

# **Sanuma**

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## Introduction

Sanuma is spoken by approximately 2,000 people, about 500 in Brazil on the Auaris River and its tributaries, and the rest in Venezuela, on the upper Matacuni, Ventuari, Caura, and Erebató along with their tributaries.

Phonetically, the name of the tribe is [*sánima*], with stress on the first syllable. In publications for readers other than the Sanuma themselves, we have chosen to use *u* for the second vowel while some in Venezuela (e.g., Lizot 1975) have used *e*.

The Sanuma are basically monolingual, with a very few speaking also the language of the neighboring Carib group, Yekuana (Maiongong or Maquiritare).

Sanuma is one of the languages or dialects of the Yanomami language family. The same language family has been called 'Yanoama' (Biocca 1971; Ramos 1972; and Taylor 1972, who cites Becher 1960, and Wilbert 1963) and 'Yanomamö' (Chagnon 1968). In Venezuela the term 'Yanomamo' appears, probably an orthographical variation of 'Yanomamö'. Migliazza (1972) suggested the term 'Yanomama', ". . . as this term is not found in exactly this spelling in any dialect, but is understood by the great majority of speakers . . . and it will not be confused with any dialectical groups."

We adopt here, however, the designation 'Yanomami,' which has been in use since about 1975 in Brazil by the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) and journalists.

Some autodenominations for other Yanomami dialects are: 'Yanomam' (upper Uraricuera, Parima, and Toototobi Rivers in Brazil); 'Yanomamö' (upper Orinoco and tributaries in Venezuela, with some groups over the border in Brazil); and 'Ninam' or 'Yanam' (upper Mucajaí and Uraricaá Rivers in Brazil).

The same groups have received other designations by those outside their own group:

'Shrishana' is used by the Yekuana (Maiongong) in reference to all Yanomami. On the Catrimani, Demini, Mucajaí and Uraricaá Rivers, there are groups designated as 'Shirishana' or 'Shiriana' by other Yanomami, and there are some on the Mucajaí and Uraricaá who use one of these terms when presenting themselves to outsiders.

'Waica' is a term used by Yanomami (at least in Brazil) referring to the people who speak the Yanomam dialect.

'Shamatari' is a term used by the Sanuma in referring to those of the Yanomamö dialect (see also Barker 1979). The Yanomam people of the Uraricuera do the same, but include the Sanuma in this designation of 'Shamatari'.

I am indebted to Desmond Derbyshire for his painstaking editing of this paper; to Eunice Burgess of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who in 1975 helped organize the description of clauses and the verb phrase; to Joe Grimes for consultation on earlier papers (Borgman and Cue 1963 and Borgman 1974); and to Merrill Seely, who worked for many years among the Sanuma on the upper Caura, and who has given corrections and valuable suggestions for this manuscript.

# Syntax of the Sentence or Clause

## 1 Word order

The subject precedes the verb (or other predicate). In clauses which have an object, the ordering is subject, object. Elements such as instrument or goal precede the subject in stative and intransitive clauses, but in transitive and ditransitive clauses these elements precede the subject only if they are given prominence over the subject. Otherwise they follow the subject and precede the object. The ordering just described applies to subordinate as well as to independent clauses. There are cases in which the speaker may tack on what we consider to be a fragmentary sentence consisting of the clarifying constituent, which may be any of the nuclear or peripheral elements except the verb.

- (1) wale kökö nia -pa -lö -ma. kamisa -nö  
peccary 3:DL shoot -EXT -FOC -CMPL 1:SG -AG  
'Peccary got shot. I (shot them).'
- (2) wale kökö nia -pa -lö -ma. ola hamö  
peccary 3:DL shoot -EXT -FOC -CMPL upper LOC  
'Peccary got shot. Upstream.'
- (3) wale kökö nia -pa -lö -ma. silaka -nö  
peccary 3:DL shoot -EXT -FOC -CMPL arrow -INST  
'Peccary got shot. With arrows.'
- (4) kökö nia -pa -lö -ma. wale kökö  
3:DL shoot -EXT -FOC -CMPL peccary 3:DL  
'They got shot. They were peccary.'
- (5) sa kökö toto -kö -ma. pata töpö niha  
1:SG 3:DL give -FOC -CMPL old 3:PL to  
'I gave the peccary away. It was to the old people.'

The clarifying constituents exemplified are considered to be fragmentary sentences rather than constituents of the main clause because they fit in with the general intonation of sentences, and because these constituents occur elsewhere as complete utterances in responses to the questions

'Who?', 'Where?', 'With what?', 'To whom?', etc. Also it should be mentioned that this type of phenomenon in examples 1–5 is rare. In a collection of Sanuma myths, narratives, and conversation, there are only 8 fragmentary sentences of this nature versus 2,500 sentences with the same constituents in their normal ordering.

The ordering of constituents will be amply exemplified and elaborated upon in the following discussion. The main discussion centers around the basic clause types, with a section following treating of the peripheral constituents in the clause.

**1.1 Basic clause types and the ordering of the nuclear constituents.** Sanuma clause types are set up here on the basis of certain structural contrasts. One contrastive feature is the different set of verbs which occur for each clause type except for the identification clause, in which there can be either a copular verb or the absence of a verb altogether.

Another contrastive feature of the clauses is seen by optional and obligatory occurrence of nuclear constituents for each clause type. The potential for the occurrence of some optional constituents is a diagnostic feature of the clause type, and therefore these constituents, though optional, are considered to be within the clause nucleus. Constituents which are optional and nondiagnostic of a clause type are considered to be part of the outer periphery and are described in sect. 1.2. Unlike nuclear constituents, these peripheral constituents can occur with all clauses, so that their occurrence or absence does not aid in determining clause types.

The main clause types are stative, receptive, intransitive, semitransitive, transitive, and ditransitive. (See sect. 18.5 for derived clause types.)

In the intransitive, semitransitive, and in two of the stative clauses, there may occur a comitative construction which gives a leader-follower relationship. The subordinate participant or follower is marked by *kai*, while the leader or superordinate participant, when overtly stated, is indicated by the agentive marker *-nö* (sect. 15.1.1.2).

**1.1.1 Stative clauses.** Stative clauses are subdivided into the following clause types: identification, existence, position, description, and emotion.

**1.1.1.1 Identification clauses.** Identification clauses are characterized by an obligatory subject, which is the identifying element, an obligatory complement, which is the item or person to be identified, but which is often not overtly expressed if the complement is clear from context, and a copular verb, which occurs only when non-present tense is used. The complement distinguishes this clause type from the other stative clauses.

Following are examples given in the order of most common usage: with subject only (6–9), with complement and subject (10–12), with subject and

copula (13, 14), and with complement, subject, and copula (15, 16). The personal pronouns in the following examples function as classifiers that form part of the noun phrase (sects. 15.3.1.1 and 16).

- (6) witi pili a  
 who PRTCLZR 3:SG  
 'Who is he?'
- (7) hama te  
 visitor 3:SG  
 'It/He is a visitor.'
- (8) sai a  
 house 3:SG  
 'It is a house.'
- (9) hisa sa  
 young:man 1:SG  
 'I am a young man.'
- (10) ki ipa ulu a  
 that my child 3:SG  
 'That is my child.'
- (11) hi a lo -le, ī witi pili a  
 this 3:SG sit -PRES REL who PRTCLZR 3:SG  
 'Who is the one sitting here?'
- (12) hi a lo -le, ī ipa ulu a  
 this 3:SG sit -PRES REL my child 3:SG  
 'The one sitting here is my child.'
- (13) palata ti hösösö ku -o -ma  
 rubber CLASS resin be -PUNCT -CMPL  
 'It was rubber.'
- (14) kaikana te ku-ki kite  
 headman 3:SG be-FOC FUT  
 'He will be a headman.'

(15) öla a pata hai, ī  
 jaguar 3:SG big SPECFR REL

sanöma te ku -o -ma  
 Sanuma 3:SG be -DUR -CMPL  
 'The jaguar was a Sanuma.'

(16) sanöma te wale ku -o noai, . . .  
 person 3:SG peccary be -PUNCT INDEF:PERF  
 'The person being (past) a peccary, . . .'

**1.1.1.2 Existence clauses.** Existence clauses are distinguished from identification clauses by the presence in the former of the copula 'to be' in all tenses. In this type of clause, negative existence is indicated by *ma* 'not to be'. (See the descriptive verb *mi* 'none' in (35), and discussion of the distinctions between *ma* and *mi* in sect. 12.)

(17) pilipoma a ku-a  
 moon 3:SG be-NONASP  
 'There is a moon.'

(18) hapoka ku -o opa -ma  
 cooking pot be -PUNCT INTNSF -CMPL  
 'There were a lot of cooking pots.'

(19) töpö ma apa kule  
 3:PL be:not INTNSF PRES  
 'There are no people at all.'

(20) öla a pata -nö sanöma te  
 jaguar 3:SG AUG -AG sanuma 3:SG  
  
 kai ku -o -ma  
 SUB:PTCPNT be -PUNCT -CMPL  
 'The Sanuma was there with the jaguar.'

In age-oriented existence clauses there is an obligatory referent constituent marked by *nihaha* which is restricted to cases in which the subject indicates an expanse of time in terms of 'nights, moons, and dry seasons'. (For a fuller discussion of the markers and their uses see sect. 15.1.2.)



(21) hi niha, wi na pilipoma a ku-a  
 this REFRNT INTER like moon 3:SG be-DUR  
 ‘To this one, how many moons are there?’ or  
 ‘How many months old is this one?’

(22) hi ulu te niha, polakapi inama  
 this child 3:SG REFRNT two dry seasons  
  
 te ku -a  
 3:SG be -DUR  
 ‘To this child, there are two dry seasons’ or  
 ‘This child is two years old.’

**1.1.1.3 Position clauses.** Position clauses contrast with existence clauses in that in the former there may occur a superordinate participant agent or an inanimate instrument marked by *-nö*. (For all the functions of *-nö*, see sect. 15.1.1.) The only examples of a subordinate participant occurring have been with the verbs *lo* ‘to sit’ and *pili* ‘to lie in hammock, dwell’.

(23) sama a öpa mai kite  
 tapir 3:SG stand:upright not FUT  
  
 a hōto -a  
 3:SG stand:with:body:horizontal -CUST  
 ‘A tapir doesn’t stand upright. It stands with body horizontal.’

(24) hi ti -nö a hīta kule  
 stick CLASS -INST 3:SG stand:upright PRES  
 ‘It is standing upright by means of a stick.’

(25) pili he -nö a hīta  
 PRTCLZR head -INST 3:SG stand:upright  
  
 nono -a kule  
 upright -DUR PRES  
 ‘He is standing on his head.’

(26) pili kolo -nö a lo -a kule  
 PRTCLZR buttocks -INST 3:SG sit -DUR PRES  
 ‘He is sitting on his buttocks.’ (Lit: ‘by means of his buttocks’)

- (27) ipa hao te -nö sa kai pili -o  
 my father 3:SG -AG 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT live -PUNCT

pasi -o -ma  
 separate -PUNCT -CMPL  
 'I lived with (under the care of) my father.'

- (28) koa thaka kase ha ulu te kai  
 fire CLASS edge by child 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT

lo -a kō -a  
 sit -DUR return -DUR  
 'The infant sits again with (the mother) by the fire.'

- (29) hi ti -ki ha hasa asö ala kupili  
 this CLASS -DL on deer CLASS lie:on:rack DP  
 'The deer skin was lying on this wooden rack.'

**1.1.1.4 Description clauses.** Description clauses are characterized by description verbs, by the potential occurrence of a nonhuman instrument marked by *-nö*, and by the potential occurrence of a referent marked by *niha* indicating comparison. (See sect. 7.1.1 for *niha* used with other verbs, plus certain adverbs, to express comparison.)

- (30) ulu te utiti  
 child 3:SG weak  
 'The child is weak.'

- (31) ohi ohi te -nö ulu te utiti  
 hungry hungry 3:SG -INST child 3:SG weak  
 'The child is weak from hunger.'

- (32) salaka -nö pole a patasipö  
 fish -INST dog 3:SG fully:developed  
 'The dog is fully developed because of the fish (he was fed).'

- (33) kamisamakö niha napö töpö pe epö  
 we:EXCL REFRNT Carib 3:PL big INTNSF  
 'The Carib are bigger than we.'

(34) pole a satehe  
 dog 3:SG many  
 'There are many dogs.'

(35) pole a mi  
 dog 3:SG none  
 'There aren't any dogs.'

**1.1.1.5 Emotion clauses.** Emotion clauses are characterized by verbs showing emotion and by the obligatory occurrence of a referent in the sense of goal marked by *ha* or *niha*. The nature of emotion verbs (fear, sorrow, anger, happiness) makes a goal obligatory even though it is not always overtly expressed.

(36) öla a pata ha sa kili  
 jaguar 3:SG big REFRNT I afraid  
 'I am afraid of the jaguar.'

(37) kau niha sa hīso  
 2:SG REFRNT 1:SG angry  
 'I am angry at you.'

(38) au thewö niha sa pi waiso -le  
 your:SG daughter REFRNT 1:SG inside desire -PRES  
 'I desire your daughter' or 'I have a desire toward your daughter.'

(39) masulu kökö ha sa ötö  
 beads 3:DL REFRNT 1:SG generous  
 'I am generous in regard to beads.'

(40) pole a ha sa umi  
 dog 3:SG REFRNT 1:SG stingy  
 'I am stingy in regard to (my) dog.'

**1.1.2 Receptive clauses.** In contrast to stative clauses, receptive clauses describe a state which is the result of the subject being acted upon. Also, the verbs of the receptive clauses are characterized by the change focus marker *-so*.

(41) salaka -nö pole a pata -so -ma  
 fish -INST dog 3:SG big -FOC -CMPL  
 'The dog grew big with fish (diet).'

(42) maa ma -pö -nö kutiata a  
 rock CLASS -PL -INST canoe 3:SG

wani -pa -so kite  
 bad -EXT -FOC FUT

'The canoe will get ruined by the rocks.'

(43) kamakali te wasu -nö ipa ulu  
 fever 3:SG deadly -INST my child

a noma -so -ma  
 3:SG die -FOC -CMPL

'My child died of a deadly fever.'

**1.1.3 Intransitive clauses.** Intransitive clauses describe an activity performed on the part of the subject. Most of the intransitive verbs have the performative *-mo* 'to act like, be engaged in'. (See sect. 18.5.1, for a description of *-mo*.)

(44) a ose -mo pä -a kule  
 3:SG young -act merely -DUR PRES  
 'He's only acting like a little child.'

(45) kau niha sa hama -mo  
 2:SG with 1:SG visit -engaged:in

nai -o pi topa -a  
 also -PUNCT inside good -DUR

'I also want to go with you visiting.'

(46) kamisa niha a inamo  
 1:SG with 3:SG play  
 'Play with me!'

(47) ki ha wale kai telulu -a  
 that LOC 1:SG (archaic) SUB:PTCPNT dance -DUR

kawese -a -ta -lo  
 back:and:forth -DUR -EXT -FOC

'Take me dancing back and forth over there.'

**1.1.4 Semitransitive clauses.** Semitransitive clauses are thus named because of their distinctive features of the obligatory goal constituent which indicates

transitivity, together with the idea of intransitivity indicated by the absence of object or a transitive type verb.

Semitransitive clauses are subdivided into activity and motion clauses.

**1.1.4.1 Activity clauses.** These clauses could more precisely be called stationary action clauses, the action taking place in a circumscribed area, in contrast to the trajectorial action of motion clauses. The goal or receptor of the activity is not always overtly expressed. When it is, it is marked by *ha* or *niha*.

(48) a ohi wani ia -ti kule  
 3:SG hungry DEPR eat -CONT PRES  
 'The hungry one is eating.'

(49) au nii te ha tholopo a  
 your:SG food 3:SG at mouse 3:SG  
  
 ia -ti -i  
 eat -CONT -NONASP  
 'The mouse keeps eating at your food.'

(50) ipa sai a niha sa  
 my house 3:SG on 1:SG  
  
 kali -palo pia kule  
 work -REPET intend PRES  
 'I am about to work on my house.'

(51) ipa sai ha ipa silaka ha sa  
 my house at my arrow on 1:SG  
  
 kali -palo -ti kule  
 work -REPET -CONT PRES  
 'I am working on my arrow at my house.'

(52) koa thaka ha sa mamō tete -a kule  
 fire CLASS on 1:SG eye fix:on -DUR PRES  
 'I am keeping an eye on the fire.'

(53) noa te ha a wani hapalo kule  
 payment 3:SG about 3:SG DEPR talk PRES  
 'He is talking about the payment.'

- (54) kusiali te -nō sa ia pia kule  
 spoon 3:SG -INST 1:SG eat intend PRES  
 'I am about to eat with a spoon.'

**1.1.4.2 Motion clauses.** In motion clauses, there is a goal marked by *nihaha* or *nihamö/hamö*, indicating some point of reference, usually the destination, in connection with motion along a trajectory. There is a potential use of an instrument marked by *hamö* with some motion verbs in which the instrument is restricted to means of travel, whether canoe, motor, foot, etc. In (59) it is the phrase 'by motor' which is highlighted. The *hamö* used with 'Mucajaí River' marks a goal constituent.

- (55) waika töpö sai pö ha a  
 Waika 3:PL house 3:PL to 3:SG  
 ko -na -so -lö kupili  
 return -EXT -FOC -DIR DP  
 'He returned to the Waika village.'

- (56) ipa sai ha hama töpö hasu -ki ke  
 my house by visitor 3:PL pass:by -FOC IP  
 'The visitors passed by my house.'

- (57) tiko makö niha sa noka mai kite -ö  
 different 2:PL after 1:SG follow NEG FUT -EXCLM  
 'I will not follow after you (who are not of our group).'

- (58) hise napö pö -nō sa kai  
 here Carib 3:PL -AG 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT  
 a -su -lö -ö  
 leave -FOC -DIR -NONASP  
 'From here the Carib leave, taking me along.'

- (59) mukasiai ola hamö motolo hamö ko -nō  
 Mucajaí upper to motor INST return -DIR  
 'Return to the upper Mucajaí River by motorboat!'

**1.1.5 Transitive clauses.** Both in transitive and ditransitive clauses there is an obligatory object which is usually expressed overtly, but can be omitted under certain conditions (sects. 3.1.2 and 3.1.3). Another distinguishing feature of both these clauses is that the subject is the agent of that which is expressed in the verb, and is marked by *-nō* (except in the case of short form personal pronoun subjects—see sect. 15.1.1.1).

When a long form personal pronoun is used in expressing the subject and when there is a noun along with its classifier expressing the object, the subject and object are interlocking and discontinuous as in the example:

- (60) kamisamakö -nö hama sama töpö  
 S:long:form:pron -AG O:noun S:short:form:pron O:CLASS  
 1:PL:EXCL visitor 1:PL:EXCL 3:PL
- se kite  
 V:hit FUT  
 'We will hit the visitors.'

As the context permits, there can be deletion of the elements given above, and the order of deletion is from left to right:

- (61) kamisamakö -nö hama sama töpö se kite  
 1:PL:EXCL -AG visitor 1:PL:EXCL 3:PL hit FUT  
 'We will hit the visitors.'
- (62) hama sama töpö se kite  
 visitor 1:PL:EXCL 3:PL hit FUT  
 'We will hit the visitors.'
- (63) sama töpö se kite  
 1:PL:EXCL 3:PL hit FUT  
 'We will hit them.'
- (64) töpö se kite  
 3:PL hit FUT  
 '(We) will hit them.'
- (65) se kite  
 hit FUT  
 '(We) will hit (them).'

The above discussion gives the normal options for the occurrence of the elements in the subject and object of transitive and ditransitive clauses, although the case in which the object is deleted in (65) is rare. (See sect. 3.1.2 for further discussion and examples.)

Transitive clauses differ from ditransitive in that they do not have an obligatory referent as goal, which is present in the ditransitive clauses. Transitive clauses are divided into experience and operation clauses.

**1.1.5.1 Experience clauses.** Experience clauses describe an emotional or perceptual experience on the part of the participant. In these clauses the object is unaffected in that there is no physical contact or change that takes place in the object as a result of the activity. Structurally, the absence of a potential instrument in the experience clauses distinguishes them from the operation clauses. This is the general rule, although we have found one example (72) which is an exception to the rule. Other speakers did not accept this construction and rephrased it.

Following are examples of clauses describing an emotional experience:

- (66) ki moko te -nö masulu pi  
 that young:woman 3:SG -AG beads wants  
 ipa -ö  
 INTNSF -NONASP  
 'That young woman wants beads.'
- (67) ki töpö -nö sa wanipo sinomo -ö  
 that 3:PL -AG 1:SG dislike always -NONASP  
 'Those people always dislike me.'

Clauses describing a perceptual experience are exemplified by the following:

- (68) kanene sa te taö  
 killer 1:SG 3:SG know:NONASP  
 'I know the killer.'
- (69) kanene sa te ta -pa kule  
 killer 1:SG 3:SG see -EXT PRES  
 'I see the killer.'
- (70) napö sa töpö kahi hini -i  
 Carib 1:SG 3:PL language hear/understand -NONASP  
 'I understand the Carib language.'
- (71) ulu töpö -nö ukutupö mö -ti kule  
 child 3:PL -AG image look:at -CONT PRES  
 'The children are looking at the pictures.'



- (72) hi te -nō patasipō te -nō  
 this 3:SG -INST old:man 3:SG -AG  
 sai a mö kule  
 house 3:SG look:at PRES  
 ‘The old man is looking at the house by means of this thing  
 (binoculars).’

**1.1.5.2 Operation clauses.** Operation transitive clauses describe an action which directly affects the object. There is an obligatory subject (animate) marked by *-nō* (except when the subject is the short form personal pronoun), and an optional instrument (inanimate) also marked by *-nō*.

- (73) pata töpō -nō wale kökö  
 old 3:PL -AG peccary 3:DL  
 se -pa -lö -ma  
 kill -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 ‘The old people killed the peccary.’
- (74) pata töpō -nō sokopi a -nō wale kökö  
 old 3:PL -AG lance 3:SG -INST peccary 3:DL  
 se -pa -lö -ma  
 kill -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 ‘The old people killed the peccary with lances.’
- (75) hi a hanokosi -nō ipa hi sa ti -ki  
 this 3:SG ax -INST my tree 1:SG CLASS -DL  
 tuse -ti kule  
 chop -CONT PRES  
 ‘I am chopping my trees with this ax.’
- (76) sama hosa pä -ta -li ke  
 1:PL:EXCL:S:3:SG:O throw:away merely -EXT -FOC IP  
 ‘We merely threw it away just now.’

**1.1.6 Ditransitive clauses.** Ditransitive clauses are thus named because of the obligatory goal or source constituent along with the obligatory object. The constituents are usually overtly expressed, but may be omitted under certain conditions. (See sect. 3.1.2 for object.) If the goal or source is understood from context, or not considered an important item to express, it may be omitted by the speaker.

In these clauses there is a transference of position of the object, and this is expressed by a transfer verb in the predicate. The goal or source is marked by *ha* or *niha*. The constituent receiving prominence appears first in the linear ordering.

These clauses may be divided semantically on the basis of whether the verb indicates a release or a reception. In the first case, the object is transferred from subject to goal.

- (77) ipa hao -nō hama te niha  
my father -AG visitor 3:SG to

masulu kōkō toto -ki kite  
beads 3:DL give -FOC FUT  
'My father will give beads to the visitor.'

- (78) hama te niha ipa hao -nō  
visitor 3:SG to my father -AG

masulu kōkō toto -ki kite  
beads 3:DL give -FOC FUT  
'To the visitor my father will give beads.'

- (79) pumotomō a wani -nō alawali kōkō  
opossum 3:SG ugly -AG magic:root 3:DL

sese -a soa -kō -ma  
throw -DUR immediate -FOC -CMPL  
'The opossum-man immediately threw the magic root (on the bee-girl).'

When the verb indicates reception, the object is transferred to the subject away from the source.

- (80) Katimani tōpō niha ipa hepala a  
Katimani 3:PL from my older:brother 3:SG

wani -nō sii thoto -kō te -lō -ma  
DEPR -AG hammock CLASS -DL acquire -FOC -CMPL  
'My older brother acquired a (cotton) hammock from the Katimani people.'

- (81) ma tu kase ha saa na -kö  
 water CLASS edge from leaf CLASS -DL
- te -lö -ma  
 take -FOC -CMPL  
 '(They) took leaves from the edge of the water.'

**1.2 The ordering of peripheral constituents in the clause.** The above discussion treats of the nuclear constituents in the clauses, describing their contrasting occurrence and ordering. These contrastive features serve to determine the various clause types. Peripheral constituents, on the other hand, can occur with all clauses (the one exception being the absence of manner in the identification clauses), so that their occurrence or absence does not determine clause types.

The peripheral constituents are adverbial phrases (sect. 20) and postpositional phrases (sect. 17), indicating time, location, manner, etc., and normally occur before the nuclear constituents. Time, location, and manner can occur in the same clause, usually in that ordering, manner being closest to, and time the farthest from, the nuclear elements. Location can occur before time if receiving emphasis. Although the occurrence of all three peripheral constituents is possible and is exemplified here (85), it is extremely rare. The occurrence of two is common (83, 84).

- (82) pola kase pata hamö piliso  
 rapids edge AUG along path

ku -a kölö -a  
 be -DUR LOC -DUR

'Along the edge of the rapids there is a path.'

- (83) sa ose tehe, pata u kase  
 1:SG young when big water edge

ha sa kai pili -o -ma  
 on 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT live -PUNCT -CMPL

'When I was young (my parents and) I lived on the banks of the big river.'

- (84) te uli paimö ha opi -i a  
 3:SG forest overgrown where slow -INDEF 3:SG

kali -palo -ma  
 work -REPET -CMPL  
 'He worked slowly where the forest was overgrown.'

- (85) hi wisa ha te uli paimö  
 this late:afternoon TEMP 3:SG forest thick

ha opi -i a kali -palo -ma  
 in slow -INDEF 3:SG work -REPET -CMPL  
 'Yesterday he worked slowly in the thick part of the forest.'

- (86) hikali hūko ha sai a tha soa -ki  
 garden forehead at house 3:SG make immediate -FOC  
 'At the top part of the garden a house is made right away.'

- (87) sutu upö ha öla a  
 long-ago INTNSF TEMP jaguar 3:SG

pata -nö Sanöma töpö pewö oa -ma  
 AUG -AG Sanuma 3:PL all eat -CMPL  
 'Long ago the jaguar ate all the Sanuma.'

## 2 Parataxis

**2.1 Parataxis of noun phrases.** There are three types of parataxis in noun phrases. One is exemplified in a coordinational noun phrase, another in a corporational noun phrase, and the third in an appositional phrase. In the first two types there is always phonological dislocation, whereas in the third type there never is.

**2.1.1 Parataxis in the coordinational noun phrase.** The coordinational noun phrase consists of a series of noun phrases which are coordinate plus a summary phrase. There can be any number of noun phrases in the series, and these phrases often include the demonstrative *hi* 'this/here'.

