'sardine', *'i'oa* ['ʔɪʔʔʊʌ] *'tambaqui* fish'.

b, d, and g are voiced stops at bilabial, alveolar and velar points of articulation respectively. None have significant variants. Examples: *babadi* ['bʌbbʌdɪ] *'pirarucu* fish', *dororo* ['du:ɾ̥ʊɾ̥ʊ] 'fruit', *gora* ['gu:ɾ̥ʌ] 'house'.

th and kh are voiceless aspirated stops at alveolar and velar points of articulation respectively. Examples: *oathi* ['ʊʌthĩ] 'my talk', *khanaki* ['khʌnnʌki] 'heavy'.

'b and 'd are voiced implosives at bilabial and alveolar points of articulation respectively. Examples: *a'diki* ['ʌɗɪkɪ] 'ripe', *a'baki* ['ʌɓɓʌkĩ] 'wet'.

tx and j are alveopalatal affricates, voiceless and voiced respectively. Examples: *pa'itxi* ['pʌʔʔɪči] 'small', *joma* ['jʊmmʌ] 'night'.

f, s, x, and h are fricatives at labiodental, alveolar, alveopalatal, and glottal points of articulation respectively. Examples: *safini* ['sʌffɪnɪ] 'sun', *sa'ai* ['sʌʔʔʌɪ] 'hand', *xooni* ['šuunɪ] 'younger brother', *hotairi* ['hʊttʌɪɾ̥ɪ] 'deer'.

v is a voiced labial or labiodental fricative: [w] (with slight friction) and [v], which are free variants. Example: *kanava* ['kʌnnʌwʌ] or ['kʌnnʌvʌ] 'canoe'.

The two nasals are bilabial m and alveolar n. Examples: *makhira* ['mʌkhkhɪɾ̥ⁱʌ] 'man', *nadaraki* ['nʌddʌɾ̥ⁱʌkɪ] 'red'.

The two vibrants are represented by the same orthographic symbol, r, but are distinct contrastive segments: [ř], a flap vibrant, and [ɼ̥], a retroflexed grooved reverse flap vibrant. Examples: *joriru* ['ju:ř̥ɪɼ̥ʷʊ] 'fish', *jori* ['ju:ɾ̥ɪ] 'axe'. [ř̥ʷ], a "dark" flap, only occurs when contiguous to the high back vowel; [ř̥ⁱ], a "clear" flap, occurs in other environments.

22.2.2 Vowels.
There are three basic vowels: i (front unrounded), a (central unrounded), and o (back rounded).

i has the variants [ii], [ĩ], [i] and [ɪ]. There is free variation between [i] and [ɪ], though [ɪ] is preferred.

a has the variants [aa], [ā], [ə] and [ʌ]. [ə] occurs between two [r̃] in a stressed syllable and sometimes occurs utterance final varying freely with [ʌ]; [ʌ] occurs elsewhere, except when the conditions for length and nasalization are met (see below).

o has the variants [uu], [ū] and [ʊ].

Phonemically long vowels occur only in stressed syllables. They are written as a two-vowel sequence and may precede any consonant. Non-phonemic half-length (i.e., half-way in duration between a normal vowel and a long vowel) occurs on any vowel in a stressed syllable that is followed by v [w] or [v], r[r̃], or r[r̥]:

'aajo	['ʔa.a.jʊ]	'brother' (long vowel, two syllables)
kavari	['ka:.wʌ.r̥ɪ]	'scissors' (phonetic half-length, indicated by :, one syllable)
safini	['sʌ.ffɪ.nɪ]	'sun' (short vowel in stressed syllable, with phonetic lengthening of following C)

Vowels tend to be nasalized when they occur utterance final or contiguous to a nasal consonant: *uhi* ['ʔu.hhĩ] 'beads'; *a'baki* ['ʌ.ɓɓʌ.kĩ] 'wet'; *kamaboa* [kʌ.'mʌ̃.bbʊ.ʌ] 'orphan'.

Aspirated stops and h cause breathiness of the preceding and following vowel. Preaspiration precedes a voiceless velar stop following a stressed syllable containing an implosive stop and central vowel.

22.3 Suprasegmental phonology.
For vowel and consonant length, see 22.2. Stress normally occurs on the antepenultimate syllable or on the initial syllable of two-syllable words. The final syllable of a word is never stressed. The possibilities regarding stress are illustrated in the phonetic-transcription examples given in 22.2.