- (88) hi amotha a, hi thomö a, hi wale a . . .  
 this paca 3:SG this agouti 3:SG this peccary 3:SG  
 'A (this) paca, an agouti, a peccary . . .'

The summary phrase is obligatory and is introduced by the manner phrase *ĩ naha* 'like that'. Sometimes the summary phrase consists only of the manner phrase, but usually it consists of a relative clause introduced by

the manner phrase and including the verb *ku* 'to be' (sect. 15.3.2.2, exs. 556, 557).

- (89) hi ipa nao a, hi ipa sao a, hi  
 this my mother 3:SG this my sister 3:SG this  
 ipa hoose a, ī naha töpö  
 my younger:brother 3:SG REL like 3:PL  
 a -su -lö -ma  
 leave -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
 'My mother, my sister, and my younger brother left.'
- (90) hi ipa nao a, hi ipa sao a, hi  
 this my mother 3:SG this my sister 3:SG this  
 ipa hoose a, ī naha töpö ku -i,  
 my younger:brother 3:SG REL like 3:PL be -INDEF  
 töpö a -su -lö -ma. töpö  
 3:PL leave -FOC -DIR -CMPL 3:PL  
 a -lu -lö nö, . . .  
 leave -FOC -DIR SEQ  
 'My mother, my sister, and my younger brother left.  
 Having left, . . .'
- (91) pumotomö a, samonamaniwö a, ī naha  
 opossum:man 3:SG bee:man 3:SG REL like  
 kule -i, tökö ku -kö -ma  
 be -INDEF 3:DL stay -FOC -CMPL  
 'Opossum-man and Bee-man stayed.'
- (92) hi pese a, pese a, ī naha kile -i,  
 this brother 3:SG sister 3:SG REL like be -INDEF  
 töpö kai tae -o  
 3:PL SUB:PTCPNT look:for:food:in:forest -PUNCT

ku -kö -ma  
 be -FOC -CMPL

'The brother and sister were looking for food in the forest (along with older people).'

- (93) Omawö a, Soawö a, ī naha kili -i,  
 Omawö 3:SG Soawö 3:SG REL like be -INDEF

pö -nö öla a  
 3:PL -AG jaguar 3:SG

pä -pa -ma -nö -ma -he  
 cut:up -EXT -CAUS -FOC -CMPL -PL:S

'Omawö and Soawö caused (the rocks) to cut up the jaguar.'

**2.1.2 Parataxis in the corporational noun phrase.** The corporational noun phrase consists of a noun phrase plus the marker *solo*, which indicates the incorporation of another member. This is followed by a pronoun which is the resultant corporate group, and therefore is never singular in number.

- (94) witi pili a solo, makö hu laso -ma  
 who PRTCLZR 3:SG also 2:PL go LOC -CMPL  
 'Who else went with you?' (The corporate group here consisted of two people.)

- (95) pīsi a solo, pö pili -ti -a  
 father:in:law 3:SG also 3:PL lying -CONT -DUR  
 'They and their father-in-law are lying (in their hammocks).'

- (96) ipa hepala a wani solo, Kalihoko  
 my older:brother 3:SG DEPR also Kalihoko

sama töpö mö taö  
 1:PL:EXCL 3:PL look:at know

'My older brother and I have seen the Kalihoko group.'

**2.1.3 Parataxis in the appositional noun phrase.** When two nouns are in apposition, the first one is either a relationship or group term and the second is a proper name.

- (97) poose Taila  
 younger:brother Taila  
 'his younger brother, Taila'
- (98) ipa ulu Peema te wai  
 my child Peema 3:SG DIMIN  
 'my little child, Peema'
- (99) Napö te Tome  
 Carib 3:SG Tome  
 'the Carib, Tome'

The first or second person pronoun may occur in apposition, in which case the noun in the phrase identifies the pronoun.

- (100) sikola thoto -kö -nö, pō wa -nö  
*sikola* vine -DL -INST father you -AG  
  
 nimitasi halo -pa -li  
 placenta wrap -EXT -FOC  
 'You, the father, wrap up the placenta with the *sikola* vine.'
- (101) hi kanene wa -nö au sinanu ūko  
 this assassin 2:SG -AG your cotton CLASS  
  
 titi -a kule  
 put:into -DUR PRES  
 'You, the assassin, put in your cotton string.'

**2.2 Parataxis of adverbs and adverbial phrases.** The general pattern is to introduce information gradually, from general to specific, and while this is a subject for discourse study, it enters here in relation to the consecutive occurrence of the same peripheral constituent. In this case, the stating of the general time or location is followed by the more specific information, and there is phonological dislocation.

- (102) hena tehe, motokö hētuto tehe, tōpö  
 early TEMP sun above when 3:PL  
  
 paö -a pia salo  
 dance -DUR intend RES  
 'Early (tomorrow), when the sun is overhead, they intend to dance.'

- (103) thapi ha, Palimö tili töpö sai  
 up-ahead LOC Palimi people 3:PL house

pö ha, samakö ku -ti -o -ma  
 3:PL at 1:PL:EXCL be -CONT -PUNCT -CMPL  
 'Up ahead, at the village of the Palimi people, we stayed on.'

- (104) pola a pata hamö, setenapi sai pö pata  
 rapids 3:SG AUG by non:Indian house 3:PL AUG

ku -a toti -a apö -lati hamö, motolo  
 be -DUR well -DUR INTNSF -PRES where motor

a pa pa -ka, samakö  
 3:SG lie at:where -THEME 1:PL:EXCL

lo -palo -ti -ma  
 sit -REPET -CONT -CMPL

'We sat around by the big rapids, right there where the non-Indians' houses are, where the motor was lying.'

**2.3 Parataxis of verbs and adverbial modifiers.** Often in narrative, the speaker describes an event by using an ideophone in place of a regular verb, or he may use a form of the verb in which all or most of the normal affixes are dropped. This verb may be repeated to give the idea of repeated or continuous action, or, if ideophones are used, there may be not only repetition of the same ideophone, but the inclusion of another one indicating a different action. Not so common is the repetition of an adverbial modifier within the verb phrase followed by only verb affixes, as in (110).

- (105) mumi soa -ö ha, sii tho -kö  
 dark still -NONASP while cotton CLASS -DL

kleno, kleno, kleno, tolo, tolo  
 untie:(IDEOPH) untie untie put:into:(IDEOPH) put:into  
 'While it is still dark, they take down their hammocks and put them into (their packs).'

- (106) . . . ĩ naha häwä pö pata kaka kaka -ma  
 REL like bat 3:PL AUG tear tear -CAUS



ku -a nō -ka, klan, klan, kletiti, klan  
 be -DUR SEQ -THEME eat:(IDEOPH) eat tear:(IDEOPH) eat  
 ‘. . . having torn apart the bats like that, they eat and eat them  
 and tear them apart and eat them.’

- (107) hemo, toto, timö  
 ascend go:along:ridge descend  
 ‘(We) go up (the hill), go along the ridge, and descend.’

- (108) ī töpö -nō -ka,  
 REL 3:PL -AG -THEME

su -a, su -a, su -a  
 take -DUR take -DUR take -DUR  
 ‘They take and take and take (the goods).’

- (109) kutiata sama lekö -la -li. lekö, lekö, lekö, lekö  
 canoe 1:PL:EXCL drag -EXT -FOC drag drag drag drag  
 ‘We drag, and drag, and drag the canoe.’

- (110) . . . pepala tae -pa  
 older:brother look:for -EXT

hei -ti -o -ma, hei -ti -o -ma,  
 after -CONT -PUNCT -CMPL after -FOC -PUNCT -CMPL

hei -ti -o -ma  
 after -CONT -PUNCT -CMPL

‘. . . he looked for his older brother following, following, following.’

### 3 Ellipsis

There can be omission of both verbal and nonverbal constituents and also of the main clause. In these cases, the omitted constituent is recoverable from either the linguistic or nonlinguistic context. There is ellipsis of the noun head with classifier pronouns (sect. 15.3.1.1) and with some adjectives (sect. 19.3).

#### 3.1 Omission of nonverbal constituents

**3.1.1 Omission of the subject.** The omission of the subject is common in transitive and ditransitive clauses.

- (111) a se -pa -lö -ma  
 3:SG:O kill -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 '(The killer) killed him.'
- (112) samakö niha watata asö toto -kö -ma  
 1:PL:EXCL to cloth CLASS give -FOC -CMPL  
 '(They) gave us cloth.'

Usually, if the subject omitted is plural, this is shown by the presence of *-he* or *-e* verb final when the completive *-ma* occurs or when there is no aspect marker.

- (113) a se -pa -lö -ma -he. a  
 3:SG kill -EXT -FOC -CMPL -PL:S 3:SG  
  
 se -pa -li -he nö, . . .  
 kill -EXT -FOC -PL:S SEQ  
 'They killed him. Having killed him, they . . .'

Omission of the subject in clauses which are not transitive or ditransitive is less common, but may occur when the subject occurs in the immediately preceding clause, or in conversation when one person questions or answers that which another has just said.

- (114) waiha wasu töpö hu kite. hu kite  
 later killer 3:PL come FUT come FUT  
 'Later, the killers will come. (They) will come.'
- (115) (First speaker:) hama töpö a -su -lö ke  
 visitor 3:PL leave -FOC -DIR IP  
 'The visitors left.'
- (Second speaker:) a -su -lö ke  
 leave -FOC -DIR IP  
 '(They) left?'
- (116) (First speaker:) hama töpö a -su -lö ke  
 visitor 3:PL leave -FOC -DIR IP  
 'The visitors left?'

(Second speaker:) awai. a -su -lö ke  
 yes leave -FOC -DIR IP  
 'Yes. (They) left.'

**3.1.2 Omission of the object.** In instances where the object is omitted, it is expressed in the immediate context, and this type of omission usually occurs only in a narrative. In one narrative, for example, someone says, Give him a gun. The next sentence lacks the expected object:

(117) soli ilo pata -nö, toto  
 brother:in:law Ilo AUG -AG give  
 'Brother-in-law Ilo gives (it).'

In this and most other examples in which the object is absent, the verb is either an ideophone or, as in the above case, a verb stem used in narrative with little or no affixation, which gives a quasi-ideophonic effect (sect. 2.3).

(118) ī patapö töpö -nö -ka, klan, klan, klan  
 REL old 3:PL -AG -THEME eat:(IDEOPH) eat eat  
 'Those old people eat (them) and eat (them) and eat (them).'

(119) ī töpö -nö -ka,  
 REL 3:PL -AG -THEME  
  
 su -a, su -a, su -a  
 take -DUR take -DUR take -DUR  
 'They take and take and take (the goods).'

**3.1.3 Omission of both the subject and object.** There are two notable instances in which both the subject and object may be absent. The first is in imperatives when the object is perfectly clear from context.

(120) oa -lö  
 eat -FOC  
 'Eat (it).'

(121) se -pa -lö  
 hit/kill -EXT -FOC  
 'Kill (it).'

The other instance in which both subject and object may be absent is in narrative when the speaker utilizes ideophones or verb stems without affixes (see sect. 3.1.2) and the subject and object are known from the immediate context.

(122) saa na -nö -ka, soho  
leaf CLASS -INST -THEME cover  
'(It) gets covered with a leaf.'

(123) samakö huso hena kule. kleno,  
1:PL:EXCL pack:to:leave early PRES untie:hammock:(IDEOPH)

kleno, kleno, hoa, hoa  
untie untie leave:(IDEOPH) leave  
'We are packing to leave early. (We) take down (hammocks) and leave.'

(124) kutiata sama lekö -la -li. lekö, lekö, lekö  
canoe 1:PL:EXCL drag -EXT -FOC drag drag drag  
'We drag the canoe. (We) drag (it), drag (it), drag (it).'

**3.2 Omission of the verb.** Elaboration may take the form of a fragment sentence in which the verb is omitted.

(125) witi pili niha  
who PRTCLZR to  
'To whom?'

(126) hi töpö -nö  
this 3:PL -AG  
'These (are the ones who did it).'

(127) motokö hētu -to tö -kö  
sun overhead -FOC when -CNFRM  
'When the sun was overhead.'

**3.3 Omission of the main clause.** Any subordinate clause may be used as a fragment sentence, with the omission of the main clause, this being understood by the immediate context, linguistic or nonlinguistic.

- (128) suö te maaki  
 woman 3:SG even:though  
 ‘Even though she’s a woman, (she’s doing a man’s work).’
- (129) ī naha a ku kupili maaki  
 REL like 3:SG say DP even:though  
 ‘Even though he said that, (he didn’t fulfill his promise).’
- (130) Sanöma sa pasi kuteenö  
 Sanuma 1:SG separate being:that  
 ‘Being that I am a Sanuma, (I can climb the tree fast).’

## 4 Reflexives and reciprocals

The reflexive and reciprocal contrast, each having its own distinct form and meaning.

**4.1 Reflexives.** There are two types of reflexive: the direct and causative.

**4.1.1 The direct reflexive.** In the direct reflexive, the subject acts upon itself. Even though semantically the referent is agent as well as recipient of the action, only one argument is specified —the subject, and this does not take the agent marker *-nö*. The subject could be plural, but the singular is far more common.

The receptive verb marked by *-so* ‘change focus’ and the adverb *kö/ko* ‘return, again’ are used in the direct reflexive, but these features in themselves do not mark reflexivity. Along with these features there must be either the adverb *sapa* ‘turn around and go back’, or the long form of the personal pronoun, or both. If the subject is a noun, or if the short form of the pronoun is used, the adverb *sapa* normally occurs.

- (131) atakusa a -nö kama nia sapa  
 gun 3:SG -INST 3:SG shoot reverse:dir.

ko -pa -so -ma  
 return -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 ‘He shot himself with a gun.’

- (132) kama nia ko -pa -so -ma  
 3:SG shoot return -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 ‘He shot himself.’

- (133) setenapi te nia sapa ko -pa -so -ma  
 non-Indian 3:SG shoot reverse:dir. return -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 'The non-Indian shot himself.'
- (134) kamisa nia sapa ko -pa -so -ma  
 1:SG shoot reverse:dir. return -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 'I shot myself.'
- (135) kamisa nia sapa kō mai kite  
 1:SG shoot reverse:dir. return:PUNCT NEG FUT  
 'I will not shoot myself.'
- (136) wa nia sapa ko -pa -so matimö  
 2:SG shoot reverse:dir. return -EXT -FOC maybe  
 'You might shoot yourself.'
- (137) po a -nö a tiwöh(ö) -a sapa  
 knife 3:SG -INST 3:SG pierce -DUR reverse:dir.  
  
 ko -pa -so -ma  
 return -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 'He pierced himself with a knife.'
- (138) kawa hami -a kō pä -pa -so kite  
 2:SG hurt -DUR return merely -EXT -FOC FUT  
 'You will merely inflict hurt upon yourself.'

**4.1.2 The causative reflexive.** In the causative reflexive, the subject causes itself to be acted upon and the verb phrase includes the suffix *-mo* 'causative reflexive' which has other functions when used with nontransitive verbs or with nouns (sect. 18.5.1). It should be noted that the nonreflexive causative is *-ma*.

- (139) sa se -mo taö mi  
 1:SG hit -CAUS:REFLX know NEG  
 'I do not know how to enter a fight' or  
 'I do not know how to have myself hit.'
- (140) waiha a tapa -mo -na -so kite  
 later 3:SG see -CAUS:REFLX -EXT -FOC FUT  
 'Later he'll cause himself to be seen' or 'Later he'll appear.'

- (141) wa mö -mo -mö manisi ipö  
 2:SG look:at -CAUS:REFLX -PURP tired INTNSF  
 'You cause yourself to be looked upon as tired.'
- (142) ī naha kawa hole kuu  
 REL like 2:SG fake say  
 hini -mo mi sai  
 hear -CAUS:REFLX NEG really  
 'Like that you faker really don't cause yourself to be heard.'
- (143) töpö wai toto -ma soa -mo kulai  
 3:PL DIMIN give -CAUS immediate -CAUS:REFLX PRES  
 'They cause themselves to be provided for (by asking for goods).'

There are some verbs in which the causative feature is not dominant, even though the causative marker *-ma* or the causative reflexive *-mo* is used. The glosses in English help to see this: 'feed' for 'cause to eat', 'show' for 'cause to see' (168), and 'bathe' for 'cause to wash'. In Sanuma, these verbs with the causative reflexive marker *-mo* have the subject acting upon itself as in the direct reflexive.

- (144) kama ia sapa -mo  
 3:SG eat reverse:dir. -CAUS:REFLX  
 pasi -ti -o -ö  
 separate -CONT -PUNCT -CUST  
 'He, unlike others, continually feeds himself.'
- (145) wa sanu -mo waiki -o ke  
 2:SG wash -CAUS:REFLX already -PUNCT IP  
 'Did you already bathe?'

**4.2 Reciprocals.** The reciprocal is expressed by the reciprocal suffix *-so*, which is distinct from the *-so* 'change focus' used with the receptive verb in the reflexive construction. One evidence of this distinction is that the reciprocal *-so* may occur with the 'present tense witnessed' and also with the negative, whereas the *-so* 'change focus' may not. (See ex. 135 compared with exs. 134 and 136.) The adverb *kō/ko* 'return' in the reciprocal construction has a different function than in the reflexive construction, as seen by the translation 'again' (148).

- (146) Waika töpö nia -so kule  
 Waika 3:PL shoot -RECIP PRES  
 'The Waika are shooting each other.'
- (147) pö nia -so tihe  
 3:PL shoot -RECIP NEG:IMP  
 'Don't you all shoot each other.'
- (148) makö nohi -ma -so kō  
 1:PL:INCL friendly -CAUS -RECIP return:PUNCT  
 nö -kö  
 SEQ -CNFRM  
 'Let's be friendly to one another again' or  
 'Let's befriend one another again.'
- (149) töpö opa -so kite  
 3:PL eat/kill -RECIP FUT  
 'They will kill one another.'

## 5 Passives

There are two constructions that could be construed as passives. One is the receptive clause (150), the verb of which is derived from a transitive verb through the use of the receptive marker *-so*, which is one of the change focus markers and is mutually exclusive with the change focus markers *-li/-lö*, *-ki/-kö*, and *-pi/pö* (sects. 18.2.5.1 and 18.5.2.1). In this construction there can be no agent in the receptive clause—only instrument. It should be noted that receptive clauses with verbs which are not derived from transitive verbs (151) clearly are not passives (see also sect. 18.5.2.1, exs. 810–815).

The other construction which might be considered passive is the transitive construction in which there is ellipsis of the subject (152a). If these constructions were taken to be passives, then there would be no active constructions in Sanuma. (See sects. 3.1.1 and 3.1.3.)

- (150a) a se -pa -so -ma  
 3:SG hit -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 'He was hit.'



- (150b) hi ti -nö a se -pa -so -ma  
 wood CLASS -INST 3:SG hit -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 'He was hit by a pole.'
- (151a) a noma -so -ma  
 3:SG die -FOC -CMPL  
 'He died.'
- (151b) kamakali te wasu -nö a noma -so -ma  
 fever 3:SG deadly -INST 3:SG die -FOC -CMPL  
 'He died from a deadly fever.'
- (152a) a se -pa -lö -ma  
 3:SG hit/kill -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 '(Someone) killed him' or 'He was killed.'
- (152b) Waika te -nö a se -pa -lö -ma  
 Waika 3:SG -AG 3:SG hit/kill -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 'The Waika killed him.'

## 6 Causatives

There are four types of causatives: direct, indirect, reflexive, and the quasi-causative.

**6.1 Direct causatives.** With direct causation, the causative marker *-ma* is added to the verb, and the construction is agent oriented in that it is the agent rather than any intermediate agent or means which is prominent. There may be direct causation with any type of verb except the identification and existence (copular) verb in stative clauses (sects. 1.1.1.1 and 1.1.1.2.) When the causative marker is added to verbs in stative, receptive, intransitive and semitransitive clauses, the subject of the original clause becomes the object in the causative clause.

### 6.1.1 Direct causatives on stative verbs

- (153a) pusopö a tiki -a kölö -a  
 wife 3:SG sit:off:ground -DUR LOC -DUR  
 '(His) wife sits (in the tree) down there.'

- (153b) pusopö a tiki -ma kölö  
 wife 3:SG sit:off:ground -CAUS LOC  
 '(He) makes his wife sit (in the tree) down there.'
- (154a) masita te amatosi  
 dirt 3:SG hard  
 'The dirt is hard.'
- (154b) masita te amatosi -ma -kö  
 dirt 3:SG hard -CAUS -FOC  
 'Make the dirt hard.'
- (155) hi a wani -nö wa hīso -ma -ni kite  
 this 3:SG DEPR -AG 2:SG angry -CAUS -FOC FUT  
 'He will make you angry.'

With some description verbs there is a choice in the use of either the causative *-ma* or the extent aspect *-pa/-ta*, which in these cases approaches the sense of causation. The contrast in meaning is evident in the free translations (sect. 18.5.2.4)

- (156a) na -kö ösö -ma -nö  
 CLASS:leaf -DL high -CAUS -FOC  
 'Raise the leaves' or 'Make the leaves high.' (i.e., row of leaves in making roof of house)
- (156b) āi ösö -ta -lö  
 CLASS:cassava:bread high -EXT -FOC  
 'Lift up the cassava bread (which is on drinking pot, so that water may be poured out).'
- (157a) suti -ma -kö  
 tight -CAUS -FOC  
 'Make (the rope) tight.'
- (157b) suti -pa -lö  
 tight -EXT -FOC  
 'Tighten (the rope).'
- (158a) a toti -a ko -pa -lö  
 3:SG good -DUR return -EXT -FOC  
 'Fix it.'

- (158b) a toa ko -ma -nö  
 3:SG good return -CAUS -FOC  
 'Make it good again.'

### 6.1.2 Direct causatives on receptive verbs

- (159a) moko te noma -so -ma  
 young:woman 3:SG die -FOC -CMPL  
 'The young woman died.'

- (159b) pumotomö a wani -nö alawali kökö -nö  
 opossum 3:SG DEPR -AG magic:root 3:DL -INST

moko te noma -ma -nö -ma  
 young:woman 3:SG die -CAUS -FOC -CMPL

'The opossum man killed the young woman with the magic root.'

- (160a) pole a pata toti -so -ma  
 dog 3:SG big -good -FOC -CMPL  
 The dog got really big.

- (160b) salaka niha pole wa pata -ma  
 fish NONIN:AG dog 2:SG big -CAUS

toi -ti -o -ma  
 good -CONT -PUNCT -CMPL

'You made the dog really big with fish (diet).'

**6.1.3 Direct causatives on intransitive and semitransitive verbs.** In intransitive and semitransitive verbs which have the repetitive action marker, this marker *-palo* or *-talo* becomes *-pala* or *-tala* when these verbs become causative.

- (161a) samonamani -soma pö ĩka -palo waiki -o -ma  
 bee:girl -f 3:PL laugh -REPET already -PUNCT -CMPL  
 'The bee-girls already laughed.'

- (161b) pumotomö a -nö samonamani -soma pö  
 opossum 3:SG -AG bee-girl -f 3:PL

īka -pala -ma waiki -o -ma  
 laugh -REPET -CAUS already -PUNCT -CMPL  
 'The opossum man already made the bee girls laugh.'

(162a) sa ose -mo wani ipō  
 1:SG young -act not:want INTNSF  
 'I really don't want to act young/like a child.'

(162b) sa ose -mo -ma tihe  
 1:SG young -act -CAUS NEG:IMP  
 'Don't cause me to act like a child.'

(163a) pole ose wai niha a inamo -ma  
 dog young DIMIN with 3:SG play -CMPL  
 'He played with the little puppy.'

(163b) pole ose wai niha a inamo -ma -ma  
 dog young DIMIN with 3:SG play -CAUS -CMPL  
 '(She) made him play with the little puppy.'

(164) au nao a ia -ma -ti kule  
 your mother 3:SG eat -CAUS -CONT PRES  
 '(You) continually cause your mother to eat' or  
 '(You) continually feed your mother.'

(165) silaka ha sa kali -pala -ma -ti kule  
 arrow GOAL 1:SG work -REPET -CAUS -CONT PRES  
 '(He) keeps making me work on the arrow.'

(166) uli hamō hi tōpō -nō a  
 forest to this 3:PL -AG 3:SG  
 tokō -ma -nō -ma  
 flee -CAUS -FOC -CMPL  
 'They made him flee into the forest.'

**6.1.4 Direct causatives on transitive and ditransitive verbs.** The direct causative is less common than the indirect in transitive clauses. In direct causative transitive clauses, the action of the noninstigational agent is overshadowed by that of the instigational agent or subject. The subject is marked by the agentive *-nō* and the noninstigational agent is marked by *niha*. (Example (167) with noninstigational agent was heard only once. The construction in (173) seems to be much more common.)

(167) pata töpö -nö pole niha wale kökö  
 old 3:PL -AG dog NONIN:AG peccary 3:DL

se -ma -nö -ma  
 kill -CAUS -FOC -CMPL

'The old people killed the peccary with the dogs.'

(168) kamisa -nö setenapi te niha manasi sa  
 1:SG -AG non:Indian 3:SG NONIN:AG guan:bird 1:SG

ta -ma -na -ni ke  
 see -CAUS -EXT -FOC IP

'I showed the guan bird to the non:Indian.'

(168) is a case of the causative feature not being dominant, as mentioned in the paragraph preceding (144).

(169) setenapi te -nö söpala asö -nö  
 non:Indian 3:SG -AG metal CLASS -INST

te hini toti -ma -nö -ma  
 3:SG hear good -CAUS -FOC -CMPL

'The non:Indian caused (him) to hear it well by means of the metal (ear phones).'

(Note: Some native speakers do not accept agent and instrument in (169).)

Causation on ditransitive verbs is rare, but there is an instance of it occurring on the verb *toto* 'to give' and the resultant meaning with the causative is 'to provide'.

(170) pō a -nö ulu töpö  
 father 3:SG -AG child 3:PL

niha nii te toto -ma -ö  
 for food 3:SG give -CAUS -CUST

'The father provides food for the children.'

**6.2 Indirect causatives.** With indirect causation, both the causative *-ma* and the extent aspect markers *-pa* or *-ta* are employed. The construction is means-oriented in that the action involves either some means (even though unintentional, as in 172) or a noninstigational agent. The means or agent are not always made explicit.

### 6.2.1 Indirect causatives on descriptive stative verbs

(171) sii thoto -kö ausi -pa -ma -ni pia salo  
 cotton CLASS -DL white -EXT -CAUS -FOC intend RES  
 '(He) intends to make the hammock white (by putting it outside  
 and letting the sun whiten it).'

(172) a amisi wai  
 3:SG thirsty DIMIN

utiti -pa -ma apa hisa -ma  
 weak -EXT -CAUS INTNSF at:home -CMPL

'(The mother) caused the little thirsty one back home to become  
 weak (by leaving him and going out into the forest).'

### 6.2.2 Indirect causatives on transitive verbs

(173) pata töpö -nö hisa töpö niha  
 old 3:PL -AG young:men 3:PL NONIN:AG

wale kökö se -pa -ma -nö -ma  
 peccary 3:DL kill -EXT -CAUS -FOC -CMPL  
 'The old people had the young men kill the peccary.'

(174) Omawö a wai -nö öla a pata pahoti -a  
 Omawö 3:SG DIMIN -AG jaguar 3:SG AUG cut:up -DUR

hötö -pa -ma -ni pio salo, . . .  
 also -EXT -CAUS -FOC intend RES

'Omawö, intending to cause the jaguar to be cut up in return (for  
 having eaten his mother), . . .'

(Note: Omawö and his twin brother had fixed a trap that would  
 hurtle the jaguar against a sharp rock on the ground. The rock was  
 the instrument indirectly used by the subject to act upon the  
 object.)

**6.3 Reflexive causatives.** When the subject causes itself to be acted on in  
 some way, the marker *-mo* is used, not the regular causative marker *-ma*.  
 (See sect. 4.1.2 for fuller explanation and examples.)

**6.4 Quasi-causatives.** There is a special usage of the causative *-ma* with  
 certain operation transitive verbs in which the prominence is on the agent

linked with the action rather than with the patient or object. This usage might be called a quasi-causative, which is difficult to translate in terms of cause. (While the object is stated in (177a), it is not affected to the same degree as the object in (177b). This, together with the fact that (177a) is more easily translated without the causal element, argues for its inclusion as a quasi-causative.)

(175a) sate -ma  
swat -CAUS  
'Swat at (it).'

(175b) sate -pa -lö  
swat -EXT -FOC  
'Swat (it).'

(176a) tha -ma tihe  
do/make -CAUS NEG:IMP  
'Don't do (it)' or 'Don't act (like that).'

(176b) koa thaka tha tihe  
fire CLASS do/make NEG:IMP  
'Don't make a fire.'

(177a) ī te -nō silaka te nia -ma  
REL 3:SG -AG arrow 3:SG shoot -CAUS  
  
taö öpa -ö  
know INTNSF -CUST  
'That one really knows how to shoot an arrow.'

(177b) ī te -nō salo a nia -pa  
REL 3:SG -AG game 3:SG shoot -EXT  
  
taö öpa -ö  
know INTNSF -CUST  
'That one really knows how to shoot game.'

## 7 Comparatives and equatives

Comparison and equation are distinct as to the way in which they are expressed.

## 7.1 Comparison

**7.1.1 Comparison at the phrase level.** Comparison at the phrase level is expressed by using the referent relator *niha* with the standard of comparison and a description verb (33), or verbs with certain adverbs such as *asa* 'exclusively', *hävähä* 'come short of', and *hasu* 'pass by/surpass'.

(178) kau niha sa lothete -a apa  
2:SG REFRNT 1:SG strong -DUR INTNSF

asa kule  
exclusively PRES  
'I am stronger than you.'

(179) kau niha sa öpa tolehe -a asa kule  
2:SG REFRNT 1:SG stand beyond -DUR exclusively PRES  
'I am taller than you.'

(180) kau niha sa öpa hävähä -a kule  
2:SG REFRNT 1:SG stand short:of -DUR PRES  
'I am shorter than you.'

(181) sii thoto -kö niha atakusa noa  
cotton CLASS -DL REFRNT gun payment

hasu -a asa -a  
pass -DUR exclusively -DUR  
'The gun is more expensive than the cotton hammock.'

(182) Lapai niha Pokai a -nö te  
Lapai REFRNT Pokai 3:SG -AG 3:SG

taö hasu -a kule  
know pass -DUR PRES  
'Pokai knows more than Lapai.'

(183) Pokai niha Lapai a -nö te taö  
Pokai REFRNT Lapai 3:SG -AG 3:SG know

hävähä hei -a kule  
short:of:DUR behind -DUR PRES  
'Lapai knows less than Pokai.'



**7.1.2 Comparison at the clause level.** Comparison at the clause level is expressed by the same adverbs already mentioned, but the means of expressing the standard of comparison is varied. In the following examples the first clause in one case is a concessive, and in the other example is a negative.

(184) pepala a pi ipa maaki, poose  
 older:sister 3:SG like INTNSF even:though younger:sister

a pi ipa toleha apa kule  
 3:SG like INTNSF beyond:DUR INTNSF PRES

‘Even though he likes the older sister, he likes the younger sister more’ or ‘He likes the younger sister more than the older sister.’

(185) kamisamakö niha masulu pehai toto pasi -la  
 1:PL:EXCL to beads fair:amount give separate -EXT

te ku -no mai, hama töpö niha  
 TEMP say -EVID not visitor 3:PL to

masulu pehai toto -a asa -kö -ma  
 beads fair:amount give -DUR exclusively -FOC -CMPL

‘He didn’t give a fair amount of beads to us, but only to the visitors did he give a fair amount of beads’ or ‘He gave more beads to the visitors than to us.’

The closest thing to correlative comparison is a sentence with two clauses, the first of which is a subordinate time clause with the marker *paha* ‘as, while’, and the second is the main clause in which occurs the directional aspect *-ima* ‘approaching, increasing in’.

(186) a kai wani telulu -ti  
 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT DEPR dance:back:and:forth -DUR

paha -ka, a ohi wani  
 while -THEME 3:SG hungry DEPR

utiti -po -ima taso  
 weak -EXT:FOC -DIR LOC

‘While she was being led in dancing back and forth, the little hungry one is getting weaker and weaker’ or ‘The more she is led in dancing, the more the little hungry one gets weak.’

A contrast expressed by the juxtaposition of two sentences can also function as a correlative comparison.

(187) wani ipi -i nii wa te oa -ö  
 little INTNSF -INDEF food 2:SG 3:SG eat -NONASP

ha, wani ipi -i wa lothete. nii te  
 if, little INTNSF -INDEF 2:SG strong food 3:SG

pehai wa te oa -ö ha, wa  
 fair:amount 2:SG 3:SG eat -NONASP if 2:SG

lothete -a apa -so  
 strong -DUR INTNSF -FOC

'If you eat just a little food, you are only slightly strong; if you eat a fair amount of food, you will become really strong' or 'The more food you eat, the stronger you will get.'

## 7.2 Equation

**7.2.1 Equation of the verb.** When the element equated is the verb, a sentence is employed with two clauses, the first of which contains the standard of comparison and ends with the manner relator *naha* 'like', and the second begins with the manner phrase *ī naha* 'like that'. (See also sect. 14.2.2.)

(188) kawa pe epö ku -i -i naha, ī naha  
 2:SG big INTNSF be -CUST -INDEF like REL like

Paulo a ku -ö hōtö -wö  
 Paulo 3:SG be -CUST also -S:EMPH  
 'Paulo is as big as you are.'

(189) napö töpö -nö kutiata tha taö ku -a wi  
 Carib 3:PL -AG canoe make know be -DUR INDEF

naha, ī naha kutiata sa tha taö  
 like REL like canoe 1:SG make know

öpa hōtö -wö  
 INTNSF also -S:EMPH

'I know how to make a canoe like the Carib do.'

**7.2.2 Equation of the object.** When the element equated is the object, a summarization sentence may be employed. This consists of two sequential clauses followed by a summary clause introduced by the manner phrase *ī naha* 'like that'.

- (190) kamisa niha masulu pehai toto -kö nö,  
 1:SG to beads fair:amount give -FOC SEQ
- hama töpö niha masulu pehai toto -a  
 visitor 3:PL to beads fair:amount give -DUR
- hōtō -kö nö, ī naha te ku -a -ma  
 also -FOC SEQ REL like 3:SG be -DUR -CMPL  
 '(You) gave as many beads to the visitors as you gave to me.'

## 8 Coordination

There are no coordination markers as such. Coordination is expressed by juxtaposition of sentences, clauses and noun phrases.

**8.1 Coordination of sentences.** The following example of the juxtaposition of two sentences may be regarded as coordination. These are considered to be sentences because of the final intonation in each. This is in contrast to the rising intonation found at the end of each clause, except the final one, in (192) and (193).

- (191) hikali hamö suö töpö a -su -lö -ma.  
 garden to woman 3:PL leave -FOC -DIR -CMPL
- uli hamö wano töpö hu -a  
 forest to man 3:PL go -DUR
- pasi -ta -so -lö -ma  
 separate -EXT -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
 'The women left for the fields and the men went out into the forest.'

**8.2 Coordination of clauses.** Coordination on the clause level is accomplished by the juxtaposition of clauses with the feature of rising intonation on the final syllable of each clause except for the final one. The rising intonation, also present in subordinate clauses, is indicated by the use of the comma. (See sect. 21.2 for the exceptional case of falling intonation

in subordinate clauses when the clitic *-ka* is employed.) In all the examples available, the verbs used in this type of construction appear either with no tense-modality marker or with the completive aspect *-ma*. (See (368) and (369) for examples with *-ma*; these are interpreted as coordinate constructions.)

(192) nasö    ösö    tö    -ki,    pu    usö  
 manioc CLASS plant -FOC sugar cane:CLASS

tö    -ki,    kapulu    usö    -kö  
 plant -FOC yam CLASS -DL

wani    tö    -ki,    ī    te    uli    kolo  
 DEPR plant -FOC REL 3:SG area bottom

ha    ökoma    asö    tö    -ki,    ī    ha,  
 at banana CLASS plant -FOC REL at

hikali    hūko    ha    sai    a    tha    soa    -ki  
 garden forehead at house 3:SG make immediate -FOC  
 '(I) plant manioc, (I) plant sugar cane, (I) plant yams, and at the  
 bottom of that area (I) plant banana plants, and there, on the top  
 part of the garden (I) build my house right away.'

(193) sutu    upö    ha    salo    pö  
 long:ago INTNSF TEMP game 3:PL

ku    -o    -la    -so    -ma,    opo    pö  
 be -PUNCT -EXT -FOC -CMPL armadillo 3:PL

ku    -o    -la    -so    -ma,    paluli    pö  
 be -PUNCT -EXT -FOC -CMPL curassow 3:PL

ku    -o    -la    -so    -ma,    öla    a  
 be -PUNCT -EXT -FOC -CMPL jaguar 3:SG

ku    -o    -ma,    sama    a    ku    -pa    -so    -ma,  
 be -PUNCT -CMPL tapir 3:SG be -EXT -FOC -CMPL

Sanöma    te    .    hai,    ī    sama    ku    -o    -ma  
 Sanuma 3:SG SPECFR REL tapir be -PUNCT -CMPL  
 'Very long ago game animals came into being, and the armadillos  
 came into being, and the curassow birds came into being, and there

was the jaguar, and the tapir came into being, and as for the Sanuma, he was a tapir.'

Coordination expressed by 'but' and 'or' in English are expressed in Sanuma by subordinate constructions.

(194) po            sa        pi        maaki,        sa  
machete 1:SG want even:though 1:SG

te        -a        mai        kite  
take -DUR NEG FUT

'Even though I want a machete, I won't get one' or  
'I want a machete, but I won't get one.'

(195) po            sa        te        -a        mi        ha, hapoka  
machete 1:SG take -DUR NEG if, pot

sa        te        -li        kite  
1:SG take -FOC FUT

'If I don't take a machete, I'll take a cooking pot' or  
'I will take a machete or I'll take a cooking pot.'

**8.3 Coordination of noun phrases.** Coordination of noun phrases is accomplished by the use of the coordinational noun phrase. (See sect. 2.1.1.) Comitative constructions, such as the two group-forming devices discussed in sects. 1.1 and 2.1.2, and the *niha* construction in (196), are not regarded as examples of coordination.

(196) kau        niha sa        hu pi        topa kule  
2:SG with 1:SG go inside good PRES  
'I want to go with you.'

## 9 Pragmatic and discourse characteristics

**9.1 Main theme in discourse.** The discourse clitic *-ka* is used in narrative and occurs either at the end of the predicate of a subordinate clause or on a nonverbal constituent of either a subordinate or main clause. At the end of a subordinate clause, *-ka* indicates that the state or action of this clause is on the main theme line of the narrative discourse. With nonverbal constituents such as subject, instrument, referent, time, or location, the clitic *-ka* indicates that the particular constituent on which it occurs is emphasized and is part of the main theme.

The use of *-ka* also signals the fact that the following main clause is part of the main theme and should be given special attention. (See sect. 21.2 for fuller discussion and illustration of this clitic.)

**9.2 Emphasis within a clause.** There is a normal ordering of constituents within a clause, but this ordering may be altered if one constituent receives special emphasis. For example, the subject usually precedes the referent, but the referent comes first if receiving the emphasis (77, 78). Time, location, and manner constituents usually occur in that order, but location may precede time if receiving the emphasis.

- (197) te uli paimö ha, hi wisa ha a  
 3:SG area grown:over at this late:afternoon TEMP 3:SG  
 kali -palo -ma  
 work -REPET -CMPL  
 'Where it was grown-over he worked yesterday.'

**9.3 Introduction of information.** Information usually flows from the general to the specific. This is exemplified in the occurrence of peripheral constituents such as temporal or locative: the general time or place is given first, followed by the more specific information.

- (198) hena tehe motokö hētu -to tehe, töpö  
 early TEMP sun above -FOC when 3:PL  
 paö -a pia salo  
 dance -DUR intend RES  
 'Tomorrow, when the sun is overhead, they intend to dance.'

- (199) waiha, waiha, waiha, sakumi -ka, ulu a  
 later later later long:time -THEME child 3:SG  
 ku -po toita pia le, ī tö -ka,  
 be -FOC good intend PRES REL TEMP -THEME  
 nii te oa hena mai kite  
 food 3:SG eat early NEG FUT  
 'Later, later, later, after a long time, when the child is just about to be born, (the mother) will not eat early in the day.'

- (200) thapi ha, Palimi tili töpö sai pö ha  
 on:ahead LOC Palimi residents 3:PL house 3:PL at

samakö ku -ti -o -ma  
 1:PL:EXCL be -CONT -PUNCT -CMPL

‘On ahead, at the village of the Palimi people, we stayed.’

- (201) pola a pata hamö, setenapi sai pö pata  
 rapids 3:SG AUG at non:Indian house 3:PL DEPR

ku -a toti -a apö -lati hamö, motolo  
 be -DUR good -DUR INTNSF -PRES at motor

a pa pa -ka, samakö  
 3:SG lie at:where -THEME 1:PL:EXCL

lo -palo -ti -ma  
 sit -REPET -CONT -CMPL

‘At the big rapids, right there where the non-Indians’ houses are, at the place where the motor lay, we kept sitting.’

**9.4 Introduction of a new episode.** Once a discourse is in progress, one common way of introducing a new episode or subject matter is by the use of the clause *ĩ naha te ku-a tehe* (REL like 3:SG be-DUR when) ‘when it is/was like that’ or merely *ku-a tehe* (be-DUR when) ‘when it is/was’. In the first instance there is the relative phrase *ĩ naha* ‘like that’, but the function of relating is secondary to that of indicating a new subject matter.

Another way of opening an episode is by the use of the demonstratives *hi* ‘this’ and *ki* ‘that’, with or without the locative postposition, and followed by a pause. The following examples are excerpts of a message sent to the speaker’s family. Each example opens a new subject.

- (202) hi . . . hukii, Poa Pisita ha sa ku -a kule  
 this now Boa Vista in 1:SG be -DUR PRES  
 ‘Here . . . now I am in Boa Vista.’

- (203) ki hamö . . . Kanata ha sa kali -palo  
 that LOC Canada at 1:SG work -REPET

kupili maaki, . . .  
 DP even:though

‘Out there . . . even though I worked at the Canada (Ranch), . . .’

- (204) sa ku hōtō -o nö, ku -a tehe, hi,  
 1:SG say also -PUNCT SEQ be -DUR when this

Kanata ha sa kali -palo noai, . . .

Canada at 1:SG work -REPET INDEF:PERF

'Having also said that, when it was, here, my having worked at the Canada (Ranch), . . .'

- (205) ī naha te ku -a tehe, ī naha te  
 REL like 3:SG be -DUR when REL like 3:SG

ku -a tehe, ipa hoose Manuewö  
 be -DUR when my younger:brother Manuel

hai -ki . . .

SPECFR -CNFRM

'When it was like that, when it was like that, my younger brother Manuel . . .'

- (206) ī naha te ku -a tehe, hi . . . — ai  
 REL like 3:SG be -DUR when this another

Sanöma te noma -so ke -ö! — sa  
 Sanuma 3:SG die -FOC IP -EXCLM 1:SG

ku hini -ni ke  
 say hear -FOC IP

'When it was like that, here . . . I just heard that another Sanuma died.'

**9.5 Change of actor.** Two subordinate markers are used to signal that the actor of the following clause will be either the same or different. The sequential marker *nö* (sect. 14.1.1) is used when the actor of the following clause will be the same. The temporal conjunction *ha* is used when the actor will be different. (See (361–364) with the paragraph preceding them and the second paragraph of sect. 14.6 with (450, 451). (451) shows that either the sequential *nö* or the temporal *ha* may be used after a question in which it is evident that a different actor will give the reply.)

**9.6 Hesitation forms.** Two hesitation forms which are common are the demonstrative *hi* 'this' and the relative *ī* 'the referred to'. When used as hesitation forms, the normal anaphoric function of these pronouns is either secondary or nonexistent.



(207) hi, hi, hi, sa hu kō -a manu kule, . . .  
 this this this 1:SG go return -DUR in:view:of PRES  
 'Now, now, now, seeing I am going again, . . .'

(208) a ose -mo kai wani sete -a  
 3:SG young -act:like SUB.PTCPNT DEPR attach -DUR

kölö tehe, hi, hi, āsaka asö hamö . . .  
 LOC while this this āsaka CLASS to

'While he was attached to the tree like a little child, now, now, to  
 the āsaka palm . . .'

**9.7 The narrative present and immediate past.** In narrative, the speaker often stages scenes which took place in the distant past and presents them as though present. In such cases, the present and the immediate past tenses are used, and then in closing an episode the speaker often reverts to the distant past or completive. (See sect. 18.1.)

(209) ī ha samakō huso hena kule. kutiata hamö  
 rel TEMP 1:PL:EXCL leave early PRES canoe INST

samakō pi wele -ta -kö nö, ī  
 1:PL:EXCL inside go:downstream -EXT -FOC SEQ REL

tehe wele -ta -kö -ma. manasi a  
 TEMP go:downstream -EXT -FOC -CMPL guan 3:SG

wai ia -ti. Simini a pata -nö  
 DIMIN eat -CONT Simini 3:SG AUG -AG

homo -pa -ma -ni. Kutaukani a  
 explode -EXT -CAUS -FOC Kutaukani 3:SG

noka -pa -so ke. pelupö a wani  
 follow -EXT -FOC IP son 3:SG DEPR

noka -pa -so ke. tolo, tolo. pi  
 follow -EXT -FOC IP get:inside get:inside inside

kale -o waiki -ta -ki ke. pi  
 float:down -PUNCT already -EXT -FOC IP inside

kale -pa hena kule  
float:down -EXT early PRES

'Then we leave early. Having gone downstream by canoe, at that time we went downstream. A little piping guan bird is eating. Simini shoots it. Kutaukani just now followed us. His son just now followed us. They got in. (We) already just now started to go downstream inside (the canoe). (We) go downstream inside (canoe) early.'

(210) . . . *ī* na makō ku kule. piliso hamō samakō  
REL like 1:PL:INCL say PRES path along 1:PL:EXCL

samo ko -ki ke — hi ai kutiata pō  
go:upriver return -EXT IP this another canoe 3:PL

kalola kulai — tōpō ku -u. samakō  
float PRES 3:PL say -NONASP 1:EXCL

lele -o -kö -ma. önö -kö  
run -PUNCT -FOC -CMPL like:that -CNFRM

' . . . like that we say. We just now went upriver by path again. "Here are some other canoes floating," they say. We went running. Like that.'

**9.8 Closing of discourse.** A discourse is often concluded by the phrase *ī na-kō* (REL like-CNFRM) 'like that' or slight variations of this phrase such as the deletion of the relative *ī* or the confirmative *-kö/-ki* or both. The interjection *pei* 'that's it' is also used to conclude a discourse as well as an episode. Less common is the phrase *önö-kō* (like that-CNFRM) 'that's it' (210) or the affirmative particle *awai* 'yes'. More than one of these means of closing may be used in the last utterances of a discourse.

### 9.8.1 Closing with the interjection *pei*

(211) Teti a wai huso kō waiki -a  
Teti 3:SG DIMIN get:ready:to:leave return already -DUR

kule. pei  
PRES that's:it

'Teti is already getting ready to leave again. That's it.'

- (212) ma ta hini -ni ke? ma ta  
 2:PL 3:SG:AUD hear -FOC IP 2:PL 3:SG:AUD
- hini -a waiki -li ke. — pei ö!  
 hear -DUR already -FOC IP that's:it EXCLM
- makö pi ku waiki -a kule  
 2:PL inside say already -DUR PRES  
 'Did you understand (my) talk? You already understood my talk.  
 "That's it," you are already thinking.'

- (213) lope epi -i samakö kō  
 fast INTNSF -INDEF 1:PL:EXCL return
- kölö köpili. pei  
 LOC DP that's:it  
 'We returned down there really quickly. That's it.'

### 9.8.2 Closing with the manner relator *naha/na*

- (214) ī u koa -li he. ī  
 REL liquid:CLASS drink -FOC IP REL
- na -kö  
 like -CNFRM  
 '. . . (I) drank that (honey). It's like that.'
- (215) samakö ta -la -so Kölö -ö.  
 1:PL:EXCL arrive -EXT -FOC LOC -NONASP
- naha -kö  
 like -CNFRM  
 '. . . we arrive down there. (It's) like (that).'
- (216) ipa husopö wa toto -pi kite? naha  
 my wife 2:SG give -FOC FUT like  
 'Will you give (your daughter as) my wife? (It's) like (that).'

### 9.8.3 Closing with the affirmative *awai/awi*

- (217) ma te hini -a waiki -li ke? hini -a  
 2:PL 3:SG hear -DUR already -FOC IP hear -DUR  
 toti -lö! awi ö! awi ö  
 good -FOC yes EXCLM yes EXCLM  
 'Did you understand it? Understand it well! Yes! Yes!'

### 9.8.4 Closing with a combination of relators and interjections

- (218) ī na -kö. wa te hini -ni ke? pei  
 REL like -CNFRM 2:SG 3:SG hear -FOC IP thats:it  
 sa ha -palo ma -po pia kule. pei  
 1:SG talk -REPET not:be -FOC intend PRES thats:it  
 'It's like that. Did you understand it? That's it. I am about to stop.  
 That's it.'
- (219) awai, Kahulusö. wa hini -ni ke? awai. topa. na  
 yes Carlos 2:SG hear -FOC IP yes good like  
 -kö? na pä -ta -wö  
 -CNFRM like merely -EXT -S:EMPH  
 'Yes, Carlos. Did you understand? Yes. Good. Like (that)? It's  
 merely like (that).'

## 10 Interrogatives

There are two types of interrogatives: 1) content (question-word) interrogatives and 2) polar (yes-no) interrogatives. There is no significant difference between the intonation pattern of the interrogative and that of the noninterrogative sentence. The distinctive feature common to all questions is the lack of glottal stop at the end of the sentence. The noninterrogative sentences almost always have a sentence final glottal stop, and when they do not, the context clearly would prohibit the interpretation of the utterance as a question.

**10.1 Content (question-word) questions.** Content questions are indicated by the use of the following basic interrogative words: *witi* 'which? what? who?'; *ka* 'what?'; and *wi* 'how?', which is always followed by the manner relator *naha/na* 'like' with the resultant literal gloss 'like how?' *Witi naha/na* 'like what?' can also be translated 'how?'. Time and location are indicated by

the addition of the time and location particles to *witi* and *wi naha*: *witi ha* ‘where?’ and *wi naha . . . tehe* ‘when?’.

Information asked for by means of question words may be concerning a person, a thing or activity, number, manner, time, location, or cause.

These question words, when part of a noun phrase, precede the pronoun or classifier, but follow the demonstrative (498) and the relative (11, 350). When question words are part of a postpositional phrase, the position of that phrase in the clause and in the sentence does not change (21, 242).

The interrogative word *kini* ‘And . . . ?/And what about . . . ?’ follows the item in question, and the preceding context makes clear what information is desired. (See sect. 10.1.8.)

### 10.1.1 Questions regarding persons

- (220) *witi au ulu a*  
 INTER your:SG child 3:SG  
 ‘Which one is your child?’
- (221) *witi pili a*  
 INTER PRTCLZR 3:SG  
 ‘Who is he?’
- (222) *witi pili a hu kule*  
 INTER PRTCLZR 3:SG go PRES  
 ‘Who is going?’
- (223) *witi pili a hai ī te*  
 INTER PRTCLZR 3:SG SPECFR rel 3:SG  
 ‘Whose is it?’
- (224) *witi niha -kö*  
 INTER to -CNFRM  
 ‘To whom?’

### 10.1.2 Questions regarding a thing or activity

- (225) *ka te*  
 what 3:SG  
 ‘What is it?’
- (226) *ka lö te*  
 what SPECFR 3:SG  
 ‘What is it?’

- (227) ka lö wa te pi kule  
 what SPECFR 2:SG 3:SG want PRES  
 'What do you want?'
- (228) ka pi te -nö  
 what PRTCLZR 3:SG -INST  
 'What (was) it that caused (him to die)?'
- (229) ka pili ma te tha -ti kule  
 what PRTCLZR 2:PL 3:SG do -CONT PRES  
 'What are you all doing?'

### 10.1.3 Questions regarding manner

- (230) wi na / mi na (dialectal difference)  
 INTER like INTER like  
 'How was that?'
- (231) wi na sa ku -a -pö  
 INTER like 1:SG be -DUR -DESID  
 'How should I be?' or 'What should I do?'
- (232) wi na wa ku -a -ö  
 INTER like 2:SG be -DUR -NONASP  
 'How are you?' or 'What is it that ails you?'

**10.1.4 Questions regarding number.** The manner interrogative *wi na/mi na* 'how?' is used to question number.

- (233) wi na kili -i, po a pi kule  
 INTER like be -INDEF machete 3:SG want PRES  
 'How many machetes does he want?'
- (234) wi na po a ku -i -i,  
 INTER like machete 3:SG be -CUST -INDEF  
 po a pi kule  
 machete 3:SG want PRES  
 'How many machetes does he want?' or  
 'What kind of a machete does he want?'

(235) wi na te ku -i -i -ki  
 INTER like 3:SG be -CUST -INDEF -CNFRM  
 'How many?'

(236) wi na kili -i, makö hu pia kule  
 INTER like be -INDEF 2:PL go intend PRES  
 'How many of you are about to go?'

**10.1.5 Questions regarding time.** To question time in general, the manner interrogative *wi na* is used. For the time of day, the position of the sun is used as the reference point, and a locative phrase with the interrogative *witi ha* 'where?' is used. When reckoning by days or moons, the manner *wi na* is used.

(237) wi na te ku -to tehe, wa ko -pi  
 INTER like 3:SG be -FOC TEMP 2:SG return -FOC  
 'When is it you return?'

(238) witi ha motokö ku -to tehe, wa ko -pi  
 INTER at sun be -FOC TEMP 2:SG return -FOC  
 'Where will the sun be when you return?' or  
 'When will you return?' or 'What time of day will you return?'