Contrastive stress occurs in a few pairs of words (stress shown only in phonetic transcriptions):

'diriri	['ɗi:.r̥ɪ.r̥ɪ]	'sieve'
'diriri	[ɗɪ.'r̥i:.r̥ɪ]	'insect'
va'dama	['wʌ.ɗɗʌ.mʌ̃]	'duck'
va'dama	[wʌ.'ɗʌ.mmã]	'their feet'

Stress fluctuates in some words:

ipohiki   ['ɪ.ppʊ.hɪ.kĩ] or [ɪ.'pu.hhɪ.kĩ]   'to be many'
nadaraki   ['nʌ.ddʌ.řⁱʌ.kĩ] or [nʌ.'da:.řⁱʌ.kɪ]   'red'

Reduplicated syllable sequences have special stress patterns. Where a CVCV sequence is reduplicated, the primary stress can fall on either of the syllables in the initial CVCV sequence; in both cases the first syllable of the reduplicated sequence has secondary stress (indicated by ''):

vagaki 'light'   ⟶   *vagavagani* 'early'
                        ['wʌ.ggʌ.''wʌ.gʌ.nɪ] or
                        [wʌ.'ga(a).''wʌ.gʌ.nɪ]

Where a CVV sequence is reduplicated, only the second syllable of the initial sequence is stressed:

boaboani   [bʊ.'a(a).bʊ.ʌ.nɪ] 'boiling'

When stress falls on the second syllable of either of these reduplications, there is phonetic half-lengthening of the vowel (shown above by repetition of the vowel in parentheses), and without any lengthening of the following consonant.

The basic intonation pattern for non-interrogative statements is falling pitch at the end of the sentence. Sequences of clauses within a sentence, and dislocated phrases within a clause, usually have level pitch immediately before the pause. Interrogatives have sentence-final rising pitch.

22.4 Morphophonology.   The only generalization we have noted is that when two identical vowels occur in sequence word final and word (or enclitic) initial, there is reduction to a single vowel.

Other morphologically-conditioned variants relate to specific roots and affixes and these are described in the relevant sections of the paper.

23 Morphology

This is treated in earlier sections.

Ideophones

24 Ideophones

There are quite a few verbs used as ideophones. They occur mostly in story telling. Most of the ideophones belong to the verb class that requires an auxiliary verb (sect. 18.9). When used as an ideophone, the auxiliary verb with its affixation is sometimes omitted. There is a pause after an ideophone, which always occurs clause initial.

(796) viso,   a-noki-ri-hi   hida,   haria
       nothing(IDEOPH)   1PL-see-NEG-THEME   DEM   1PL-OBJ

       i-korijanaha-ki-'i
       2SG-tell:lie-NONTHEME-2SG
       'Nothing! We didn't see it. You are lying to us.'

Ideophones frequently have either reduplication or length and intensity of the stressed vowel. Reduplication may follow the normal pattern of reduplication on the final two syllables of the root (see sect. 18.6.3) or may take the form of repetition of the final syllable.

(797) too,   too,   too,
       knock knock knock

       bi-ka-ni-'a-'i-hi   ida   bakatha
       3SG-N.CLASS-AUX-TRNSTVZR-ASP-THEME   DEM   door
       'Bang, bang, bang! He knocked on the door.'

(798) biririri,   ni-javaraha-na
       worm:crawling   AUX-between:trees-DEP:INTRANS
       'Wiggle, wiggle! He came crawling like a worm.'

Ideophones cover many different kinds of experience and are evoked by, or express, suddenness or unexpectedness or intensity. For example, if something white suddenly or unexpectedly comes into view the speaker will say, *bokho niki* 'white!' or *pora niki* 'white' rather than *vaforiki* 'white' which occurs as a noun modifier or descriptive verb. Similarly, *dana niki* 'red' would describe a red object which suddenly caught the eye, whereas *nadaraki* 'red' is used under normal circumstances. Not all ideophones have a corresponding verb to express the same meaning. Following is a list of a few of the ideophones expressing various noises and movements:

fiaa niki	'sound made by tapir',
giririririniki	'sound made by water snake or canoe being pulled along',
tabo tabo niki	'something hitting surface of water',
tara tara niki	'sound of axe chopping wood',
'biri	'disappear from sight',
viso	'silent, empty',
tari	'arrow falling',
vii	'rapid movement through the air'.

Interjections follow the same pattern, except that they are never followed by the auxiliary verb. They include *haajo* or *hajoo* 'something good to eat', *ara* 'pain', *habii* or *haabi* 'something unpleasant', *atxi* 'something very small', *akaa* 'disgust'.

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