(239) wi na te mumi ku -to tehe, wa  
 INTER like 3:SG night be -FOC TEMP 2:SG  
  
 ko -pi pia salo  
 return -FOC intend RES  
 'In how many days do you intend to return?'

(240) wi na pilipoma ku -to tehe, wa  
 INTER like moon be -FOC TEMP 2:SG  
  
 ko -pi pia salo  
 return -FOC intend RES  
 'In how many moons do you intend to return?'

(241) wi na pilipoma wa hasu -pa -ma -nö  
 INTER like moon 2:SG pass -EXT -CAUS -FOC

nö, wa ko -pi  
SEQ 2:SG return -FOC

'In how many moons are you returning?' or

'Having caused to pass by how many moons, you return?'

**10.1.6 Questions regarding location.** There are two ways of questioning location: 1) with an interrogative locative phrase consisting of the interrogative *witi* plus the locative *ha* 'at, to, in', or 2) with a locative phrase in which there is an existence clause introduced by the interrogative *wi* plus *na* 'like' and ending with locative *paha* 'at place where'. The first is by far the more common way of questioning location.

(242) witi ha a pili -a kule  
INTER at 3:SG live -DUR PRES  
'Where is he living?'

(243) witi hamö makö hu pia kule  
INTER to 2:PL go intend PRES  
'Where are you all going?'

(244) wi na te ku -o paha  
INTER like 3:SG be -PUNCT at:place:where/where  
'Where is it?'

(245) wi na te ku -o paha  
INTER like 3:SG be -PUNCT at:place:where

wa nini -a kule  
2:SG hurt -DUR PRES  
'Where are you hurting?'

(246) wi na ku -o paha ösö hu  
INTER like be -PUNCT where CLASS go

waiki -a kule  
already -DUR PRES  
'At what point is the plane?' or 'Where is the plane?'

(247) wi na te ku -o paha töpö  
INTER like 3:SG be -PUNCT where 3:PL



kō -a hei -lö tasö -ma  
 return -DUR away -FOC LOC -CMPL  
 'At what place was it that they were retrieved?'

### 10.1.7 Questions regarding cause

(248) wi na te ku -a -ö ha, wa hīso  
 INTER like 3:SG be -DUR -NONASP at 2:SG angry  
 'Why is it you are angry?'

(249) wi na te ku -a -ö ha, wa  
 INTER like 3:SG be -DUR -NONASP at 2:SG

tokö -so -lö -ma  
 flee -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
 'Why did you flee?'

(250) wi na wa pi ku salo, wa ku ke  
 INTER like 2:SG inside say because 2:SG say IP  
 'Why did you say (that)?'

**10.1.8 Questions regarding an additional item.** The interrogative *kini* 'And . . . ?/And what about . . . ?' occurs immediately following the item which is an addition to what is clear by context. This interrogative is used in a construction which has no verb.

(251) kawa hai kini  
 2:SG SPECFR INTER  
 'And what about you? (Aren't you going to eat with us?)'

(252) hi kini  
 this INTER  
 'And what about this one?'

(253) hena te kini . . . ai te  
 tomorrow 3:SG INTER another 3:SG

hena te kini  
 tomorrow TEMP INTER  
 'And what about the next day? . . . And the day after that?'

**10.1.9 Specialized use of the interrogative *witi*.** There is a specialized use of the interrogative *witi* in which it occurs alone and is used not so much to

gain information, but to ask that a certain object be given over to the speaker.

- (254) witi  
 INTER  
 'Where?' or 'What?' or  
 'Show me/give me the thing which you are talking about.'

**10.2 Polar (yes-no) questions.** Polar (yes-no) questions are marked by the absence of interrogative words and the lack of sentence final glottal stop.

Polar questions may consist of a whole sentence, a clause, a phrase, or, in rare cases, the tense-modality marker within the verb. The response may be an affirmative or negative word, with or without the elements mentioned above (whole sentence, clause, phrase, etc.). The response words are *awai* 'yes' and *ma* 'no'.

- (255a) hapoka        wa        naka        kupili  
 cooking:pot 2:SG ask:for DP  
 'Did you ask for a cooking pot?'

- (255b) hapoka        wa        naka        ke  
 cooking:pot 2:SG ask:for IP  
 'Did you (just now) ask for a cooking pot?'

- (255c) hapoka        wa        naka        kite  
 cooking:pot 2:SG ask:for FUT  
 'Will you ask for a cooking pot?'

- (256) ipa    ulu    a  
 my    child 3:SG  
 'My child?'

- (257) kawa -nö  
 2:SG -AG  
 'You (did it)?'

- (258) au    sai    pö    hamö    -kö  
 your house 3:PL to    -CNFRM  
 'To your house?'

- (259) ola            hamö  
 upstream at  
 'Upstream?'

The following dialogue exemplifies the use of just the tense-modality marker of the verb in the question.

- (260) First speaker: töpö hu -la        -so        -lö        kupili  
 3:PL go -EXT -FOC -DIR DP  
 'Did they go (yesterday or before)?'

Second speaker: kupili  
 DP  
 'Yesterday or before?'

First speaker: awai  
 yes  
 'Yes.'

It should be noted that usually a yes or no response affirms or negates the form in which the question was made. Thus, in *hapoka wa naka ma ke* 'You didn't ask for a cooking pot?', if the response to this negative question is *awai* 'yes', it means 'Yes, I did not ask for a cooking pot.'

## 11 Imperatives

The regular imperative construction is marked by certain morphological restrictions and modifications in the verb, by the absence of nouns in the subject, by the restriction of the personal pronouns, by stress considerations, and by a special negative imperative form. Imperatives cannot occur with descriptive stative verbs.

Degree of peremptoriness in the imperative is indicated by stress, the more peremptory shown by stress on the final syllable of the verb, and the lesser by stress on the penultimate.

Beside the regular imperative, there are three imperative-like constructions: hortative, implorative, and negative.

### 11.1 The regular imperative construction

**11.1.1 Morphological restrictions and modifications in the imperative.** In the regular imperative, there are no verb-final markers showing tense, degree of knowledge, and degree of fulfillment. One marker, *-pö*, indicating

desired fulfillment, is used for the hortative imperative-like construction discussed in 11.2.1.

In the imperative (as in subordinate sequential clauses), the change focus *-so* becomes *-lo* or *-to*; *-pi* becomes *-po* or *-pa*; *-ki* becomes *-kö*; and *-li* becomes *-lö*.

(261a) a     noka    -so    -lö    -ma  
           3:SG follow -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
           ‘She followed.’

(261b) a     noka    -lo    -lö  
           3:SG follow -FOC -DIR  
           ‘Follow.’

(262a) a     noma    -so    -ma  
           3:SG die    -FOC -CMPL  
           ‘He died.’

(262b) a     noma    hai     -to  
           3:SG die    quickly -FOC  
           ‘Hurry up and die.’

(263a) a     itho     -pa    -so    kite  
           3:SG descend -EXT -FOC FUT  
           ‘He will descend.’

(263b) a     itho     -pa    -lo  
           3:SG descend -EXT -FOC  
           ‘Descend.’

(264a) a     ko        -ta    -pi  
           3:SG return -EXT -FOC  
           ‘He returns.’

(264b) a     ko        -ta    -po  
           3:SG return -EXT -FOC  
           ‘Return.’

(265a) a     se        -pi    kite  
           3:SG hit -FOC FUT  
           ‘(He) will hit him.’

- (265b) a     se   -pa  
 3:SG hit   -FOC  
 ‘Hit him.’
- (266a) a     pili         -ki     pia     salo  
 3:SG lie:down -FOC intend RES  
 ‘She intends to lie down.’
- (266b) a     pili         -kö  
 3:SG lie:down -FOC  
 ‘Lie down.’
- (267a) a     nia     -pa     -li  
 3:SG shoot -EXT -FOC  
 ‘(He) shoots it.’
- (267b) a     nia     -pa     -lö  
 3:SG shoot -EXT -FOC  
 ‘Shoot it.’

The location morphemes *taso* ‘inland’ and *laso* ‘up, across’ change to *-tö* and *-lö* in imperative constructions (as well as in the sequential construction and in the temporal construction with the temporal marker *tehe/te*).

- (268a) paluli    a     nia     -pa     -lö     taso    -ma  
 curassow 3:SG shoot -EXT -FOC LOC -CMPL  
 ‘(He) shot a curassow in the forest.’
- (268b) paluli    a     nia     -pa     -lö     -tö  
 curassow 3:SG shoot -EXT -FOC -LOC  
 ‘Shoot a curassow in the forest.’
- (269a) paluli    a     nia     -pa     -lö     laso    -ma  
 curassow 3:SG shoot -EXT -FOC LOC -CMPL  
 ‘(He) shot a curassow upstream.’
- (269b) paluli    a     nia     -pa     -lö     -lö  
 curassow 3:SG shoot -EXT -FOC -LOC  
 ‘Shoot a curassow upstream.’

**11.1.2 Restriction of the personal pronoun in the imperative.** Semantically, the subject of the verb in the regular imperative is second person, but this does not have to be overtly expressed, although in the nontransitive

constructions more often than not it is expressed. When it is expressed, either the 3rd person or 2nd person pronouns are employed. This use of the 3rd person pronoun meaning 'you' is unique to the imperative. Following are examples of the use of the pronouns with the various verb classes.

The 3rd person pronoun is used for the stative, intransitive (except for speech verbs), and activity semitransitive verbs which are in the imperative.

- (270) a hīso pasi -o -ö  
3:SG angry separate -PUNCT -EXCLM  
'Go ahead and be mad!'
- (271) pö ökö nai -o -ö  
3:PL cry also -PUNCT -EXCLM  
'You all cry, too!'
- (272) pö kali -palo -ö  
3:PL work -REPET -EXCLM  
'You all work!'
- (273) a ia -ö  
3:SG eat:INTRANS -EXCLM  
'Eat!'
- (274) a mamo tete -a pasi pä -kö  
3:SG eye fix:on -DUR separate just -FOC:EXCLM  
'Just keep your eye on this!'

Either the 3rd person or 2nd person pronoun may be used for imperative speech verbs, motion verbs, and receptive verbs.

- (275) a ha -palo -ö / wa ha -palo -ö  
3:SG talk -REPET -EXCLM 2:SG talk -REPET -EXCLM  
'Talk!'
- (276) . . . a ku -u / . . . wa ku -u  
3:SG say -EXCLM 2:SG say -EXCLM  
'Say: . . .'

- (277) pö hasu -i -kö /  
 3:PL pass -? -FOC:EXCLM
- makö hasu -i -kö  
 2:PL pass -? -FOC:EXCLM  
 'Pass by!'
- (278) a noma hai -ta -lo -ö /  
 3:SG die quickly -EXT -FOC -EXCLM
- wa noma hai -ta -lo -ö  
 2:SG die quickly -EXT -FOC -EXCLM  
 'Hurry up and die!'

When the subject is expressed in transitive and ditransitive imperative constructions, only the 2nd person pronoun is used.

- (279) hi ti hanö -pa -lö /  
 wood CLASS saw -EXT -FOC:EXCLM
- hi ma ti hanö -pa -lö  
 wood 2:PL CLASS saw -EXT -FOC:EXCLM  
 '(You pl.) saw the wood!'
- (280) ma wa tu hike -ta -lö kölö  
 water 2:SG CLASS draw -EXT -FOC LOC:EXCLM  
 '(You sg.) go draw water down there!'

**11.1.3 Stress consideration in the imperative.** In the regular imperative, stress falls on the final syllable of the verb for peremptory commands and on the penultimate syllable for less peremptory commands. For peremptory commands the exclamatory particle *-ö* is added in the final syllable. When the vowel of the final syllable is already *-ö*, this vowel drops when the exclamatory *-ö* is added, and in this case this *-ö* is glided. When the final vowel is *-u*, the exclamatory *-ö* assimilates to *-u* (276, 285).

Even though stress is pointed out by the stress mark (') here, this does not appear in the normal writing of Sanuma. The final stress in the peremptory command is indicated by the exclamation point. (Exclamation in Sanuma always is indicated by stress on the sentence-final syllable and is indicated by an exclamation point.)

(281a) 'lopa  
fast  
'(Do it) fast.'

(281b) lo'pa-ö  
fast -EXCLM  
'(Do it) fast!'

(282) a ko -ta 'po -ö  
3:SG return -EXT -FOC -EXCLM  
'Return!'

(283a) salo a nia -pa 'lö -tö  
game 3:SG shoot -EXT -FOC -LOC  
'Shoot game out in the forest.'

(283b) salo a nia -pa -lö 'tö  
game 3:SG shoot -EXT -FOC -LOC:EXCLM  
'Shoot game out in the forest!'

(284a) a 'lo -i -kö  
3:SG sit -? -FOC  
'Sit.'

(284b) a lo -i 'kö  
3:SG sit -? -FOC:EXCLM  
'Sit!'

(285) ī naha wa ku 'u  
REL like 2:SG say -EXCLM  
'Say that!'

**11.1.4 Negative imperative.** The negative imperative, marked by clause-final *tihe*, refers to the prohibition of an action or state which could possibly take place. If the action or state has already taken place and there is an imperative-like reprimand, another construction with the negative *mai-kö* is used (sect. 11.2.3). The negative imperative marked by *tihe* has only the 3rd person pronoun for subject except for transitive and ditransitive constructions, which have the 2nd person. The stress considerations indicating peremptoriness mentioned in the above section apply to the negative imperatives as well.



(286a) a hīso pasi -o tihe  
 3:SG angry separate -PUNCT NEG:IMP  
 ‘Don’t be angry.’

(286b) a hīso pasi -o tihe -ö  
 3:SG angry separate -PUNCT NEG:IMP -EXCLM  
 ‘Don’t be angry!’

(287) a ku ko -ta tihe  
 3:SG say return -EXT NEG:IMP  
 ‘Don’t say that again.’

(288) hiima a nia tihe -ö  
 pet 3:SG shoot NEG:IMP -EXCLM  
 ‘Don’t shoot the pet!’

**11.2 Imperative-like constructions.** Unlike the regular imperative, which often uses the third person pronoun form when referring semantically to second person, the imperative-like constructions use only the second person pronoun form when referring to second person. There are three imperative-like constructions: the hortative, implorative, and negative.

**11.2.1 The hortative imperative-like construction.** The hortative has the aspect marker *-pöl/-pökö* (which is considered to be a desiderative marker, indicating desire or purpose, in constructions which semantically are obviously nonhortative) and can be translated ‘should, let’. All three persons may be used as subject. The negative occurs, but is not common.

(289) wa ia kō kōlö -pökö  
 2:SG eat return LOC -DESID  
 ‘You should eat again down there.’

(290) a pa hei -o -pö  
 3:SG lie behind -PUNCT -DESID  
 ‘It should lie here behind’ or ‘Let it lie here behind.’

(291) waiha ma oa -lö -pö  
 later 1:PL:INCL eat -FOC -DESID  
 ‘Let’s eat it later.’

- (292) huki Simatai ha makö kō -a  
 today Simatai at 1:PL:INCL/2:PL return/arrive -DUR  
 soa -pö -lö -pö  
 immediately -FOC -DIR -DESID  
 'We/you (pl.) should arrive at Simatai right away today' or  
 'Let's arrive at Simatai right away today.'
- (293) masulu -kö pösö ha sa nako -pö  
 beads -DL apron REFRNT 1:SG ask:for -DESID  
 'I should ask for a bead apron' or  
 'Let me ask for a bead apron.'
- (294) wa hu ma -pö  
 2:SG go NEG -DESID  
 'You shouldn't go.'
- (295) . . . sa te ku hini ma -pökö  
 1:SG 3:SG say hear NEG -DESID  
 'Don't let me hear . . .'

**11.2.2 The implorative imperative-like construction.** There is an idiomatic expression which seems to function as an implorative, in which the negative *mi* is used, followed by the relator *salo* 'purpose, result', which is sentence final. In this idiomatic expression the intonation pattern is unique, the final *salo* having a higher tone than the preceding negative *mi*.

- (296) ipa po wa toto -a hai -o mi salo  
 my machete 2:SG give -DUR quickly -PUNCT NEG RES  
 'Why don't you give me a machete quickly' or  
 'Give me a machete quickly.'
- (297) ipa sai pö hamö wa hama -mo mi salo  
 my house 3:PL at 2:SG visitor -act NEG RES  
 'Why don't you visit at my house' or 'Visit at my house.'

**11.2.3 The negative imperative-like construction.** The negative imperative-like construction is marked by the negative *mai* plus the confirmative clitic *-kö/-ki* and, unlike the regular negative imperative, this prohibition refers more to a state or action already accomplished or in progress and acts more as a reprimand.

- (298) — hapo — wa ku mai -kö  
 come 2:SG say NEG -CNFRM  
 ‘Don’t say, “Come” (as you just did).’
- (299) hokö -a -talo mai -kö  
 rise:up -DUR -REPET NEG -CNFRM  
 ‘Don’t keep rising up.’
- (300) wa pili -ti -o mai -kö  
 2:SG lie -CONT -PUNCT NEG -CNFRM  
 ‘Don’t continue to lie down.’
- (301) wa wani komö -ti mai -kö  
 2:SG DEPR call -CONT NEG -CNFRM  
 ‘Don’t keep calling.’

## 12 Negation

Sentence negation is expressed by either one of two negatives, *ma* or *mi*. The negative imperative marker *tihē* has been discussed in sect. 11.1.4. Both *ma* and *mi* can be verb stems in their own right, but can also be introduced into the verb phrase as modifiers of the head.

**12.1 The negatives as verb stems.** The negatives may be used as stative verbs. *Ma* is a negative existence (copular) verb, while *mi*, structurally, fits in with the descriptive verbs and indicates ‘zero, none’ in terms of numbers or quantity.

- (302) kutiata a ma -ne  
 canoe 3:SG NEG -PRES  
 ‘There is not a canoe.’
- (303a) pole kökö satehe  
 dog 3:DL many  
 ‘There are many dogs.’
- (303b) pole a mi  
 dog 3:SG NEG  
 ‘There are no dogs.’

**12.2 The negatives as modifiers of the verb.** When used as modifiers of the verb, it is difficult to define a semantic difference between the negatives

*ma* and *mi*, but there are restrictions as to which aspects and markers may occur with each.

In general, the negative modifiers immediately precede the verb-final aspect markers, with other verb affixes preceding the negative. There are rare cases where *ma* and *mi* seem to form part of the verb stem or at least be so closely united to the verb head that other modifiers follow the negative instead of preceding it. In these cases, the affixes following the negative modify the verb plus the negative and not just the verb. The only examples we have of these cases are with the verb *taö* 'to know'.

- (304) sa te taö ma hai -a -talo  
1:SG 3:SG know NEG quickly -DUR -REPET

opa -wö  
INTNSF -S:EMPH  
'I forget it quickly.'

- (305) sa te taö mi ipö pasi  
1:SG 3:SG know NEG INTNSF separate  
'I, unlike others, don't know it.'

- (306) sa wasamo taö mi ipö pasi sai  
1:SG talk:ceremonially know NEG INTNSF separate really  
'I, unlike others, really don't know how to do the ceremonial talk.'

**12.2.1 The negative modifier *ma*.** The negative *ma* can occur with all the aspects except *matimö* 'possible fulfillment'. When occurring with the degree of knowledge aspects, the *ku-* indicating 'eye-witness' is dropped, except in *kule* 'present' and *ke* 'immediate past'; in these two cases the *ku-* and *k-* are optional.

- (307) sa hōla ma -ne / sa hōla ma kule  
1:SG fight NEG -PRES 1:SG fight NEG PRES  
'I am not fighting.'

- (308) sa hōla ma -e / sa hōla ma ke  
1:SG fight NEG -IP 1:SG fight NEG IP  
'I was not fighting just now.'

- (309) masulu kökö toto ma -ma  
beads 3:DL give NEG -CMPL  
'(He) didn't give any beads.'

With description and emotion verbs, the negative for present and future time must be accompanied by *kite* 'future/supposition'. In these cases the negative *ma* becomes *mai*.

(310) tute mai kite  
new NEG SUPPOS  
'It is not new.'

(311) po a ha samakö umi mai kite  
machete 3:SG REFRNT 1:PL:EXCL stingy NEG SUPPOS  
'We are not stingy with machetes.'

(312) po a niha sa pi  
machete 3:SG REFRNT 1:SG inside  
  
waiso mai kite  
desire NEG FUT/SUPPOS  
'I don't covet/will not covet a machete.'

**12.2.2 The negative modifier *mi*.** The negative *mi* does not occur with the completive or the tense-modality markers such as present, past witnessed, completive, future, and probability, but it does occur with the subordinating relators.

(313) wa hu mi ipö kuteenö, . . .  
2:SG go NEG INTNSF being:that  
'Being that you never go, . . .'

(314) wa hu mi salo  
2:SG go NEG RES  
'Why don't you go, you should.' (idiomatic)

(315) wa hu mi tehe, . . .  
2:SG go NEG during  
'During the time you don't go, . . .'

There is one case in which either *ma* or *mi* can occur: with the conjunction *ha* and the existence verb in a subordinate clause, when the main clause is in past tense. In this case, the conjunction has two different meanings: a temporal meaning with *ma* and a cause meaning with *mi*.

(316a) kawa ku -a ma -ö ha, . . .  
 2:SG be -DUR NEG -NONASP when  
 'When you weren't there, . . .'

(316b) kawa ku -a mi ha, . . .  
 2:SG be -DUR NEG because  
 'Because you weren't there, . . .'

**12.2.3 Option of *ma* or *mi*.** When there is no aspect following the negative, *mi* is the negative used, except with the experience verbs ('know, see, like, hear'), where there is the option of either *mi* or *ma*. One Sanuma said that using *mi* in this case was 'Waika speech' (another dialect of Yanomami), but its usage is very common among the Sanuma.

(317) a sipönapö hai -o mi,  
 3:SG pregnant quickly -PUNCT NEG  
  
 hai -o mi, hai -o mi  
 quickly -PUNCT NEG quickly -PUNCT NEG  
 'She goes on without getting pregnant quickly.'

(318) hote tiso ku -o mi  
 old path be -PUNCT NEG  
 'There is no old path.'

(319) tiki -a mi  
 sit:off:ground -DUR NEG  
 '(He) is not sitting (on branch of tree).'

(320) thoo thoto se kule maaki, noma mi  
 vine CLASS hit PRES even:though die NEG  
 'Although (they) pound the (poisonous) vine, (the fish) don't die.'

(321) ī naha te ku tehe, samakö kali -palo mi  
 REL like 3:SG say while 1:PL:EXCL work -REPET NEG  
 'While he says that, we do not work.'

(322) . . . ī naha wa ku mi  
 REL like 2:SG say NEG  
 '. . . you don't say like that.'

- (323) pu u tha kule maaki,  
 honey CLASS do PRES even:though
- pu wa u oa -ö mi  
 honey 2:SG CLASS eat -NONASP NEG  
 'Even though you prepare honey, you don't eat honey.'

Following are examples of the negative with experience verbs, in which there is the option of the use of either *ma* or *mi*.

- (324) sa te taö mi / sa te taö ma  
 1:SG 3:SG know NEG 1:SG 3:SG know NEG  
 'I don't know it.'

- (325) ta -pa mi / ta -pa ma  
 see -EXT NEG see -EXT NEG  
 '(I) don't see (it).'

- (326) sa te pi mi / sa te pi ma  
 1:SG 3:SG like NEG 1:SG 3:SG like NEG  
 'I don't like it.'

- (327) sa te hini mi / sa te hini ma  
 1:SG 3:SG hear NEG 1:SG 3:SG hear NEG  
 'I don't hear it.'

**12.3 Constituent negation.** Constituents other than the verb may be negativized by the use of the idiomatic expression *kuno mai* 'to be evidently not'. The constituents may be nouns, adverbs, or postpositional phrases.

- (328) soli a ku -o kölö -pili na,  
 brother:in:law 3:SG be -PUNCT LOC -DP like
- soli a pata hai ku -no mai, ipa  
 brother:in:law 3:SG AUG SPECFR be -EVID NEG my
- hoose a wai ku -o kölö -pili na, . . .  
 younger:brother 3:SG DIMIN be -PUNCT LOC -DP like  
 'Just like my brother-in-law was down there—not my brother-in-law  
 —just like my younger brother was down there, . . .'

- (329) kamisa -nō ku -no mai -ō  
 1:SG -AG be -EVID NEG -EXCLM  
 'It wasn't I (who did it)!'

 (330) po a ku -no mai  
 machete 3:SG be -EVID NEG  
 'Not a machete.'

 (331) opii ku -no mai  
 slowly be -EVID NEG  
 'Not slowly.'

 (332) waiha ku -no mai  
 later be -EVID NEG  
 'Not later.'

 (333) ī naha ku -no mai  
 REL like be -EVID NEG  
 'Not like that.'

 (334) Sanōma tōpō sai niha ku -no mai  
 Sanuma 3:PL house at be -EVID NEG  
 'Not at the Sanuma house.'

**12.4 Negation of subordinate clauses.** Subordinate clauses may be negativized by means of the regular negatives, or by means of the idiomatic negative expression, in which case the meaning is slightly different.

**12.4.1 Subordinate clauses negated by means of the regular negatives.** The regular negatives *ma/mai* and *mi* may be used to negate any subordinate clause. When the subordinate clause is negated in this way, the main clause also may be negated.

- (335) makō hama sutu -a -palo pasi -o mi  
 2:PL visit dash -DUR -REPET separate -PUNCT NEG  
 tehe, pole ma taō pasi -o mai kite  
 when dog 2:PL know separate -PUNCT NEG FUT  
 'When you don't get out fast and visit like others, you won't know (own) a dog.'

Quotations, which are considered to be a type of subordinate clause, may contain negatives either in the quote or in the quote tag, or in both.



(336) — a hu kite — ī naha sa pi  
 3:SG go FUT REL like 1:SG inside

ku mi  
 say NEG  
 'I don't think he will go.'

(337) — a hu mai kite — ī naha sa  
 3:SG go NEG FUT REL like 1:SG

pi ku -u  
 inside say -NONASP  
 'I think he won't go.'

(338) — a hu mai kite — ī naha sa  
 3:SG go NEG FUT REL like 1:SG

pi ku mi  
 inside say NEG  
 'I don't think he won't go' or 'I think he will go.'

**12.4.2 Subordinate clauses negated by means of *kuno mai*.** The idiomatic expression *kuno mai* 'to be evidently not', may be used to negate location, time, manner, sequential, or gerundive subordinate clauses. In these cases, the speaker corrects a supposition which he feels the hearer has, or might have, in mind.

(339) pu ola ku -la te ku -no mai . . .  
 sweet:liquid top be -EXT when be -EVID NEG  
 'It wasn't when there was honey . . .'

(340) uli ha ipa sa kai hu -a -talo -la  
 forest in my 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT go -DUR -REPET -EXT

nö, ku -no mai  
 SEQ be -EVID NEG  
 'It wasn't after my having led about my (child) in the forest.'

(341) töpö pi ku wi ku -no mai  
 3:PL inside say INDEF be -EVID NEG  
 'It wasn't their thinking (thus).'

## 12.5 Special uses of the negative

**12.5.1 The double negative.** Two negatives may occur contiguously in the main clause and the result is a positive statement.

(342) ku -a mi mai kite  
 be -DUR NEG NEG SUPPOS/FUT  
 'There is some.'

(343) sa ku mi mai kite  
 1:SG say NEG NEG SUPPOS/FUT  
 'I say.'

(344) sa hu mi mai kite  
 1:SG go NEG NEG SUPPOS/FUT  
 'I go' or 'I will go.'

**12.5.2 Negative form with positive meaning.** When the context prohibits ambiguity, sometimes the negative form is used to convey a positive meaning. When the regular negatives *ma* or *mi* are used, they are usually lengthened.

(345) Question: — wa ohi -kö —  
 2:SG hungry -CNFRM  
 'Are you hungry?'

Answer: — sa ohi mai -kö / ma —  
 1:SG hungry NEG -CNFRM / NEG  
 '(Certainly) I'm hungry.'

(346) wa hu pasi -ti -o ku -no mai  
 2:SG go separate -CONT -PUNCT be -EVID NEG  
 'It is certainly evident that you keep traveling around—not like others.'

(347) ma tu kase paimi ku -no mai  
 water CLASS edge overgrown be -EVID NEG  
 'The bank of the river surely was overgrown.'

**12.5.3 Negative expressing bewilderment.** With questions, the idiomatic negative expression *kuno mai* 'evidently not being' is used to convey bewilderment.

- (348) witi hamö ku -no mai  
 INTER LOC be -EVID NEG  
 ‘Where (could he have gone)?’
- (349) wi naha ku -no mai  
 INTER like be -EVID NEG  
 ‘How (could it possibly be)?’
- (350) ī ka pi te te -a  
 REL what PRTCLZR 3:SG take -DUR
- asa -lö -ma ku -no mai  
 exclusive -FOC -CMPL be -EVID NEG  
 ‘What could he possibly have received that others didn’t?’

### 13 Anaphora

Anaphora takes place chiefly through the use of pronouns. Deletion is treated in sect. 3. Pronouns are specific, general, and characteristic classifier pronouns (sect. 16.1), personal pronouns (sect. 16.2), demonstratives (sect. 16.4), and relative pronouns (sect. 16.5).

The indefinite pronoun *pi* followed by the *naha* ‘like’ is an example of backward anaphora, and in rare instances the relative pronoun *ī* followed by *naha* ‘like’ is also used cataphorically (433, 434).

### 14 Subordinate clauses

The following description of subordinate clauses is based on structural considerations, primarily the position of the clauses in relation to the main clause. There is juxtaposition, chaining, embedding, and merging of the subordinate and main clauses.

Adverbial subordinate clauses are described in sects. 14.1–2 and 14.4.1; subject, object, and indirect object complement clauses are found in sects. 14.3 and 14.4.2; the citation clause is discussed in sect. 14.5; and the relative clause is treated separately in sect. 15.3.2.

**14.1 Subordinate clauses juxtaposed to main clause with subordinating relators and rising intonation.** One type of subordinate clause is that which is juxtaposed to the main clause, always preceding it. This type is marked by a clause-final subordinating relator, or in one case by the ‘completive’ *-ma* with the rising intonation common to all subordinate clauses. There are

three types of juxtaposed subordinate clauses, expressing a relationship which is either temporal, locative, or logical. (There is also an indefinite subordinate clause used in relative constructions and in nominalizations and treated in sects. 15.3.2 and 15.4.) The relator *ha* can express either a temporal, locative, or logical relationship, and the relator *paha* can express either a temporal or locative relationship.

**14.1.1 Juxtaposed subordinate clauses with a temporal relationship.** The tense, degree of knowledge, and location markers do not occur with the time relators in this type of subordinate clause, with one exception: the completive aspect *-ma* can occur with *tehe* ‘when, during’ when expressing subsequent action (exs. 357, 358). In these temporal subordinate clauses, the tense of the subordinate clause is known from the tense of the main clause.

The temporal relationships of the subordinate clauses to the main clause are labeled here as simultaneous, prior, subsequent, sequential, and perfect action. In the prior and subsequent relationships, it is the action or state of the main clause which is prior or subsequent to that of the subordinate clause; in the sequential, it is the action of the main clause which follows as a sequence to that of the subordinate clause.

Simultaneous action is expressed either by the relator *tehe* ‘during the time when, when,’ or the relator *paha/pa* ‘at the time when, as, while’. (See (376, 377) in sect. 14.1.2 for *paha* indicating also a locative relationship, with the gloss ‘at the place where’.)

(351) hisa ha kamisaku -a tehe, töpö  
here LOC 1:SG be -DUR during 3:PL

thomö -mo mai kite  
steal -PRFRM NEG FUT  
‘When I am here, they will not steal.’

(352) sa ose tehe, witi ha sa kai  
1:SG young when INTER LOC 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT

pili -o -ma  
live -PUNCT -CMPL  
‘When I was young, where did I live with (parents)?’

(353) samakö hu halu -ti pa, te halu -so  
1:PL:EXCL go at:night -CONT while 3:SG to:dawn -FOC  
‘While we are traveling at night, it dawns.’

(354) a kai wani telulu -a -ti  
 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT DEPR dance:back:and:forth -DUR -CONT

paha, a ohi wani utiti -po  
 while 3:SG hungry DEPR weak -FOC

opa -ima taso  
 INTNSF -DIR LOC

'While she is dancing back and forth with (the man), the hungry one becomes weaker and weaker.'

Prior action or state is expressed by the adverb *pali/pai* 'before' plus the negative *mi* with the relator *tehe* 'when' or the negative *mai* with the relator *ha* 'upon, when'. (See also 640, 641.)

(355) Sanöma töpö ku -a pai -a mi tehe,  
 Sanuma 3:PL be -DUR before -DUR NEG when

hi masita te uli ku -o  
 this dirt 3:SG region be -PUNCT

soma -ti -o -ma  
 first -CONT -PUNCT -CMPL

'During the time before there were any people, the earth existed first.'

(356) simone -a pali -a mai ha, te  
 revolve -DUR before -DUR NEG when 3:SG

su -a ke  
 take -DUR IP

'(The recorder) recorded/took it (the talk) before it revolved.'

Subsequent action is expressed by the completive aspect *-ma* plus *tehe* 'when', by *ha* 'at the point of', or by the indefinite perfective aspect *noai* plus *ha* 'upon, when'. (See also 642–648.)

(357) ī te a -su -lö -ma tehe,  
 REL 3:SG leave -FOC -DIR -CMPL when

sii sa tho -kö su -a  
hammock 1:SG CLASS -DL take -DUR

le -o kölö  
meeting -PUNCT LOC

'When he had/has gone, I move in and take a hammock.'

- (358) öla a tu -o -ima -ma tehe, maa  
jaguar 3:SG climb -PUNCT -DIR -CMPL when rock

ma pata ha öla a  
CLASS AUG on jaguar 3:SG

haoti -pa -ma -nö -ma  
split:open -EXT -CAUS -FOC -CMPL

'When the jaguar had climbed up, (they) split the jaguar open on the rock.'

- (359) ma te ma -ta -so noai ha,  
water 3:SG not:be -EXT -FOC INDEF:PERF upon

sa kali -palo kō kite  
1:SG work -REPET return FUT

'After the rain has stopped, I'll work again.'

- (360) wa namo hu a -so -lö noai  
2:SG hunt go leave -FOC -DIR INDEF:PERF

ha, au nao a wani ha huama  
upon your mother 3:SG DEPR AUD converse

hisa hāto -ma  
at:home secret -CMPL

'After you had gone out hunting, your mother conversed secretly at home.'

Sequential action is expressed in the following four ways: with the sequential marker *-nö*, with the temporal relator *ha*, with rising intonation on the completive *-ma*, and with the indefinite or participial relator *wi*. Semantically, there is little difference between sequential and subsequent action. Structurally, there may be a series of sequential subordinate clauses; this is not true of clauses expressing subsequent action.

Although the relators *nö* ‘having . . .’ and *ha* ‘when, upon’ are glossed differently, their meaning is very nearly the same, and the notable difference in the usage of the two is that *ha* indicates a change of subject in the following sequential or main clause. (See (451) in sect. 14.6 for a series of clauses marked by *nö* and *ha* in the same sentence. Also see sect. 15.3.1 for an explanation of the classifier *te* preceding, instead of following, the noun in (361).)

(361) *ī* *ti* *-ki* *tuse* *-a* *kō* *pai* *-kö* *nö*,  
REL trees -DL chop -DUR return first -FOC SEQ

*tete* *-to* *tehe,* *te* *uli* *wakō* *umö* *-a*  
long:time -FOC when 3:SG area set:fire:to -DUR

*ko* *-ma* *-ki.* *te* *uli* *wakō* *umö* *-a*  
return -CAUS -FOC 3:SG area set:fire:to -DUR

*ko* *-ma* *-kö* *nö,* *te* *uli* *mano*  
return -CAUS -FOC SEQ 3:SG area bald

*ko* *-kö* *-ma* *tehe,* *nasö* *ösö* *tö* *-ki*  
return -FOC -CMPL when manioc CLASS plant -FOC

‘Having first chopped down those trees again, when it becomes a long time, I set fire to the area again. Having set fire to the area again, when the area has become bald again, I plant manioc.’

(362) *sa* *pata* *toti* *-lo* *nö,* *hisemö* *sa* *wälä*  
1:SG AUG good -FOC SEQ to:here 1:SG travel:down

*nömö* *-pa* *-lo* *nö,* *hi* *sa* *ku* *-a*  
next -EXT -FOC SEQ here 1:SG be -DUR

*soa* *kule*  
still PRES

‘Having grown really big, having next traveled down to here, I am still here.’

(363) *ma* *te* *ma* *-ta* *-so* *-ö* *ha,* *sa*  
rain 3:SG end -EXT -FOC -NONASP when 1:SG

kali -palo kō kite  
 work -REPET return FUT  
 'When it stops raining, I'll work again.'

- (364) ipa hao te noma -so -ö ha, ki hamö  
 my father 3:SG die -FOC -NONASP when that LOC
- sa hu -a ko -na -so -lö -ma  
 1:SG go -DUR return -EXT -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
 'When my father died, I went back over there again.'

There is an idiomatic construction using the sequential *nö*, to which is usually suffixed the confirmative marker *-kö*, in which there are tense-verification aspects, but in which there are no juxtaposed clauses following in the same sentence. Examples are included here to show this idiomatic usage of the sequential *-nö*, in which the next action or state in sequence is not expressed.

- (365) sa hu pasi -a kule nö -kö  
 1:SG go separate -DUR PRES SEQ -CNFRM  
 'Of course I go (and don't do something else).'
- (366) te ku kupili nö -kö  
 3:SG say DP SEQ -CNFRM  
 'He did say it.'
- (367) ī naha sa ku thali nö -kö  
 REL like 1:SG say VERIF:DP SEQ -CNFRM  
 'That's what I've been saying.'

The third means of expressing sequential action, not as common as the above two, is by the use of the completive aspect *ma* with rising intonation. With this construction, the sequential feature is translated by 'after, and then'. (See (193) for the completive *-ma* being used in a series of coordinate constructions which do not convey a sequence. It might be possible to interpret the constructions in the following examples as coordinate, but we have not done so because the usage of *-ma* here parallels so closely that of the other sequential relators which are clearly subordinate markers.) In none of the examples available for this construction is there a completive or past tense marker in the main clause. If the verb in the main clause is future or present (not historical present as in 368, 369), the *-ma* indicates not only sequential action, but also condition (sect. 14.1.3, exs. 379b and 380).



(368) pepala Koima niha a noka soa -so  
 older:brother Koima REFRNT 3:SG follow immediately -FOC

-lö -ma, a ku -ti -a kölö -a  
 -DIR -CMPL 3:SG be -CONT -DUR LOC -DUR  
 'After he followed older brother Koima, he continues to be down there.'

(369) ipa sai ha sa husu -so -ma, isalo pi  
 my house LOC 1:SG leave -FOC -CMPL Isalo Pi

ha sa sakö -a soa -ki taso  
 to 1:SG go:between:hills -DUR right:away -FOC LOC  
 'I left my house, and then right away I go to the Isalo Pi Valley.'

The fourth way of expressing sequential action is through the indefinite marker *wi*, which is clause final. This marker is labeled 'indefinite' because it is more generally used in relative and nominalization constructions without reference to aspect or sequence. (See sects. 15.3.2.1 and 15.4.) Also, unlike the other subordinating relators, *wi* never occurs in a fragmentary sentence in which the main clause is deleted. In the examples below, even though the clause with *wi* is translated as a participial construction, the action is not simultaneous with that of the main clause, and it is treated as a sequential marker, although the idea of sequence is not as prominent as it is with the other sequence markers.

(370) hise ha sa a -su -lö wi, hi  
 here from 1:SG leave -FOC -DIR INDEF this

pola komo ha sa ku -a soa -ta -ki  
 rapids bottom at 1:SG be -DUR right:away -EXT -FOC  
 'Leaving from here, I arrive right away here at the rapids.'

(371) hise ha samakö asu -lö wi, pola komo  
 here from 1:PL.EXCL leave -DIR INDEF rapids bottom

pata ha ī ha kutiata sama lekö -a soa  
 AUG at REL at canoe 1:PL.EXCL drag -DUR right:away

-pa -li wi, kutiata sama hila -ta  
 -EXT -FOC INDEF canoe 1:PL:EXCL put:on:ground -EXT

kölö nō, īsa sama āi halo hila  
 LOC SEQ manioc 1:PL:EXCL CLASS wrap place:on

tole -a pai -a -ki kölö -ō  
 beyond -DUR first -DUR -FOC LOC -NONASP

'Leaving from here, dragging the canoe right away at the bottom of the rapids, having put the canoe on land down there, we first put the wrapped manioc flour on the ground down there.'

Perfect aspect refers to an action which has taken place in the past and which continues on into the present. There are ways to express this type of action or state within one independent clause (sect. 18.1.2.2 on *thai/thali*), but another way is to employ a subordinate clause, with the verb *ku-* 'be' in the main clause expressing the fact that this former condition still exists.

Positive perfect action may be expressed by the use of a sequential construction with the completive *-ma* in the subordinate clause (see above), with the main clause introduced by the manner phrase *ī naha* 'like that'.

(372) sutu ha ī naha a wani ku -o -ma,  
 long:ago TEMP REL like 3:SG DEPR be -PUNCT -CMPL

ī naha a ku -a soa kule  
 REL like 3:SG be -DUR still PRES

'Long ago he was like that, and he still is like that' or  
 'He has been like that for a long time.'

Negative perfect action employs the negative *mai*, with or without the relator *ha* 'upon, when'.

(373) Simatai hamō sa hu mai, sa  
 Simatai to 1:SG go NEG 1:SG

ku -a soa kule  
 be -DUR still PRES

'I haven't been going to Simatai.'

(Lit: 'I not go to Simatai, I am still.')

(374) hena te sai tehe oa mai ha,  
 early 3:SG really TEMP eat NEG TEMP

sa ku -a soa -ti -a kule  
 1:SG be -DUR still -CONT -DUR PRES  
 'I have not eaten today.' (Lit: 'Upon not eating really early in the morning, I still continue to be.')

#### 14.1.2 Juxtaposed subordinate clauses with a locative relationship.

Subordinate clauses with a locative relationship are marked by the clause-final relators *ha/hamö* 'at, in, by, where' when the verb has a 'witnessed' tense-modality marker; otherwise, the locative relationship is marked by the relators *paha/pahamö* 'at place where' (or the contracted forms *pa/pamö*).

(375) maka maka te ku -le ha, ī  
 sand 3:SG be -PRES:LOC where REL

ha samakö ku -a soa -ki  
 LOC 1:PL:EXCL be -DUR right:away -FOC  
 'Right away we stay there (overnight) where the sand is.'

(376) setenapi töpö sai pö pata ku -a  
 non:Indian 3:PL house 3:PL AUG be -DUR

toti -a apö -lali hamö, motolo a  
 good -DUR INTNSF -PRES:LOC at:where motor 3:SG

pa pa -ka, walo  
 lie at:where -THEME arrive  
 '(We) arrive at the place where there are a lot of non-Indians' houses, where the motor is lying.'

(377) ī so ola wai pakala -po kō  
 REL path upper DIMIN fork -FOC return

pa -ka, kopo, kopo, kopo  
 at:where -THEME splash splash splash  
 'At the place where the upper part of that path forks again, (our feet) splash (as we walk).'

**14.1.3 Juxtaposed subordinate clauses with a logical relationship.** The logical relationships are: condition, cause, intention, purpose, consequence, and contrary to expectation. As is true of the relators marking temporal and locative relationships, relators marking a logical relationship also occur clause final.

Condition is marked by *ha* ‘if, upon, when’, *tehe* ‘if, when’ and the completive *-ma*. In this type of subordinate clause no tense-modality may occur and the verb of the main clause is future tense. With *-ma* the verb of the main clause may be present or future. In many instances, condition is ambiguous with sequential action, also marked by *ha*.

(378a) *ī* *töpö* *hu* *ha*, *a* *höla* *kite*  
 REL 3:PL come if/upon/when 3:SG fight FUT  
 ‘If those people come, he will fight’ or  
 ‘Upon their coming he will fight’ or  
 ‘When they come, he will fight.’

(378b) *ī* *töpö* *hu* *tehe*, *töpö* *höla* *kite*  
 REL 3:PL come if/when 3:PL fight FUT  
 ‘If those people come, they will fight’ or  
 ‘When they come, they will fight.’

(379a) *saka* *wi* *te* *wani* *-a* *-pa* *-so* *-ö*  
 paddle INDEF 3:SG bad -DUR -EXT -FOC -NONASP  
  
*ha*, *ai* *sa* *te* *tha* *-ki* *kite*  
 if/upon another 1:SG 3:SG make -FOC FUT  
 ‘If the paddle breaks, I’ll make another.’

(379b) *saka* *wi* *te* *wani* *-a* *-pa* *-so* *-ma*,  
 paddle INDEF 3:SG bad -DUR -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
  
*ai* *sa* *te* *tha* *-ki* *kite*  
 another 1:SG 3:SG make -FOC FUT  
 ‘If the paddle breaks, I’ll make another.’

(380) *pole* *wa* *pata* *-ma* *toti* *-kö* *-ma*, *pole* *a*  
 dog 2:SG big -CAUS good -FOC -CMPL dog 3:SG  
  
*söposö* *hiopö* *-a* *mai* *kite*  
 go:up:on:land badly -DUR NEG FUT  
 ‘After/If you have brought up a dog well, the dog will not go up on  
 land (to hunt) badly (i.e., he will be a good hunting dog).’

Cause or result is marked by *salo* ‘because, with the result that’. No tense-modality marker may occur with *salo* in the same clause—only the completive *-ma*.

- (381) sa wasamo taö mi ipö salo,  
 1:SG talk:ceremonially know NEG INTNSF because  
 sa wasamo nai -o ma o  
 1:SG talk:ceremonially also -PUNCT NEG VERIF  
 'I don't take part in the ceremonial talk, because I don't know how to talk ceremonially' or 'I don't know how to talk ceremonially, with the result that I don't take part in the ceremonial talk.'
- (382) sa lo -a wani salo, sa hu -a  
 1:SG sit -DUR not:want because 1:SG go -DUR  
 pä -a la -so -lö ke  
 just -DUR EXT -FOC -DIR IP  
 'I merely went because I didn't want to sit.'
- (383) ī naha a ku -ma salo,  
 REL like 3:SG say -CMPL because  
 sa hīso opa kupili  
 1:SG angry INTNSF DP  
 'Because he said that, I was really angry.'

Intention is marked by *pia salo*, 'intend to, in order to'. Some speakers use *pio salo* (174) or *pi salo* instead of the more widely used *pia salo*.

- (384) ī wale pö hali pia salo . . .  
 REL peccary 3:PL cook intend RES  
 ti a thama -ti ku -a kölö -a  
 wood AUD do -CONT be -DUR LOC -DUR  
 'Intending to cook the peccary . . . he is down there making firewood.'
- (385) ī naha sa ku pio salo, sa  
 REL like 1:SG say intend RES 1:SG  
 hu pä -o ke  
 go merely -PUNCT IP  
 'I merely went in order that I might say that.'

Purpose, close in meaning to intention, is marked by the relator *-pö* 'desiring to, in order to be able to'. Both the markers for intention *pia salo*

(above) and for purpose *-pö* can also be modality markers of the verb of an independent clause. (See sects. 18.3.3 and 18.3.4.)

- (386) Katai töpö kahi hini -nö -pö,  
Brazilian 3:SG language hear -FOC -PURP

a hu pia kule  
3:SG go intend PRES

'In order to be able to learn Portuguese, he is about to go.'

- (387) kamisamakö niha waheta te ha kateha  
1:PL:EXCL to paper 3:SG AUD explain

sinomo -pö, ī a sai  
custom -PURP REL 3:SG house

'the house in order to be able to customarily explain paper to us'  
or 'our school house'

Consequence or attending circumstance is marked by *kuteenö* 'being that'. As with the result relator *salo*, no tense-modality marker may occur when *kuteenö* is employed—only the completive *-ma* (390). It might be that the *-ma* with *kuteenö* signifies a perfective aspect to the subordinate clause.

- (388) Pokai poose sapili kuteenö, taö  
Pokai younger:brother shaman being know

öpa -ö  
INTNSF -NONASP

'Being that Pokais younger brother is a shaman, (he) really knows.'

- (389) wale kökö kase ha a kai a thapo  
peccary 3:DL edge at 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT unseen possess

mi kuteenö -ka, hise ha öla a nia  
NEG being:that -THEME here LOC jaguar 3:SG shoot

soa -kö -ma  
right:away -FOC -CMPL

'Being that (they) didn't have her at the edge of the (group of) peccary, here (in the middle) the jaguar bolted right away.'

(390) — ipa masulu täpa — sa ku -ma  
 my beads give 1:SG say -CMPL

kuteenö, sa mamō le -palo hisa -ti  
 being:that 1:SG eye be:on:guard -REPET at:home -CONT

pö -a kule  
 merely -DUR PRES

‘Being that I have said, “Give me beads,” I am just continually on the look-out at home.’

Contrary to expectation is marked by *maaki* ‘even though, but’, and this marker may occur with any tense-verification aspect. It can also occur with identification clauses which lack an overt verb (394).

Other forms of *maaki* are *maakui* (archaic) and *maai* (contraction).

(391) a utiti maaki, a kali -palo kule  
 3:SG weak even:though 3:SG work -REPET PRES  
 ‘Even though he is weak, he is working.’

(392) ī tōpō siwasimo kule maaki -ka,  
 REL 3:PL play PRES even:though -THEME

— mhm, mhm — iwathamō a  
 mhm mhm alligator 3:SG

ōsi wani ku -to pä -o -ma  
 inside DEPR say -obligatory just -PUNCT -CMPL

‘Even though they played around (trying to get the alligator to open his mouth), the alligator had to merely say, “Mhm, mhm.” ’

(393) — hena tehe sai a tha -pö — ku  
 early TEMP house 3:SG make -DESID say

pä -la te maai, — sa husu -a  
 just -EXT TEMP even:though 1:SG leave -DUR

toti -a waiki -a sai -lo  
 good -DUR already -DUR really -FOC

he -ö — sa kuu  
 IP -EXCLM 1:SG say

'Even though (they) say, "Lets build a house early," I say, "I really already prepared well to leave." '

- (394) ipa hepala töpö maaki, sa wanipo kule  
 my older:brother 3:PL even:though 1:SG be:against PRES  
 'Even though they (are) my older brothers, they are against me.'

**14.2 Subordinate clauses chained to the main clause.** By 'chaining' is meant that there are certain features required to occur in the main clause when this type of subordinate clause occurs. In chained constructions, the subordinate clause always precedes the main clause. There are two types of chained subordinate clauses: contrary to fact and comparison.

**14.2.1 Contrary-to-fact subordinate clauses.** In contrary to fact subordinate clauses, the subordinate clause expresses a hypothetical condition and the main clause expresses the hypothetical result.

The marker for present tense hypothetical condition in the subordinate clause is *hakönaha* or its contraction *aköna* (with dialect variation of *hakunoha* or *akunoha*). With the past tense the same marker occurs, but the completive *-ma* occurs on the verb.

The hypothetical result in the main clause is expressed by the aspect *pi* or its dialectal variation *pipi* for present affirmative. Present negative aspects are *kupi* or *kipi* when the negative *mi* is used, and *pi* when the negative *ma* is used. Past hypothetical result is expressed by *noa kupi*.

- (395) makö höla mi aköna, hise ha sa  
 2:PL fight NEG if here LOC 1:SG

pili -la pi  
 live -EXT would

'If you didn't fight, I would live here.'

- (396) makö höla -ö aköna, hise ha sa pili  
 2:PL fight -NONASP if here LOC 1:SG live

ma -na pi  
 NEG -EXT would

'If you were fighting, I would not be living here.'



(397) makö höla -ö aköna, hise ha sa  
 2:PL fight -NONASP if here LOC 1:SG

pili mi kupi  
 live NEG would

'If you were fighting, I would not live here.'

(398) makö höla ma -ma aköna,  
 2:PL fight NEG -CMPL if

hise ha sa pili -o noa kupi  
 here LOC 1:SG live -PUNCT INDEF:PERF would

'If you had not fought, I would have lived here.'

(399) makö höla -ma aköna, hise ha sa  
 2:PL fight -CMPL if here LOC 1:SG

pili -o ma noa kupi  
 live -PUNCT NEG INDEF:PERF would

'If you had fought, I would not have lived here.'

**14.2.2 Comparison.** In comparison constructions, the subordinate clause and the main clause are chained by the occurrence of *naha/na* 'like' in both clauses. (See also sect. 7.2.1.)

(400) hi te ku -ö -i naha, ī  
 this 3:SG be -CUST -INDEF like REL

naha tu ku -ö  
 like liquid be -CUST

'Like it is here, like that the water is (in another place).'

(401) ki ai töpö masulu pö ausi wani  
 that other 3:PL beads 3:PL white DEPR

ku -ö -i naha, ī naha ipa kökö  
 be -CUST -INDEF like REL like my 3:DL

ku -a pasi -a -kö  
 be -DUR separate -DUR -CNFRM

'My (beads) are just like the white beads of those other people.'

(402a) kawa umi ku -a wi naha, ī  
 2:SG stingy be -DUR INDEF like REL

naha sa umi ku -a hōtō -a  
 like 1:SG stingy be -DUR also -DUR  
 'I am stingy like you are stingy.'

(402b) kawa umi ku -a noai naha, ī  
 2:SG stingy be -DUR INDEF:PERF like REL

naha sa umi ku -a hōtō -a  
 like 1:SG stingy be -DUR also -DUR  
 'I am being stingy like you have been stingy.'

(403) kawa umi ku -le naha, ī naha sa  
 2:SG stingy be -PRES like REL like 1:SG

umi ku -a hōtō -a kule  
 stingy be -DUR also -DUR PRES  
 'I am being stingy like you are being stingy.'

**14.3 Subordinate clauses embedded in the main clause.** Embedded clauses are object complement clauses, taking on the function of the object of the verb in the main clause. In the verbs of these clauses there occurs only the stem of the verb or the stem plus a single-vowel aspect marker (sect. 18.2). The only verbs used in the main clause in this type of construction are *ta* 'to see', *mō* 'to watch', and *hini* 'to hear'.

(404) sa tu wehe ta -a ko -ta  
 1:SG liquid dry (descr.vb) see -DUR return -EXT  
 'I (am about to) see the water dry up again.'

(405) maa ma -kö pata öpa ta -pa  
 rock CLASS -DL AUG stand see -EXT

pä -la tehe, . . .  
 just -EXT when  
 'When you just see the mountain standing, . . .'

(406) sa te halu ta -a ma -ma  
 1:SG 3:SG to:dawn see -DUR NEG -CMPL  
 'I didn't see it dawn.'

- (407) Wasi ai hu mö pä -o ke  
 Wasi DIMIN go watch just -PUNCT IP  
 'I merely watched Wasi go.'
- (408) wa kō ta -a pia salo  
 2:SG return see -DUR intend RES  
 'I intend to see you return.'
- (409) kamisa -nö napö pö -nö kalaka nia  
 1:SG -AG Carib 3:PL -AG chicken shoot  
  
 ta -a pia salo  
 see -DUR intend RES  
 'I intend to see the Carib shoot the chicken.'
- (410) sa te ku hini -ni kupili maaki, . . .  
 1:SG 3:SG say hear -FOC DP even:though  
 'Even though I understood what was said, . . .'
- (411) pata töpö -nö nö patapö töpö -nö  
 old 3:PL -AG mythical ancestors 3:PL -AG  
  
 pumotomö a ökö hini -ma -he  
 opossum 3:SG cry hear -CMPL -PL:S  
 'The old people, the mythical ancestors, heard the opossum cry.'

**14.4 Subordinate clauses merged with the main clause.** These clauses are merged with the main clause in that both the subordinate and the main clause share the same subject, and this precedes both verbs. This is not the case with the embedded clauses. In common with embedded clauses, in the verb of the subordinate merged clause there appears only the stem or stem plus a single-vowel aspect marker (sect. 18.2), and this verb precedes the main verb. These clauses are subdivided on the basis of whether or not they have overt markers.

**14.4.1 Subordinate merged clauses with overt marker.** There are two markers which can occur in subordinate merged clauses: *kai* 'accompanying state or action' and *-mö* 'with regard to'.

The particle *kai* expresses a state or action which accompanies that of the main clause and is simultaneous with the main verb. Since with nouns *kai* signifies subordinate accompaniment (sects. 1.1 and 15.1.1.2) and is labeled 'subordinate participant', the label given here for *kai* with a verb is 'subordinate verb'.

- (412) töpö ia kai lo -a kule  
 3:PL eat SUB:VB sit -DUR PRES  
 'They are sitting eating.'
- (413) a hīso kai wai pili -o kölö -ma  
 3:SG angry SUB:VB DIMIN live -PUNCT LOC -CMPL  
 'He lived down there angry.'
- (414) ī naha a ku kai  
 REL like 3:SG say SUB:VB  
  
 ko -na -so -lö -ma  
 return -EXT -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
 'He returned home saying thus.'
- (415) pu sama asö wāsika kai wani  
 sugar 1:PL:EXCL cane chew SUB:VB DEPR  
  
 a ku -palo hisa -ti kule  
 AUD say -REPET at:home -CONT PRES  
 'We keep on hanging around the house chewing on sugar cane.'

The relator *-mō* 'with regard to, as regarding', is the other overt marker of a subordinate merged clause. Sometimes the meaning of this relator borders on the idea of purpose, as seen in (419), (421), (729), and (730).

- (416) oa -mō masita -pö ni  
 eat -regarding dirty -DESCVZR taste/smell  
 'As regarding eating, it tastes like dirt' or 'It tastes like dirt.'
- (417) wa mö -mo -mō manisi  
 2:SG look -CAUS:REFLX -regarding sleepy  
 'In regard to appearing, you are sleepy' or 'You look sleepy.'
- (418) witi hamö motokö hu -mō ku -a -ö  
 INTER LOC sun go -regarding be -DUR -NONASP  
 'Where is the sun with regard to going?' or  
 'Which way does the sun go?'
- (419) kapi wa te tha -mō hu ke  
 what 2:SG 3:SG do -regarding come IP  
 'In regard to doing what, did you come?' or  
 'What did you come to do?'

(420) witi ha wa pili -a -mō ku -a  
 INTER LOC 2:SG live -DUR -regarding be -DUR  
 ‘Where are you regarding living?’ or ‘Where are you living?’

(421) wani sa te te -a -mō  
 goods 1:SG 3:SG receive -DUR -regarding

hu pä -ta ke  
 come merely -EXT IP

‘I came merely with regard to receiving goods.’

**14.4.2 Subordinate merged clauses without overt marker.** These clauses are subdivided on the basis of the syntactic function of the verb of the subordinate clause, and labeled on the basis of the class of verb in the main clause. These constructions may be abilitative, emotive, or stative.

In the abilitative construction, the verb of the subordinate clause takes on the syntactic function of object of the main verb. The main verb is always *taö* ‘to know, to know how to’.

(422) sa hīso taö mi  
 1:SG angry know NEG  
 ‘I don’t know how to be angry’ or  
 ‘I don’t know what it means to be angry.’

(423) salaka sa se taö öpa -ö kite  
 fish 1:SG kill know INTNSF -NONASP SUPPOS/FUT  
 ‘I really know/will know how to kill (poison) fish.’

In the emotive construction, the main verb is an emotive verb. The verb of the subordinate clause takes on the syntactic function of referent, corresponding to the ‘referent’ *nihā* with nouns that are used with the same emotive verbs in constructions with no subordinate clause.

(424) wa pili -o kili -i  
 2:SG lie -PUNCT afraid -NONASP  
 ‘You’re afraid to lie down.’

(425) ki töpö nihamö sa hu kili ipa -ö  
 that 3:PL with 1:SG go afraid INTNSF -NONASP  
 ‘I am really afraid to go with those people.’

(426) tiko te wano niha inamo pi  
 different 3:SG man with play inside

topa apa tihe  
 good INTNSF NEG:IMP

'Don't have a strong desire to play around with another man.'

In the stative construction with a subordinate merged clause, the verb of the subordinate clause takes on the syntactic function of subject of the main verb. The main verb is an existence (copular) verb, either the positive *ku* 'to be' or the negative *ma* 'not to be', and the negative is always in the process form: *ma-ta-so/ma-pa-so/ma-po* 'cease to be'. (See sect. 18.2.5.2 for the morphophonemic variant *-po*.)

(427) töpö noma ku -ki  
 3:PL die be -FOC  
 'They will be dying' or 'They will start dying.'

(428) waiha sa te taö ku -ki  
 later 1:SG 3:SG know be -FOC  
 'Later I (will) be knowing' or 'Later I (will) know.'

(429) mi na wa mani -mo ku -a ke  
 how like 2:SG dream -PRFRM be -DUR IP  
 'How were you dreaming?' or 'What did you dream about?'

(430) a wani hīso ma -po mai kite  
 3:SG DEPR angry not:be -EXT:FOC NEG FUT  
 'He will not stop being angry.'

(431) töpö inamo ma -ta -so -ma  
 3:PL play not:be -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 'They stopped playing.'

(432) ī suö te wani ilöpö ha,  
 REL woman 3:SG DEPR gray:headed when

ī ha wa te wani  
 REL TEMP 2:SG 3:SG DEPR

wa    -ō                ma                -ta                -so  
 have:sexual:relations:with -CUST not:be -EXT -FOC  
 ‘When the woman is gray headed, at that point you stop having  
 sexual relations with her.’

**14.5 Direct quote construction.** The direct quote construction consists of two clauses: the citation clause and the quote tag clause. Usually these clauses are juxtaposed and the citation almost always precedes the verb of the quote tag clause.

In rare instances a quote tag clause occurs introducing a quote or series of quotes, which in turn have the normal citation clause followed by the quote tag clause.

(433) *ī*                *naha*     *sa*                *ku*     *piā*                *kule* . . .  
 REL like    1:SG     say     intend   PRES  
 ‘This is what I intend to say: . . .’

(434) *pi*                                 *na*     -ka.                *ī*                *naha*     *a*                *ku*     -ma . . .  
 INDEF:PRO like -THEME REL like    3:SG     say     -CMPL  
 ‘It’s like the following. Like this he said: . . .’

(435) *ī*                *naha*     *a*                *ku*     -ma . . .  
 REL like    3:SG     say     -CMPL  
 ‘Like this he said: . . .’

In the direct quote construction, embedding can occur, with the subject or the indirect object of the quote tag clause preceding the citation (441, 442). In these cases, the subject or indirect object is usually repeated after the citation.

The use of direct quotes is very extensive. In a collection of 4,000 lines of recorded myths, narratives, and conversation, there are approximately 1,350 quotes.

There is no indirect quote construction in Sanuma.

**14.5.1 The quote tag clause.** The verbs generally used in the quote tag clause are *ku* ‘to say’ or *pi ku* ‘to think’. These are intransitive verbs. Of approximately 1,350 entries of quote tag clauses in text material, there were 1,330 entries in which these verbs occurred. There were only 20 occurrences of two other verbs used in quote tag clauses: the first is the compound verb *noa tha* ‘to order, urge, direct, retort’ (which comes from the noun ‘payment, return’ and the verb ‘do, make’); the second is the verb *tha-ma* ‘to be prompted or forced to say’ (lit., ‘to be caused to do’). These verbs are transitive, with subject and object occurring in the quote tag

clause, as in (438–440). (For Sanuma readers the following scheme for quotation marks is used: the citation is marked at the beginning and end by the dash [—], the embedded citation is marked by quotation marks [“ ”], and the citation embedded in an already embedded citation is marked by the single quotation mark [‘ ’]. In the English translation, single quotes are used for the whole free translation as usual, double quotes [“ ”] are used for the citation, single quotes [‘ ’] for a citation within a citation, and double quotes again for a citation within a citation which is embedded in another citation.)

(436) — hukii makö kō -a  
today 1:PL:INCL return -DUR

soa -pö -lö -pö! — samakö kuu kule  
right:away -FOC -DIR -DESID 1PL.EXCL say PRES  
‘ “Let’s return right away today,” we are saying.’

(437) — awai — ī naha sa ku sisa -ma  
yes REL like 1:SG say only -CMPL  
‘ “Yes,” I only said.’

(438) — a kolo wani haoto haoto -mo  
3:SG bottom DEPR moving:up:and:down -PRFRM

hi -o -ima — pumotomö a wani -nö  
away -PUNCT approach opossum 3:SG DEPR -AG

saulemö a noa tha -ma  
sloth 3:SG pay make -CMPL

‘ “Your rump is going up and down as you approach,” retorted the opossum to the sloth.’

(439) — kau -nö ipa wa ko -nö -pö —  
2:SG -AG my 2:SG return -FOC -DESID

öla noa pata tha -ö ha,  
jaguar pay AUG make -NONASP upon

— ökö — ī öla pata tha -ma  
okay REL jaguar AUG do -CAUS



hōtō -o nō, . . .

in:return -PUNCT SEQ

'Upon his urging the jaguar, "Return my (daughter)," having caused the jaguar to say in return, "Okay," . . .'

(440) — o u wani sīeti — Pokolali a ulu  
oh liquid DEPR cause:itch Pokolali 3:SG child

wai -nō iwathama a tha -ma  
DIMIN -AG alligator 3:SG do -CAUS

hisa -ti -ma  
at:home -CONT -CMPL

' "Oh. The liquid (honey) makes (my mouth and throat) itch," Pokolali's child caused the alligator to say.'

The manner phrase *ī naha* 'like that' is very common in the quote tag clause (433–435, 437). The subject and indirect object usually occur after the citation clause, but can occur before the citation clause for emphasis or clarification.

(441) pata tōpō lö ku -i,  
old 3:PL SPECFR be -INDEF

— tōpō isi wani -pa -lo heö —  
3:PL go:crazy -EXT -FOC EXCLM

Waika tōpō nō patapō ku -ma  
Waika 3:PL mythical ancestor say -CMPL

'It was the old people (who said), "They are going crazy!'", the Waika mythical ancestors said.'

(442) ī hekula tōpō niha  
REL spirit 3:PL to

pasi -wö, — au, au, au, au—  
separate -S:EMPH au au au au

ī naha ī hekula tōpō niha ī  
REL like REL spirit 3:PL to REL

naha te wani ku pasi -o  
 like 3:SG DEPR say separate -PUNCT

‘It is to those *hekula* spirits, “Au, au, au, au, au,” like that to those *hekula* spirits, like that he says (and not something else).’

An adverbial phrase, such as locative, may occur in the quote tag clause, although this is not common.

(443) — wae, wae, wae, wae — möthali te  
           wae wae wae wae center 3:SG

sai ha ta ku toti -o taso -a  
 real in 3:SG:AUD say good -PUNCT LOC -DUR  
 ‘ “Wae, wae, wae, wae,” right in the center she really says.’

**14.5.2 The citation clause.** Because (1) the usual verb of the quote tag is intransitive, (2) the manner phrase *ī naha* ‘like that’ introduces, or potentially introduces, the quote tag, and (3) there is already an object expressed in the quote tag when the verb is the transitive *noa tha* ‘to order, urge’ or *tha-ma* ‘to prompt to say’, the citation clause is not considered to have the function of direct object, but rather is considered to be a complement to the quote tag clause. It should be noted that even though it is labeled as ‘complement’, the citation clause may appear without the quote tag clause, if the context makes it clear that the clause is indeed a citation, and if the identity of the person making the quote is also clear. This is the case in dialogue, for example, where there is a rapid exchange of speakers with fairly short quotations.

(444) — a wani hīthani —  
           3:SG DEPR smelly

— a wani tu -a le -po  
       3:SG DEPR climb -DUR toward -FOC

a wani tu -a hei -po —  
 3:SG DEPR climb -DUR away -FOC

— a wani hīthani. a wani  
       3:SG DEPR smelly 3:SG DEPR

titi -a le -po  
 be:inside -DUR toward -FOC

‘“He smells,” (said the sloth to the opossum), “He is climbing toward me. He is climbing away from me,” (said the opossum to the sloth). “He smells. He is inside (a hole in tree),” (said the sloth to the opossum).’

It is common for one quote to be embedded within another quote. Double embedding can also occur, in which case a quote occurs within another embedded quote, as in (447).

(445) — kamisa niha, “koa taka se -pa” makö pewö  
 1:SG to fire CLASS strike -FOC 2:PL all

ku -u — Honamaniwö a wai  
 say -NONASP Honamaniwö 3:SG DIMIN

tha -ma kölo -ma  
 do -CAUS LOC -CMPL

‘ “You all say to me, ‘Strike up the fire,’ ” they caused Honamainiwö to say.’

(446) — hi pata te wani -nö hi ta kateha  
 this old 3:SG DEPR -AG this 3:SG:AUD discuss

kupi. “ki ha makö öpa  
 RP that LOC 2:PL stand

soa -tai -kö nö, makö sömöka  
 right:away -EXT -FOC SEQ 2:PL ear

tao” pata te wani ku kupi —  
 know old 3:SG DEPR say RP

pö a ku nö -ka, . . .  
 3:PL AUD say SEQ -THEME

‘ “This old man discussed this. ‘Having stood right away over there, you listen,’ the old man said,” they said, and . . .’

(447) kawa hai -ki, — “sa otamo hōtō -a  
 2:SG SPECFR -CNFRM 1:SG work also -DUR

waiki -a kule ta" sa pi ku tehe,  
 already -DUR PRES evident 1:SG inside say when

" 'mohi ipö! te mohi ipa ha, a  
 lazy INTNSF 3:SG lazy INTNSF upon 3:SG

ko -onö!' samakö pi ku upö -le -ö"  
 return -DIR 1:PL.EXCL inside say INTNSF PRES -EXCLM

ī naha makö wani a ku pioko  
 REL like 2:PL DEPR AUD say unexpectedly

opa -ti tehe, sa ku -o mai  
 INTNSF -CONT when 1:SG be -PUNCT NEG

kite -ö! ipa hao a wani niha Palima uli  
 FUT -EXCLM my father 3:SG DEPR to Parima region

hamö sa ko -onö heö — ī naha  
 in 1:SG return -DIR EXCLM REL like

Katai töpö niha wa ku hai -a -ta -lo  
 Brazilian 3:PL to 2:SG say quickly -DUR -EXT -FOC

nö, a hemo kō hai -a -ta -lo  
 SEQ 3:SG ascend return quickly -DUR -EXT -FOC

'You (should) say, "When I am thinking, 'It is evident that I am already working, too, when you all unexpectedly are really thinking, "Really lazy! Since he is really lazy, let him go back home!" we really think, [when you think that]' I am not going to stay. I'm going back home to my father in the Parima region," like that having come to say quickly to the Brazilians, come back up home again quickly.'

**14.6 Multiple subordinate clauses.** In one sentence there may be a series of juxtaposed subordinate clauses preceding the main clause. Up to four is common. There are many examples of eight subordinate clauses, and there are 12 in (451).

When several subordinate clauses occur, most of them are sequential clauses with the sequential markers *nö* or *ha*. Generally, as has been pointed out, *nö* indicates that the subject of the following clause will be the same as that of the sequential clause of which it is a marker. The sequential *ha* indicates that there will be a change of subject in the next clause. This is well illustrated in (451).

When subordinate clauses precede other subordinate clauses, the markers or relators at the end of each subordinate clause relate that clause to the subordinate clause immediately following, not to one further on, and not to the main clause. The only exception to this is with the use of the contrary to expectation *maaki* 'even though', which has been found to relate to a clause not contiguous, as in (449).

- (448) ki hamö öla a wani -nö,  
 that LOC jaguar 3:SG DEPR -AG
- öla a wani naki kō -wō salo,  
 jaguar 3:SG DEPR meat:hungry return -S:EMPH because
- koa taka wākisi mö -mö a -so noai  
 fire CLASS smoke look -to leave -FOC INDEF:PERF
- ha, ki hamö hu -palo -ti taso -a tehe,  
 TEMP that LOC go -REPET -CONT LOC -DUR when
- Maokolitasoma a wani -nö Omawö pö  
 Maokolitasoma 3:SG DEPR -AG Omawö 3:PL
- hasulu -a hisa -ta -ma -na nö,  
 appear -DUR at:home -EXT -CAUS -FOC SEQ
- kama sai pö möthali wani ha Omawö  
 3:SG house 3:PL center DEPR in Omawö
- pö hila -palo hisa -ta -kö  
 3:PL be:on:ground:together -REPET at:home -EXT -FOC
- noai ha, a wani kō  
 INDEF:PERF TEMP 3:SG DEPR return
- ku -ta -kö laso  
 be -EXT -FOC LOC
- 'Over there the jaguar, because the jaguar is meat-hungry again, after having left to look for fire smoke, when he is going about out there, Maokolitasoma having made the Omawö (twins) appear (from being hid inside a gourd), after the Omawö (twins) have been together on the ground at home in the middle of her/their house, he (the jaguar) returns (there).'

(449) — hena tehe sai a tha -pö —  
 early TEMP house 3:SG make -DESID

ku pä -la te maaki, —  
 say just -EXT TEMP though

sa husu -a toti -a waiki -a  
 1:SG leave -DUR good -DUR already -DUR

sai -lo heö — sa ku nö -ka,  
 really -FOC EXCLM 1:SG say SEQ -THEME

hena tehe sa a -su -lö -ö  
 early TEMP 1:SG leave -FOC -DIR -NONASP

‘Even though (he) says “Let’s make the house early,” having said  
 “I’m already really getting ready to leave,” I leave early.’

(450) tute epi -i ī ha sama maso pata -ka,  
 new INTNSF -INDEF REL LOC tapir track AUG THEME

— ī naha te pewö ku -a hāto -wö —  
 REL like 3:SG all be -DUR maybe -S:EMPH

sa ku -ma maaki, — hukii sa te mö  
 1:SG say -CMPL though today 1:SG 3:SG look

soa -ta -kö — sa ku nö -ka, sa  
 right:away -EXT -FOC 1:SG say SEQ -THEME 1:SG

lele -kö -ma maaki, uli pewö pata hote epö  
 run -FOC -CMPL though area all AUG old INTNSF

‘There being those very new big tapir tracks, even though I said  
 “Maybe that’s how it is all over,” having said “I’m going to look  
 right away today,” even though I ran, all the area is really old (no  
 new tracks).’

(451) ī ha sa kali -palo tehe, Palawa töpö  
 REL LOC 1:SG work -REPET when Palawa 3:PL

walo -ki ha, — wi na te ku -to  
 arrive -FOC SEQ INTER like 3:SG be -FOC

tehe, makö ko -na -so -lö -ö  
 TEMP 2:PL return -EXT -FOC -DIR -NONASP

— Palawa töpö na sa ku nö, —  
 Palawa 3:PL to 1:SG say SEQ

ī naha te ku -to tö -kö —  
 REL like 3:SG be -FOC TEMP -CNFRM

ku ha, — awi! topa waiki -a kule -ö —  
 say SEQ yes good as:is -DUR PRES -EXCLM

sa ku nö, — makö nohi nai -ti kite —  
 1:SG say SEQ 2:PL friendly also -CONT FUT

sa ku hōtō -o nö, —  
 1:SG say also -PUNCT SEQ

awai. topa hōtō -wō. ī witi pili  
 yes good also -S:EMPH REL INTER PRTLCLZR

wa ulupö sai — ku ha,  
 2:SG son really say SEQ

— Koima a pata sapili pilupö sa —  
 Koima 3:SG AUG shaman son 1:SG

ī naha ipa hao töpö ku ha,  
 REL like my father 3:PL say SEQ

ī töpö niha sa noka hōtō -a  
 REL 3:PL REFRNT 1:SG follow also -DUR

soa -lo -lö nö, opi -i sa  
 right:away -FOC -DIR SEQ slow -INDEF 1:SG

hu -a hōtō -lo -lö nö, Palawa töpö  
 go -DUR also -FOC -DIR SEQ Palawa 3:PL

sai pö ha sa kui -kö nö,  
 house 3:PL at 1:SG be -FOC SEQ

— wi naha te ku -to tehe Simatai  
 INTER like 3:SG be -FOC TEMP Simatai

tili töpö hama -mo ku -kö -solö -ö —  
 people 3:PL visit -act be -FOC -LOC -NONASP

sa ku nö, — ī töpö na  
 1:SG say SEQ REL 3:PL with

opi -i sa kō -a hōtō -so -lö kite  
 slow -INDEF 1:SG return -DUR also -FOC -DIR FUT  
 ‘While I am working there, upon the Palawa people arriving,  
 “When are you returning home?” I say to the Palawa people, and  
 then they say “At such and such a time,” and then I say “Yes.  
 That’s good like it is,” and then I say “Are you also friendly?”  
 (they say) “Yes. (We) are good, too” . . . Upon my saying “Whose  
 descendant are you?”, “I am a descendant of the big shaman  
 Koima,” my uncles say and then immediately I also follow them,  
 and then slowly I also go along, and then I am at the houses of  
 the Palawas, and then I say “When is it that the Simatai people  
 come visiting here?” and then (I say) “Slowly I will also go back  
 with them.” ’



## Syntax Of Phrase Types

### 15 Noun phrase structure

**15.1 Marking for case.** The subjects of verbs which are not transitive or ditransitive are unmarked (except for the special superordinate/subordinate subjects mentioned in sect. 15.1.1.2) and they immediately precede the verb.

- (452) ki kutiata a hute epö  
that canoe 3:SG heavy INTNSF  
'That canoe is very heavy.'
- (453) masulu kökö titi -o -ma  
beads 3:DL be:inside -PUNCT -CMPL  
'The beads were inside.'
- (454) ipa pole a noma -so -ma  
my dog 3:SG die -FOC -CMPL  
'My dog died.'
- (455) hama töpö hu kulati  
visitor 3:PL come PRES:LOC  
'Visitors are coming (short distance away).'
- (456) samakö hu pia kule  
1:PL:EXCL go intend PRES  
'We are about to go.'
- (457) makö hu pia kule  
2:PL go intend PRES  
'Are you all about to go?'

Short form first and second person singular pronoun subjects are never marked except by word order. In transitive and ditransitive clauses, they, along with all the other personal pronouns, follow the object noun and precede the classifier of the object noun phrase (61–63).

The first and second person plural short form pronoun subjects are marked in the transitive and ditransitive, not by a marker as such, but by the deletion of the final *-kö*. Compare the subject pronouns in (456) and (457) with those in (458) and (459).

(458) sama            töpö wapa kupili  
 1:PL:EXCL 3:PL test DP  
 'We tested them.'

(459) ma töpö wapa kupili  
 2:PL 3:PL test DP  
 'Did you all test them?'

(See sect. 15.1.1 for the 3rd person pronoun subjects in transitive and ditransitive constructions; these are marked by *-nö*.)

The object in transitive and ditransitive constructions is always unmarked morphologically, and occurs before the verb and after the subject except when the subject is a short form first or second person pronoun. In this case the object is discontinuous, with the classifier or pronoun following the subject short form pronoun, but with the noun preceding it (60).

There is an instance in which the object assimilates phonologically into the subject. This takes place when the object is the third person singular *a* 'he, she, it' and occurs without the noun it classifies, and when the subject is only the short form first or second person pronoun. If one of these short form pronouns is singular, then only context can determine whether the personal pronoun is object, or subject with assimilated object.

(460) wa    ta -la -li ke  
 2:SG:O/2:SG:S:3:SG:O see -EXT -FOC IP  
 'Did (someone) see you?' or 'Did you see it?'

The preceding has treated of unmarked subject and object, and the reduction which takes place in first and second person short form pronouns when used as subject of transitive and ditransitive verbs. There now follows a discussion of subject and other cases which receive a marker.

**15.1.1 Cases marked by *-nö*.** The marker *-nö* is not phonologically stressed and is written as a bound form. It marks the subject in transitive and ditransitive clauses (except when only a short form personal pronoun is used as subject). It thus functions as a morphological ergative marker, since nontransitive subjects, like direct objects in transitive clauses, are never marked. The same form *-nö* also marks the superordinate subject in stative, intransitive, and semitransitive clauses. The subordinate subject is marked by *kai*.

The suffix *-nö* also marks the instrument or means constituent in the clause types mentioned below (sect. 15.1.1.3).

**15.1.1.1 The marker *-nō* for transitive and ditransitive subjects.** The marker *-nō* must occur on a transitive and ditransitive subject except in the case of short form personal pronouns (61–63). For special ordering of subject and object constituents when a long form personal pronoun is the subject, see sect. 1.1.5 and (464).

(461) ki töpö -nō sa wanipo sinomo -ö  
 that 3:PL -AG 1:SG be:against always -CUST  
 ‘They are always against me.’

(462) hi ulu te -nō pō̃ a hini  
 this child 3:SG -AG father 3:SG hear

toti -o kite  
 well -PUNCT FUT  
 ‘This child will obey his father.’

(463) ipa hao -nō hama te niha masulu kökö  
 my father -AG visitor 3:SG to beads 3:DL

toto -ki kite  
 give -FOC FUT  
 ‘My father will give beads to the visitor.’

(464) kamisa -nō watata sa  
 1:SG:LONG:FORM-AG cloth 1:SG:SHORT:FORM

asö naka -li pia salo  
 CLASS call:for -FOC intend RES  
 ‘I intend to ask for cloth.’

**15.1.1.2 The markers *-nō* and *kai* for superordinate and subordinate subjects in nontransitive clauses.** As mentioned in sect. 1.1 there is a comitative construction in which there is a leader-follower relationship. The subordinate participant is marked by *kai*, which in rare instances has been found to occur without the noun or pronoun it is marking (469). Though much less common, inanimate objects can be marked by *kai* (468).

The superordinate participant, which does not need to be expressed overtly (28), is marked by the agent marker *-nō*, except in cases where the short form plural personal pronoun constitutes the superordinate subject and is marked by deletion of the final *-kö* (466, 468). It might be argued that *kai* functions as a transitivizer, so that *-nō* in this case would simply be functioning as an ergative marker in a transitive clause.

The superordinate and subordinate subjects may be used in existence, position, intransitive and semitransitive clauses.

(465) öla a pata -nō Sanōma te  
jaguar 3:SG AUG -AG Sanuma 3:SG

kai ku -o -ma  
SUB:PTCPNT be -PUNCT -CMPL  
'A Sanuma was with the jaguar.'

(Context: The mythical jaguar-man took the Sanuma with him.)

(466) ma töpö kai ia -pö  
1:PL:INCL 3:PL SUB:PTCPNT eat -DESID  
'Let them eat with us.'

(467) hise napö pö -nō sa kai  
here Carib 3:PL -AG 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT

a -su -lö -ö  
leave -FOC -DIR -NONASP  
'Here the Carib leave, taking me along.'

(468) hisa ha ma kutiata kai  
here LOC 1:PL:INCL canoe SUB:PTCPNT

a -lu -lö nö, . . .  
leave -FOC -DIR SEQ  
'Leaving from here, taking along the canoe, we . . .'

(469) kai lo -a kō -a  
SUB:PTCPNT sit -DUR return -DUR  
'(The baby) sits again (held by mother).'

**15.1.1.3 The marker -nō for instrument.** The suffix *-nō* marks instrument, which is inanimate or lifeless (471). It may occur in description, position, receptive, intransitive, semitransitive, and transitive clauses. Semantically, 'instrument' may signify either means (470–475) or cause (476–478).

(470) hi ti -nō a hīta kule  
wood CLASS -INST 3:SG stand:upright PRES  
'It is standing upright by means of a stick.'

- (471) salaka -nö pole a pata -so -ma  
 fish -INST dog 3:SG big -FOC -CMPL  
 'The dog got big by (eating) fish.'
- (472) po a -nö sa kali -palo pia kule  
 machete 3:SG -INST 1:SG work -REPET intend PRES  
 'I am about to work with a machete.'
- (473) kusiali te -nö sa ia pia kule  
 spoon 3:SG -INST 1:SG eat intend PRES  
 'I am about to eat with a spoon.'
- (474) hi te -nö patasipö te -nö  
 this 3:SG -INST old 3:SG -AG  
 sai a mö kule  
 house 3:SG look:at PRES  
 'An old man is looking at the house through this (telescope).'
- (475) ki te wani -nö alawali kökö -nö  
 that 3:SG DEPR -AG magic:root 3:DL -INST  
 moko te noma -ma -nö -ma  
 girl 3:SG die -CAUS -FOC -CMPL  
 'He (there) killed the girl by means of the magic root.'
- (476) sakulamö thoto pö -nö a ami  
 sakulamö CLASS:vine 3:PL -INST 3:SG paw  
 pö wai sululu wai walakasö -pö öpö  
 3:PL DIMIN itch DIMIN sore -DESCVZR INTNSF  
 'The little itchy paws were really full of sores because of the sakulamö vines.'
- (477) kamakali te wasu -nö ipa ulu a  
 high:fever 3:SG deadly -INST my son 3:SG  
 noma -so -ma  
 die -FOC -CMPL  
 'My son died from a deadly high fever.'

(478) pili a ie -nō sa pi  
 CLASS 3:SG blood -INST 1:SG inside

suha -palo opa -ma  
 vomit -REPET INTNSF -CMPL

'Because of (seeing) the blood, I was really nauseous.'

**15.1.1.4 The marker -nō for noninstigational agent.** Although rarely used, -nō may mark noninstigational agent in an emotion stative clause.

(479) hopō a wai -nō sa umi  
 porcupine 3:SG DIMIN -NONIN:AG 1:SG stingy  
 'I am stingy because of (thinking of) the porcupine-man.'

**15.1.2 Cases marked by niha/ha.** A wide semantic range of oblique constituents is marked by one of two forms: *ha*, usually referring to inanimate objects and animals, and *niha*, usually referring to humans. Objects or animals closely associated with or possessed by humans, such as *sai* 'house' can take either *ha* or *niha* (see (334), in which it is the people rather than the house which is emphasized), and in stories in which animals act like humans, the marker *niha* is used.

In those instances where *nihamō/hamō* are used (usually with motion verbs), the contrast may be seen in a rough translation 'toward, along, in the vicinity of' (*nihamō, hamō*) as against 'to, at, in' (*niha/ha*).

In normal speech the *h* drops. Also the *i* often drops in *nia* leaving *na* as a common alternate form of *niha*. Thus the alternate forms are:

*niha/nia/na*  
*nihamō/niamō*  
*ha/a*  
*hamō/amō*

These markers are used for the peripheral location constituent (28, 29, 83, 84, 86, 103, 104), and for a comitative construction which sometimes substitutes for one in which the subordinate participant marker *kai* can occur (45, 46, 163).

The form *niha* also marks the 'referent' constituent, including specialized functions in existence clauses (sect. 1.1.1.2) and comparison phrases (sect. 7.1.1).

Here, the discussion focuses on the use of *niha/nihamō/ha/hamō* in marking cases or roles of three nuclear constituents: noninstigational agent, instrument, and goal.

**15.1.2.1 Noninstigational agent marked by *niha*.** The usual marker for noninstigational agent is *niha* (see sect. 15.1.1.4 for use of *-nö* with this function).

(480) pata töpö -nö pole niha wale  
old 3:SG -AG dog NONIN:AG peccary

kökö se -ma -nö -ma  
3:DL kill -CAUS -FOC -CMPL  
'The old men had the dog kill the peccary.'

(481) Omawö töpö -nö pelupö a wai  
Omawö 3:PL -AG son 3:SG DIMIN

niha tu koa -ma -nö -ma  
NONIN:AG water drink -CAUS -FOC -CMPL  
'The Omawö (twins) had their son drink the water' or  
'The Omawö (twins) gave a drink of water to their son.'

(482) salaka niha pole wa pata -ma  
fish NONIN:AG dog 2:SG big -CAUS

toti -o -ma  
good -PUNCT -CMPL  
'You caused the dog to get really big by (using) fish.'

**15.1.2.2 Instrument marked by *ha/hamö*.** The usual marker for instrument is *-nö*. However, in an elicited utterance in which there occurred three morphologically marked nuclear constituents (possibly a grammatical overload), the instrument was marked by *ha*.

(483) pō a -nö kama hai ulu a niha  
father 3:SG -AG 3:SG SPECFR son 3:SG NONIN:AG

paki te ha te hini -ma -nö -ma  
pepper 3:SG INST 3:SG hear -CAUS -FOC -CMPL  
'The father caused his son to hear/obey it by means of (putting) pepper (in eyes).'

With verbs of motion, means of travel (which can be considered as a type of instrument) is indicated by the marker *hamö*.

(484) amito osö hamö sa ko -na -so -lö  
 plane CLASS INST 1:SG return -EXT -FOC -DIR

pia salo  
 intend RES

'I intend to return by plane.'

(485) Mukasai ola hamö motolo hamö töpö  
 Mucajai upper to motor INST 3:PL

hu -la -so -lö -ma  
 go -EXT -FOC -DIR -CMPL

'They went to the upper Mucajai (river) by motor.'

**15.1.2.3 Goal marked by *nihaha/nihamö/hamö*.** The markers *nihaha* and *ha* indicate what in a broad sense can be labeled 'goal'. The meanings differ in accordance with the type of clause in which they are found. These markers are discussed and exemplified in the section on emotion clauses (sect. 1.1.1.5, examples 36–40), activity clauses (sect. 1.1.4.1, examples 49–53), motion clauses (sect. 1.1.4.2, examples 55, 57, 59), and ditransitive clauses where the *nihaha* can indicate source as well as goal, depending on the verb used (sect. 1.1.6, examples 77, 80, 81).

**15.2 Possession.** Possession is expressed either by one of two possessive pronouns, or by a noun phrase or long form pronoun preceding the possessed item. With inalienably possessed body parts, the short form pronoun is used.

**15.2.1 The personal possessive pronouns.** There are only two possessive pronouns, the first person singular *ipa* 'my' and the second person singular *au* 'your'. These immediately precede the possessed item.

(486) ipa sai a  
 my house 3:SG  
 'my house'

(487) ipa Paulo a  
 my Paulo 3:SG  
 'my (dear friend) Paulo'



(488) au hoko te  
 your:SG flashlight 3:SG  
 'your flashlight'

(489) au hao a  
 your:SG father 3:SG  
 'your father'

**15.2.2 Noun phrase or pronoun preceding possessed item.** Possession is also expressed by a noun phrase or a long form pronoun preceding the possessed item. When possession is expressed in this way, usually the specifier *hai* and the relative *ī* follow the noun phrase or pronoun and precede the possessed item. In this possessive construction, the singular form of the classifier follows the possessed noun, unless more (or at least equal) prominence is given to the possessor (492, 493).

Though less common, the noun may precede the possessed item without the specifier and relative (491). It may be that in these cases identification rather than possession is signified.

Although there is a possessive pronoun for the first and second person singular and this is used most commonly, possession may also be expressed by the regular long form first and second person pronouns. This probably indicates that the possessor receives special emphasis.

(490) Katimani tōpō hai ī sai pō  
 Katimani 3:PL SPECFR REL house 3:PL  
 'the Katimani people's houses'

(491) Katimani tōpō sai pō  
 Katimani 3:PL house 3:PL  
 'the houses of the Katimani people'

(492) Katimani a pata hai ī a sai  
 Katimani 3:SG AUG SPECFR REL 3:SG house  
 'big/important Katimani's house'

(493) kama hai ī a kutiata /  
 3:SG:LONG SPECFR REL 3:SG canoe  
  
 kama hai ī kutiata a  
 3:SG:LONG SPECFR REL canoe 3:SG  
 'his canoe' or 'his canoe'

- (494) kamisamakö            hai            ī            kutiata    a  
 1:PL:EXCL:LONG SPECFR REL canoe 3:SG  
 'our canoe'
- (495) kamakö            hai            ī            kutiata    a  
 2:PL:LONG SPECFR REL canoe 3:SG  
 'your canoe'
- (496) ki    töpö    hai            ī            kutiata    a  
 that 3:PL SPECFR REL canoe 3:SG  
 'their canoe'
- (497) kamisa            hai            ī            sai        a        /  
 1:SG:LONG SPECFR REL house 3:SG
- kamisa            sai        a        /    ipa    sai        a  
 1:SG:LONG house 3:SG    my house 3:SG  
 'my house'

**15.2.3 Short form pronoun preceding inalienably possessed body parts.**  
 With body parts, which are inalienably possessed, the short form personal pronoun is used (usually in the singular) and precedes the possessed item. In addition, the classifier *pili* may be employed preceding the personal pronoun to emphasize the distinction of the body part in question from other parts of the body.

- (498) — hi    ka    pi            te        —  
          this what PRTCLZR 3:SG
- pili            wa    poko  
          CLASS 2:SG arm  
 ' "What is this here?" "It is your arm." '
- (499) pili            a        wakö  
 CLASS 3:SG thigh  
 'his thigh'
- (500) sa    poko    nini    ipö            sai  
 1:SG arm hurt INTNSF really  
 'My arm really hurts a lot.'

### 15.3 Modifiers in the noun phrase

**15.3.1 Constituents of the noun phrase.** The usual linear ordering of the noun phrase constituents is as follows: demonstrative or relative, possessive, additive, noun, classifier, adjective, categorizer, and specifier. The general or specific classifiers (sect. 16.1) may precede the noun in a possessive construction (sect. 15.2.2) or when the noun has already been introduced in a narrative or conversation. (See (361), which is taken from a narrative text, and (551, 552), obtained through elicitation.) The order of frequency in the occurrence of the constituents is: classifier, categorizer, noun, demonstrative, possessive, adjective, and specifier.

**15.3.1.1 Nuclear constituents of the noun phrase.** The nucleus of the noun phrase comprises noun and classifier. The noun is often absent if context makes clear what the referent is. Although the categorizer is optional and in the periphery of the phrase, it is often present—more so than the noun. (There are only three categorizers: the augmentative *pata* ‘big, important’, the diminutive *wai* ‘small, endeared’, and the depreciatory *wani* ‘ugly, depreciated, nondescript’.) Considering the nucleus and the categorizer, the most frequent combinations in order are: classifier (501), classifier and categorizer (502), noun and classifier and categorizer (503), and noun and classifier (504).

(501) a                    inamo kule  
 3:SG:CLASS play PRES  
 ‘He is playing.’

(502) a                    wai        inamo kule  
 3:SG:CLASS DIMIN play PRES  
 ‘The little one is playing.’

(503) ulu a                    wai        inamo kule  
 child 3:SG:CLASS DIMIN play PRES  
 ‘The little child is playing.’

(504) ulu a                    inamo kule  
 son 3:SG:CLASS play PRES  
 ‘The child is playing.’

**15.3.1.2 Peripheral constituents of the noun phrase.** The peripheral constituents of the noun phrase are less frequent in occurrence and the only restriction as to co-occurrence is that the demonstrative and relative are mutually exclusive.

(505) hi ipa ai sote a wai  
 this my another basket 3:SG:CLASS DIMIN  
 tha -pa -li  
 make -EXT -FOC  
 '(Someone) makes another one of my baskets here.'

(506) ī ipa ai sote a wai  
 REL my another basket 3:SG:CLASS DIMIN  
 tha -pa -li  
 make -EXT -FOC  
 '(Someone) makes another one of my referred-to baskets.'

(507) pelupö a ösiti wai amisi  
 son 3:SG:CLASS young DIMIN thirsty  
 toti -a apa  
 good -DUR INTNSF  
 'His little young son is good and thirsty.'

(508) hi ipa ulu a amisi  
 this my son/child 3:SG:CLASS thirsty  
 wai hai -ki  
 DIMIN SPECFR -CNFRM  
 'It is my little thirsty son here.'

(509) uli pewö pata hote epö  
 region all AUG old INTNSF  
 'The whole big region is very old (no new tracks of animals).'

**15.3.1.3 Ordering of noun phrase constituents in relation to intervening elements.** When the noun phrase is an object and a short form personal pronoun is the subject, this pronoun occurs between the object noun and its classifier. (See also exs. 61 and 62.)

(510) īsa sama āi halo wai  
 cassava 1:PL:EXCL CLASS wrapped DIMIN

tha -pala hena kule  
 make -REPET early PRES  
 'We are making wrapped-up cassava early.'

(511) wale sa kökö  
 peccary 1:SG 3:PL:CLASS

sasu -pa -ma -ni ke  
 chasing:off -EXT -CAUS -FOC PRES  
 'I just now caused the peccary to be chased off.'

When the noun phrase is followed by a verb with a compound head (512, 513, and sect. 18.8) or by a verb with a prehead adverb (514, and sect. 18.7.1), the first head or the prehead adverb occur between the classifier and the modifier and/or categorizer of the noun phrase. If the verb has both a compound head and a prehead adverb, the first head occurs after the classifier and the prehead adverb follows the first head and adjective, but precedes the categorizer (515).

(512) Waika pö wasömö ohi wani eku -a  
 Waika 3:PL:CLASS en:masse hungry DEPR pass -DUR  
 (VB:HEAD<sub>1</sub>) (VB:HEAD<sub>2</sub>)

soa -kö nö, . . .  
 immediately -FOC SEQ  
 'The poor hungry Waika, having passed en masse (everyone from the village), . . .'

(513) töpö nasi pewö pata tu -pa -so -ma  
 3:PL:CLASS destroyed all AUG drown-EXT-FOC-CMPL  
 (VB:HEAD<sub>1</sub>) (VB:HEAD<sub>2</sub>)  
 'All of them drowned' or 'The whole big lot of them drowned.'

(514) ösö -kö moni pata sese -a  
 skin -DL almost AUG throw -DUR  
 (ADV)

ko -ta -li maaki, . . .  
 return -EXT -FOC even:though  
 (VB)  
 'Even though (he) almost throws the big skin again, . . .'

- (515) töpö nasi pewö moni pata  
 3:PL:CLASS destroyed all almost AUG  
 (VB:HEAD<sub>1</sub>) (ADV)

tu -pa -so -ma  
 drown -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 (VB:HEAD<sub>2</sub>)  
 'The whole lot of them almost drowned.'

- (516) sa nasi mani wani  
 1:SG destroyed in:dream DEPR  
 (VB:HEAD<sub>1</sub>) (ADV)

tu -pa -so -ma  
 drown -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 (VB:HEAD<sub>2</sub>)  
 'I dreamt I drowned.'

- (517) . . . ta pi hole ku  
 3:SG:AUD inside falsely say  
 (VB:HEAD<sub>1</sub>) (ADV) (VB:HEAD<sub>2</sub>)

mi sai  
 NEG really  
 '. . . he falsely really doesn't think.'

When the noun phrase is a subject marked by *kai* 'SUB:PTCPNT', the *kai* occurs between the modifier and the categorizer. (See sect. 15.1.1.2 for subordinate participant constructions.)

- (518) ī po kökö sino kai pata  
 REL machete 3:PL:CLASS only SUB:PTCPNT AUG

hemo -pa -lo -lö nö, . . .  
 go:up -EXT -FOC -DIR SEQ  
 '(They), having gone up with only their big machetes, . . .'

There is a subordinate clause construction consisting of verb plus *kai* which also occurs immediately preceding the categorizer of the noun phrase (sect. 14.4.1, and especially (413)).

- (519) makö            òkò kai            pata    sototo            -a  
 1:PL:INCL cry SUB:VB AUG stand:together -DUR  
 hena kule  
 early PRES  
 'We all are standing together crying early.'
- (520) a            hīso    kai            wai            pili            -o  
 3:SG angry SUB:VB DIMIN lie:in:hammock -PUNCT  
 le                            -o            kōlō -ma  
 as:other:approaches -PUNCT LOC -CMPL  
 'He lay in his hammock angry as (someone) approached.'
- (521) kutiata    òsimō ha sa            mia kai            wani pa  
 canoe inside in 1:SG sleep SUB:VB DEPR lie  
 pasi -ti            -a            tehe, . . .  
 apart -CONT -DUR when  
 'When I, apart from the rest, was lying sleeping inside the canoe, . . .'

**15.3.2 The relative clause.** The typical relative clause in Sanuma has an internal head and is followed by an anaphor in the main clause that is coreferential with the internal head. This anaphor consists of a relative pronoun *ī* followed by a classifier pronoun that agrees with the person and number of the internal head. Either the relative or the classifier may be omitted, but they often co-occur. In (522), the relative clause is *ipa ulu kōkō lo-le*, the internal head is *ipa ulu kōkō*, and the coreferential anaphor is *ī kōkō*.

- (522) ipa ulu kōkō lo -le,    ī  
 my son 3:PL sit -PRES REL  
 kōkō hu mai kite  
 3:PL go NEG FUT  
 'My sons who are sitting here will not go.'

This relative clause construction has some of the characteristics of a correlative, especially the type that Keenan (1985:165) refers to as coming close to being simply a "left-dislocated internal RC". There are, however, some distinctive features about the Sanuma relative clause construction and some of these differ depending on whether the relative clause has a nondescription verb (15.3.2.1) or a description verb (15.3.2.2).

**15.3.2.1 The relative clause with a nondescription verb.** The marker for the relative clause with a nondescription verb is: one of the indefinite markers (*wi*, *noai*) (sect. 14.1.1); one of the witnessed markers (sect. 18.1.1) with *ku-* deleted (e.g. *-le*, *-e*, *-pi*, *-pili*, *-li*, etc.); or the specifier *hai*. The latter is used in identification clauses and can also be considered as part of a possessive construction which has been discussed and exemplified in sect. 15.2.

The relative pronoun *ī* ‘the referred to’ follows the relative clause, usually contiguously, but other elements such as time and location may intervene, as in (533). Phonologically, there is a pause after the relative clause when the relative *ī* is used.

The *ī* may be omitted, usually when the indefinite marker of the restrictive clause is *wi*. In this case the construction sometimes approaches the meaning of a compound noun (536, 537) or, when the coreferential anaphor is the third person general pronoun *te* without a noun, the construction may be used to name an object, usually foreign to Sanuma culture (538–540).

The head of the relative clause consists of a noun plus its classifier pronoun, or just the classifier pronoun if the noun is already known from context (525, 528, 534).

The head of the relative clause may have one of several grammatical functions in the main clause. In the examples shown, it has the function of subject (522, 528, 533, 535), object (523, 526, 527), non-direct object (524, 525), and time or location (541, 542).

Within the relative clause itself, the head may function as intransitive subject (522–527), object (533, 534), or non-direct object (535). When the relativized constituent is the subject-agent of a transitive relative clause, there is no internal head noun phrase or classifier. The subject-agent is signalled only in the indefinite marker *wi* that occurs at the end of the relative clause (530–532, and compare the use of *wi* as a general nominalization marker in sect. 15.4).

(523) ipa ulu kōkō lo -le, ī sa  
 my son 3:PL sit -PRES REL 1:SG  
  
 kōkō pi ipa -ō  
 3:PL love INTNSF -NONASP  
 ‘I really love my sons who are sitting here.’

(524a) ipa ulu a lo -le, ī a  
 my son 3:SG sit -PRES REL 3:SG



niha sa hapalo ke  
to 1:SG speak IP  
'I just now spoke to my son who is sitting here.'

(524b) ipa ulu a lo -le, ī niha  
my son 3:SG sit -PRES REL .to

sa hapalo ke  
1:SG speak IP  
'I just now spoke to my son who is sitting here.'

(525) ki ha ai te öpa -lali, ī te niha . . .  
that LOC another 3:SG stand -PRES REL 3:SG to  
'To another one who is standing there . . .'

(526) hi au pösösö a wani -nö,  
this your:SG mother:in:law 3:SG DEPR -AG

ī au pēisi a ku -pa -so  
REL your:SG father:in:law 3:SG be -EXT -FOC

pia -le, ī a huama kule  
intend -PRES REL 3:SG talk:to PRES  
'Your mother-in-law engages in conversation the one who is to be your father-in-law.'

(527) au pole usi wai ku -le, te  
your:SG dog black DIMIN be -PRES 3:SG

wai pa -le, ī ipa te wai piho  
DIMIN lie -PRES REL my 3:SG DIMIN give  
'Give me my little (dog), your little black one which is/exists, the little one lying here.' (Lit: 'Your little black dog being, the little one lying here, that my little one give.')

(528) ki töpö niha a ku -o nani -o -pili,  
that 3:PL with 3:SG be -PUNCT with -PUNCT -DP

ī a ko -na -so -lö -ma  
REL 3:SG return -EXT -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
'The one who was with them returned.'

- (529) amito osō kai hu sinomo wi,  
plane CLASS SUB:PTCPNT go habitual INDEF

ī a pe epō  
REL 3:SG big INTNSF

'The one who habitually goes directing the plane is very big' or  
'The pilot is very big.'

- (530) Sanōma tōpō to -ma kō wi,  
Sanuma 3:PL well -CAUS return INDEF

ī a hu kite  
REL 3:SG come FUT

'The one who makes the Sanuma people well again will come.'

- (531) sotato tōpō kali -pala -ma wi,  
soldier 3:PL work -REPET -CAUS INDEF

ī a lo -a kule  
REL 3:SG sit -DUR PRES

'The one who makes the soldiers work is sitting.'

- (532) wale pō wani tae -pala wi,  
peccary 3:PL DEPR search:for -REPET INDEF

ī tōpō maso  
REL 3:PL tracks

'It is the tracks of those who search(ed) for the peccary.'

- (533) ipa ulu sa kōkō pi ipa wi,  
my son 1:SG 3:PL love INTNSF INDEF

tiko hamō ī kōkō hu mai kite  
different to REL 3:PL go NEG FUT

'My sons whom I really love, will not go off to a different (place).'

- (534) setenapi tōpō -nō a tha noai,  
non:Indian 3:PL -AG 3:SG make INDEF:PERF

ī sa pi kule  
REL 1:SG:S:3:SG:O want PRES

'I want the one which the non-Indians made.'

(535a) ipa ulu a niha nii sa te  
 my son 3:SG to food 1:SG 3:SG

toto -a -ma sinomo wi,  
 give -ITER -CAUS habitually INDEF

ī a -nō sa pi kite  
 REL 3:SG -AG 1:SG love FUT

'My son to whom I habitually provide food will love me.'

(535b) ipa ulu a niha nii sa te  
 my son 3:SG to food 1:SG 3:SG

toto -a -ma sinomo wi,  
 give -ITER -CAUS habitually INDEF

ī -nō sa pi kite  
 REL -AG 1:SG love FUT

'My son to whom I habitually provide food will love me.'

(536) tōpō kali -palo wi sai pō  
 3:PL work -REPET INDEF house 3:PL

'They are the houses where they work' or  
 'They are the work houses.'

(537) hise ha tōpō namo hu -ta wi tiso  
 here LOC 3:PL hunt go -EXT INDEF path

'It is the path where they go hunting here' or  
 'It is the hunting path.'

The following examples, in which the coreferential anaphor in the main clause is the third person general pronoun *te* without a noun, might be considered to be simply noun phrases (i.e., nominalizations), and not relative clauses, in that the indefinite clause does not convey the idea of restriction as clearly as do other relative clauses (sect. 15.4). Also, unlike other relative clauses, in these examples the possessive pronouns may modify and precede the indefinite clause (538b, 539b, 540b).

(538a) nakō ukō -a wi te pi -ta  
 tooth pull:out -DUR INDEF 3:SG give -EXT  
 'Give me the instrument for pulling teeth.'

(538b) ipa nakö ukö -a wi ipa te pi -ta  
 my tooth pull:out -DUR INDEF my 3:SG give -EXT  
 'Give me my instrument for pulling teeth.'

(539a) hola wi te pi -ta -so  
 blow INDEF 3:SG give -EXT -LOC  
 'Give me a harmonica here.'

(539b) ipa hola wi te pi -ta -so  
 my blow INDEF 3:SG give -EXT -LOC  
 'Give me my harmonica here.'

(540a) sawöte sawöte -mo wi te  
 spin spin -PRFRM INDEF 3:SG

wani -a -pa -so -ma  
 bad -DUR -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 'The propeller broke.'

(540b) ipa sawöte sawöte -mo wi te  
 my spin spin -PRFRM INDEF 3:SG

wani -a -pa -so -ma  
 bad -DUR -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 'My propeller broke.'

In the temporal and locational relative clauses, the relative pronoun constitutes the head.

(541) ulu a ku -po toita pia -le, . . .  
 child 3:SG be -EXT:FOC good about:to -PRES

ī tö -ka, nii te oa hena mai kite  
 REL TEMP -THEME food 3:SG eat early NEG FUT  
 '(She) will not eat food early in the day . . . at the time when her  
 child is just about to be born.'

(542) töpö inamo sinomo wi, ī ha sa  
 3:PL play always INDEF REL LOC 3:SG

inamo nai -o pia salo  
 play with -PUNCT intend RES  
 'I intend to play with (others) at the place where they always play.'

**15.3.2.2 The relative clause with a description verb or the nonaspectual existence verb.** The marker for the relative clause with a description verb is the indefinite *-i*, which is a bound form affixed to the verb; this verb is either a description verb or the existence verb that does not have the durative aspect *-a* or punctiliar *-o*. (See sect. 20, where the indefinite *-i* functions as an adverbializer on certain description verbs as *lope* 'fast' and *pe epö* 'very big, forceful'.) When the verb to which the *-i* is affixed ends in *-ö*, the *-ö* becomes *-i*. Some Sanuma speakers put a slight glottal stop between this *-i* and the indefinite *-i* while the majority do not (543–546, 548, 555–557).

The main clause grammatical function of the head of this type of relative clause may be subject (546, 548, 555, 556), object (545, 549–554), non-direct object (544), or head of a locative, but not a temporal, clause (547, 557). Within the relative clause, the head is always subject.

There are some respects in which the relative clauses with a description verb differ from those with the nonaspectual existence verb. Constructions with description verbs will be considered first.

In contrast to the relative clauses described in the last section, those with a description verb often have the head noun following the relative clause, either instead of (545, 548, 549, 553, 554), or in addition to (550–552), being internal to it. In these cases, the relative pronoun *ī* is optional, but the suffix *-i* 'INDEF' always occurs on the verb in the relative clause.

(543) ipa hoose a pata lape epi -i,  
 my younger:brother 3:SG AUG tall INTNSF -INDEF

*ī* a pata hai hasu nani ke  
 REL 3:SG AUG SPECFR pass:by with IP  
 'My tall younger brother, that one passed by with (others)' or  
 'My younger brother who is tall passed by with (others).'

(544) ipa hoose a pata lape epi -i,  
 my younger:brother 3:SG AUG tall INTNSF -INDEF

*ī* a niha sa te toto -ki ke  
 REL 3:SG to 1:SG 3:SG give -FOC IP  
 'I gave it to my younger brother who is tall.'

(545) pe epi -i, ī a tiso pata tha -kō  
 big INTNSF -INDEF REL 3:SG path AUG make -FOC  
 'Make a path which is very big.'

(546) a walakasō -pō öpi -i, ki sai  
 3:SG sore -DESCVZR INTNSF -INDEF that house  
  
 pō hamō ī a wani walo -kō -ma  
 3:PL at REL 3:SG DEPR arrive -FOC -CMPL  
 'The one who is full of sores arrived at that house.'

(547) hi ti patete -i ti ha samakō  
 wood CLASS thin:flat -INDEF CLASS LOC 1:PL:EXCL  
  
 lo -a mi kuteenō, . . .  
 sit -DUR NEG being:that  
 'Being that we (did) not sit on a thin, flat wooden (seat), . . .'  
 (Lit: 'Being that we sit not on it (wood) which wood is thin,  
 flat, . . .')

(548) satehe epi -i tōpō huso kule  
 many INTNSF -INDEF 3:PL leave PRES  
 'Very many people are leaving.'  
 (Lit: 'They who are many are leaving.')

(549) sami -i ipa po piho  
 one -INDEF my machete give  
 'Give me one machete.' (Lit: 'Give my machete which is one.')

The following are examples of a sequence of description relative clauses. Note that the classifier, when it occurs, precedes the noun. (See (551, 552), and the explanation in sect. 15.3.1).

(550) ipa po hanaha -i, ipa po  
 my machete red -INDEF my machete  
  
 lape -i, ipa po piho  
 long -INDEF my machete give  
 'Give me my red, long machete.'

(551) polakapi -i ipa kökō po hanaha -i,  
 two -INDEF my 3:DL machete red -INDEF

ipa kökō po lape -i, ipa kökō po piho  
 my 3:DL machete long -INDEF my 3:DL machete give  
 'Give me two red, long machetes.'

(552) kökō po lape -i, kökō po  
 3:DL machete long -INDEF 3:DL machete

hanaha -i, ipa kökō po piho  
 red -INDEF my 3:DL machete give  
 'Give me my long, red machetes.'

In relative clauses with a description verb or verbs and a descriptive modifier of the noun, the description verb comes first, receives more emphasis, and also has the indefinite *-i*.

(553) lape -i ipa po kökō hanaha pi -ta  
 long -INDEF my machete 3:DL red give -EXT  
 'Give me my long, red machetes.'

(554) tute -i, ipa polakapi -i ipa po  
 new -INDEF my two -INDEF my machete

kökō hanaha pi -ta  
 3:DL red give -EXT  
 'Give me my new, two red machetes.'

In contrast with the description verbs just described, relative clauses with the nonaspectual existence verb (the verb without the durative *-a* or punctiliar *-o*) have an internal head, and usually only the classifier pronoun occurs as the coreferential anaphor in the main clause, although the head noun phrase may be repeated (557). This is the same as for relative clauses with nondescription verbs. The relative marker, however, is *-i* 'INDEF', the same as for description verb clauses.

The existence verb is *ku-* 'to be' with one of the following suffixes before the relative *-i*: the nonaspectual *-ö* or the present *-le*. With *-le* it is common for the *ku-* to change to *ki-*, and with the *ki-* the *-le* most commonly changes to *-li*, with the resultant form *kili-i*. (See exs. 90–93 for the possible variant forms.)

(555) ipa hisa töpö ku -i -i,  
 my young:man 3:PL be -NONASP -INDEF

makö pi hatuk(u) -o toti -a -palo  
 2:PL inside clear -PUNCT good -DUR -REPET

'You who are my young men be very clear in your thinking.'

(Lit: 'You being my young men, you be very clear in your thinking.')

(556) hi ipa nao a, hi ipa sao a,  
 this my mother 3:SG this my sister 3:SG

hi ipa hoose a, ī naha töpö  
 this my younger:brother 3:SG REL like 3:PL

ku -i -i, töpö a -su -lö -ma  
 be -NONASP -INDEF 3:PL leave -FOC -DIR -CMPL

'Those who were my mother, my sister, and my younger brother, left.' (Lit: 'My mother, my sister, my younger brother, like that they being, they left.')

(557) ī naha u pata ku -i -i  
 REL like river:CLASS AUG be -NONASP -INDEF

u pata ha sa pili -o  
 river:CLASS AUG on 1:SG live -PUNCT

pasi -o -ma  
 separate -PUNCT -CMPL

'I lived separately on the big river, on that one which is this big.'

**15.4 Nominalizations.** In a nominalization, there is an indefinite clause marked by the clause-final subordinator *wi* 'INDEF' (sect. 14.1.1). This is followed always by the third person singular general pronoun *te*. The relative *ī* may occur, preceding the *te*. Structurally, a nominalization is much like the relative construction, the indefinite clause being comparable to the relative clause. One difference is that the relative clause always has a noun or pronoun as head, whereas the head of the indefinite clause in a nominalization may have only a verb. This might be expected inasmuch as a nominalization focuses on the verb itself, whereas a relative clause focuses on a clause constituent other than the verb. Another difference is that the indefinite clause of a nominalization is always followed by the third person singular general pronoun *te*, whereas the relative clause may be followed by other pronouns or nouns.



A nominalization can have the function of subject, object, or oblique (non-direct) object in the clause, or be the modifier of a head noun.

#### 15.4.1 Nominalization as subject

(558) òkò wi te ma -ta -so kite  
cry INDEF 3:SG not:be -EXT -FOC FUT  
'Crying will cease.'

(559) thomö -mo sinomo wi, ī te wanisala  
steal -PRFRM habitual INDEF REL 3:SG bad  
'Habitually stealing is bad.'

(560) hama töpö thomo -mo wi, ī te  
visitor 3:PL steal -PRFRM INDEF REL 3:SG  
  
ku -a kule  
be -DUR PRES  
'Visitors' stealing is going on.'

(561) pumotomö a pi tuse soa wi,  
opossum 3:SG inside cut right:away INDEF  
  
ī ta . . . ku -a soa kule  
REL 3:SG:AUD be -DUR still PRES  
'The opossum in (the tree) being cut-up right away, that talk/story still exists.'

#### 15.4.2 Nominalization as object

(562) a sapöko sinomo wi, ī sa  
3:SG fool:around habitual INDEF REL 1:SG  
  
te ta wani  
3:SG see dislike  
'I don't like to see his habitually fooling around.'

(563) makö topa wi sa te hini pi topa kule  
2:PL well INDEF 1:SG 3:SG hear inside well PRES  
'I like to hear (of) your being well.'

### 15.4.3 Nominalization as nondirect object

- (564) ipa pole a mamō kase pe -pa wi,  
 my dog 3:SG eye edge suffer -EXT INDEF  
 ī te niha sa òkō -o -po  
 REL 3:SG REFRNT 1:SG cry -PUNCT -FOC  
 hōtō -o thali  
 also -PUNCT VERIF:DP  
 'I have been also crying about my dog's eyelid suffering.'

**15.4.4 Nominalization as modifier of a head noun.** In this construction the nominalization acts very much like an identifying or possessor modifier of the head noun (sect. 15.2.2).

- (565) atakusa a topa -ma kō wi,  
 gun 3:SG good -CAUS return INDEF  
 ī te noa  
 REL 3:SG payment  
 'It is the fixing-of-the-gun payment.'

## 16 Pronoun system

There are five classes of pronouns: classifier, personal, possessive, demonstrative, and relative.

**16.1 Classifier pronouns.** Each noun has a classifier which cooccurs with, or substitutes for, the noun in the noun phrase. There are four types of classifiers: specific, general, characteristic, and body part. The first three types have a singular, dual, and plural form. Dual and plural are relative terms. Dual can mean 'few' as well as 'two', and plural at times signifies 'two' as well as 'more than two' or 'many'.

With some nouns the dual is rarely used, only the plural: *sai pō* 'two or more houses' and *sanōma tōpō* 'two or more Sanumas or people'. With other nouns the plural is rarely used, only the dual: *ilo kōkō* 'red howler monkeys' and *ōkoma kōkō* 'bananas'.

Specific, general, and characteristic classifier pronouns are translated as 'he, she, it, they'. Specific and general do not correlate with the definite and indefinite categories of reference as they might appear to from the English glosses with 'the, my, etc.' (definite) and 'a' (indefinite). (See examples 566 and 572.)

**16.1.1 Specific classifier pronouns.** The specific classifiers *a* ‘singular’, *kökö* or the contracted form *kö* ‘dual’, and *pö* ‘plural’ occur with nouns which are used in a specific sense, such as common objects, animals, heavenly bodies, and proper names.

- (566) sai a  
house SPECFC:3:SG  
‘It is the house’ or ‘It is a house.’
- (567) sai a pe epö  
house SPECFC:3:SG big INTNSF  
‘The house is very big.’
- (568) silaka kökö salili ipö /  
arrow SPECFC:3:DL straight INTNSF  
  
silaka kö salili ipö  
arrow SPECFC:3:DL straight INTNSF  
‘The arrows are very straight.’
- (569) öla a pata hu -ima -ö  
jaguar SPECFC:3:SG AUG come -DIR -NONASP  
‘The big jaguar approaches.’
- (570) sitikali pö ku -a apa  
star SPECFC:3:PL are -DUR INTNSF  
‘There are very many stars.’
- (571) Paulo a kali -palo kulati  
Paulo SPECFC:3:SG work -REPET PRES:LOC  
‘Paulo is working over there.’

**16.1.2 General classifier pronouns.** The general classifiers *te* ‘singular’, *tökö* ‘dual’, and *töpö* ‘plural’ occur with nouns which are used in a more general sense, and include uncommon objects, nominalizations, mass nouns, a collective group of spirits or people, or one belonging to such a group such as a female, a non-Indian, or a Brazilian.

- (572) sii thoto -kö ha hoko te  
hammock:CLASS -DL in flashlight GNRL:3:SG

titi            -a        kule  
 be:inside -DUR PRES  
 'A/the flashlight is inside the hammock.'

(573) saka            wi        te  
 paddle (vb) INDEF GNRL:3:SG  
 'It is a paddle.'

(574) sīsi        te  
 grass GNRL:3:SG  
 'It is grass.'

(575) hekula            tōpō  
*hekula*:spirit GNRL:3:PL  
 'They are *hekula* spirits.'

(576) sai            te  
 evil:spirit GNRL:3:SG  
 'It is an evil spirit.'

(577) suö            te  
 female/woman GNRL:3:SG  
 'It is a woman.'

(578) setenapi        te  
 non:Indian GNRL:3:SG  
 'He is a non-Indian.'

The difference between the specific classifier *a* and the general classifier *te* can be seen through the cases in which some nouns can take either classifier.

(579a) ulu        te  
 child GNRL:3:SG  
 'a child'

(579b) ipa ulu        a  
 my child SPECFC:3:sg  
 'my child'

(580a) suö        te  
 woman GNRL:3:SG  
 'a woman'

(580b) ipa suö        a  
 my woman SPECFC:3:SG  
 'my wife'

(581a) opo        te  
 armadillo GNRL:3:SG  
 'the/an armadillo (a covered basket which looked like an armadillo)'

(581b) opo        a  
 armadillo SPECFC:3:SG  
 'the/an armadillo'

Kinship terms usually take the specific classifier in the singular and the general in the plural.

(582a) ipa hepala        a  
 my older:brother SPECFC:3:SG  
 'He is my older brother.'

(582b) ipa hepala        töpö  
 my older:brother GNRL:3:PL  
 'They are my older brothers.'

**16.1.3 Characteristic classifier pronouns.** The characteristic classifiers classify the noun by indicating some general property of the noun: *ösö* 'thin, of little thickness', *koko* 'root', *thoto* 'rope, string, vine', and *ma* 'hard fruit, rock'. (See also 464, 484, 510.) There are only about 15 characteristic classifiers, with a limited number of nouns which go with each one. With some, as *āi* in *īsa āi* 'cassava bread', there is only one noun in the class; with others, such as *ösö* 'thin thing', there are many nouns in the class. Some nouns may take only the characteristic classifier, while others may take another type of classifier as well, as in the examples of *sitipa kökö* (metal SPECFC:3:DL) 'coins' and *sitipa na-kö* (metal CLASS(leaf)-DL) 'bills of money'.

The dual form of the characteristic pronouns takes the contracted form *kö* of the specific classifier (586) and the plural form takes the specific classifier plural *pö* (589). These dual and plural forms are written as bound to the classifiers inasmuch as no other element can intervene.

- (583) nasi koko su -a -mö  
 bitter:cassava CLASS(root) take -DUR -PURP  
 a -su -lö -ma  
 leave -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
 '(They) left to get bitter cassava.'
- (584) hi wa ti su -a -mö  
 wood 2:SG CLASS (wood) take -DUR -PURP  
 a -su -lö -ma  
 leave -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
 'Did you go out to get poles?'
- (585) watata sa asö te -li ke  
 cloth 1:SG CLASS receive -FOC IP  
 'I received cloth.'
- (586) söpala sa asö -kö te -li ke  
 metal 1:SG CLASS -DL receive -FOC IP  
 'I received the scissors.'
- (587) sitipa na kö ku -a apa  
 money CLASS (leaf) -DL be -DUR INTNSF  
 'Is there a lot of money (in bills as opposed to coins)?'
- (588) ma tu koa -lö  
 water CLASS (liquid) drink -FOC  
 'Drink water!'
- (589) maa sama ma -pö pewö  
 rock 1:PL:EXCL CLASS (rock) -PL all  
 wani toa kupili  
 DEPR gather DP  
 'We gathered all the rocks.'

**16.1.4 Body part classifier.** The body part classifier *pili* optionally occurs with human and animal body parts. This classifier is different from the others in that it precedes the noun and in that it has no dual or plural forms, and usually the noun to which it refers does not take the dual or plural either. There is a case of a dual form in *pili mamö-kö* 'eyes', but otherwise, when speaking of more than one body part, the quantitative modifier *pewö* 'all, both' is used, as in (590).

There are a few examples of the classifier *pili* being used with nouns other than human or animal body parts, as in *pili mo* ‘seed of fruit or grain’ and *pili motokö* ‘sun’.

(590) *pili*    *konona pewö nini*  
 CLASS:body:part *shin*      both hurt  
 ‘Both my shins hurt.’

(591a) *pili*      *sa*      *poko*      *nini*      *ipö*              *sai*  
 CLASS 1:SG    arm      hurt    INTNSF    really  
 ‘My arm really hurts badly.’

(591b) *sa*      *poko*      *nini*      *ipö*              *sai*  
 1:SG    arm      hurt    INTNSF    really  
 ‘My arm really hurts badly.’

**16.2 Personal pronouns.** The first section lists and describes the personal pronouns and the second deals with their usage.

**16.2.1 Listing and description of personal pronouns.** Personal pronouns have both long and short forms. In the first person plural there is also the distinction of exclusive and inclusive, excluding or including the listener or listeners. First person plural inclusive and second person plural have the same pronoun and only context determines which referent is intended.

The first and second person singular long and short forms are *kamisa*, *sa* ‘1:SG’ and *kawa*, *wa* ‘2:SG’. With the markers *-nö* and *niha* the second person singular personal pronoun has alternate forms depending on the speaker. Some use a form closer to that used in the Yanomam dialect of Yanomami, *kaho*. Thus, the alternate forms in Sanuma are *kawa-nö/kao-nö/kau-nö* and *kawa niha/kao niha/kau niha* (593).

The first and second person plural long and short forms are *kamisamakö*, *samakö* ‘1:PL:EXCL’ and *kamakö*, *makö* ‘1:PL:INCL/2:PL’ (599). The short forms for the first and second plural when used as agent in a transitive clause are *sama* ‘1:PL:EXCL’ and *ma* ‘1:PL:INCL/2:PL’ (458, 459, 602).

The third person short form pronouns are the same as the singular, dual, and plural general and specific classifier pronouns. The third person long and short form pronouns are *kama*, *alte* ‘3:SG’, *kama tökö* / *kama kökö* ‘3:DL’, and *kama töpö* / *kama pö* ‘3:PL’.

**16.2.2 Usage of personal pronouns.** The long form is used to give prominence to the person involved. Usage of the long and short forms varies with the type of clause in which they are found. Also usage is restricted with the referent marker *niha*.

a. With the marker *niha* only the long form is used.

(592) kamisa                    niha a        toto -kö  
 1:SG:long:form to     3:SG give -FOC  
 'Give it to me.'

(593) kawa/kau                niha a        hīso  
 2:SG:long:form at     3:SG angry  
 'He is angry at you.'

b. In an identification clause, the short form is almost always used in the interrogative and the long form is always used in the declarative.

(594) witi wa  
 who 2:SG  
 'Who are you?'

(595) kamisa  
 1:SG  
 'It is I.'

(596) kamisamakö pasi kuteenö . . .  
 1:PL:EXCL apart being:that  
 'Being that it was we . . .'

c. In clauses other than transitive and identification, the short form is the usual one, with the long form used only when the pronominal subject receives prominence (601).

(597) sa inamo -ti kule  
 1:SG play -CONT PRES  
 'I am playing (continually).'

(598) wa topa kule  
 2:SG well PRES  
 'Are you well?'

(599) makö                    kali -palo mai kite  
 1:PL:INCL/2:PL work -REPET NEG FUT  
 'We are not going to work' or 'You (pl) are not going to work.'



(600) sa hu pi topa -a  
 1:SG go desire good -DUR  
 'I want to go.'

(601) kamisa hu pasi -a ma -ne  
 1:SG:long:form go apart -DUR NEG -PRES  
 'I am not going.'

d. In transitive and ditransitive clauses, both the long and short forms for the first and second person are used in the same clause. If there is no prominence given to the personal pronoun, only the short form appears (61–63).

The long and short forms can occur contiguously with deletion of the object noun.

(602) kamakö -nö ma te mö  
 2:PL:long:form -AG 2:PL:short:form 3:SG look:at  
  
 hāto asa -ö  
 secretly exclusively -NONASP  
 'Only you secretly look at it.'

In the above example the agent marker *-nö* occurs on the long form pronoun, and this is the general rule, but there are some cases in which the short form can take the agent marker, as when the numeral is used to modify the pronoun (603) and when there is an appositional phrase (604).

(603) sami sa -nö ipa te uli tāi, tāi  
 one 1:SG -AG my 3:SG area cut cut  
 'I by myself cut my area.'

(604) kanene wa -nö au sinanu ūko  
 killer 2:SG -AG your cotton CLASS (string)  
  
 titi -a kule  
 put:in -DUR PRES  
 'You, the killer, are putting your cotton string in.'

### 16.3 Possessive pronouns. (See sect. 15.2.1.)

16.4 Demonstrative pronouns. There are three demonstrative pronouns: *hi* 'this one, near me', *mi* 'that one, near you', and *ki* 'that one, over there'.

(605) hi hapoka wa te -lö  
 this pot 2:SG take -FOC  
 'Take this pot.'

(606) mi au hapoka wa te -lö  
 that:near:you your pot 2:SG take -FOC  
 'Take that pot near you.'

(607) ki ipa ai hapoka wa te -lö -tö  
 that:over:there my another pot 2:SG take -FOC -LOC  
 'Get another one of my pots over there.'

The demonstrative pronoun *hi* is often used in a coordinational noun phrase (88–90, 92), and in clauses which are repeated to show the number of days, months (moons), or years (dry seasons).

(608) hi wa ku -a, hi wa ku -a,  
 this 2:SG be -DUR this 2:SG be -DUR  
  
 hi wa ku -a  
 this 2:SG be -DUR  
 'You stay for three days.'

For the use of *hi* and *ki* in opening an episode in a discourse, see (202) and (203).

**16.5 The relative pronoun *ĩ*.** The relative pronoun *ĩ* 'the referred to' is probably the most common word in Sanuma. In 150 pages of double spaced text, it occurred 1,927 times, 624 times more than the common classifier *te*.

**16.5.1 Grammatical relationships of the relative pronoun *ĩ*.** As discussed in sect. 15.3.2.1, the relative *ĩ* often refers back to an immediately preceding relative clause. This relative pronoun also can refer to an element beyond the sentence in which it occurs. Usually, the reference is to an element preceding, although in (611) the *ĩ* refers to participants yet to be enumerated.

The relative *ĩ* may refer to a single constituent of a clause (the second *ĩ* in 609), a whole clause (a main clause in 610, or a subordinate clause as in the examples of sect. 15.3.2), or even a whole sequence of clauses (as does the first *ĩ* in 609).

(609) *ī naha ī a ku -la -so kupili*  
 REL like REL 3:SG say -EXT -FOC DP  
 'Like that that one finally said' or 'Like that he said.'

(610) *nasö ösö tö -ki. ī te uli kolo*  
 cassava CLASS plant -FOC REL 3:SG area bottom

*ha ökoma asö -kö tö -ki.*  
 LOC banana CLASS -DL plant -FOC

*ī ha, hikali hūko ha sai a*  
 REL LOC garden forehead LOC house 3:SG

*tha soa -ki. ī a sai hote*  
 make immediate -FOC REL 3:SG house old

*toti -so -ö ha, ai a sai*  
 good -FOC -NONASP upon another 3:SG house

*tha ko -ki*  
 make again -FOC

'Cassava is planted. In the bottom of that area bananas are planted. In that place, at the top part of the garden a house is made right away. When that house gets really old, another house is made again.'

(611) *Poa Pisita ha ī samakö pewö kali -palo*  
 Boa Vista LOC REL 1:PL:EXCL all work -REPET

*kupili ipa hoose a Manuelö solo, Kotowö*  
 DP my younger:brother 3:SG Manuel also, Kotowö

*a solo, Siku a solo . . .*  
 3:SG also, Chico 3:SG also . . .

'In Boa Vista we all (to be referred to) worked. My younger brother Manuel, Kotowö, Chico . . . (were the ones working with me).'

Note: If the relative *ī* were to refer to the town of Boa Vista, it would have to take the locative *ha*. (See sect. 16.5.2.2 and ex. 542.)

## 16.5.2 Grammatical function of the relative *ī*.

**16.5.2.1 The relative *ī* as modifier.** The relative *ī* can function as a modifier of the noun or pronoun of the main clause and is mutually exclusive with the demonstrative pronouns. (See 609 and the second sentence of 610, along with 522–527.)

As modifier in an interrogative clause, the relative *ī* precedes the interrogative.

(612) *ī* ka pi ti -ki pata hila kupi  
REL INTER PRTCLZR CLASS -DL AUG name RP  
'What did I name that big tree (I referred to) this morning?'

(613) *ī* witi pili töpö  
REL INTER PRTCLZR 3:PL  
'Who are they (you are talking about)?'

**16.5.2.2 The relative *ī* as head of clause or phrase.** The relative *ī* can also function as the main pronoun of the clause (taking the agent marker *-nö*) or of a time, location, or manner phrase. (See (541) and (542) for time and location.)

(614) *ī* -nö sa wanipo sinomo -ö /  
REL -AG 1:SG be:against habitual -CUST  
*ī* a -nö sa wanipo sinomo -ö  
REL 3:SG -AG 1:SG be:against habitual -CUST  
'That one (referred to) is always against me.'

(615) *ī* naha a ku -ma  
REL like 3:SG say -CMPL  
'Like that he said.'

## 17 Adpositional phrase structure

In Sanuma there are no prepositions, only postpositions. The postpositional phrases are those of time, location, and manner.

**17.1 Time phrases.** The temporal postpositions are *tehe* (*tö-* when followed by *-kö* or *-ka*), *paha/pa*, and *ha*. As a general rule, the postpositions *tehe* 'during, when, while' and *paha/pa* 'as, while' have a durative or progressive connotation, whereas *ha* has the punctual or punctiliar connotation 'at the point of, upon, as soon as'. The notions of 'before' and 'after' are discussed in sects. 17.1.3.2 and 17.1.3.3.

There are three types of time phrases: 1) those with time-oriented description verbs and their derived nouns; 2) those with a relative phrase; and 3) those with a clause.

**17.1.1 Time phrases with time-oriented description verb.** There are some description verbs which are distinguished from the rest of the description verbs both semantically and structurally. Semantically, they are time oriented, and structurally, they frequently occur in time phrases marked by the postpositions *ha* and *tehe*.

Description verbs may be divided into those which can take the intensifier *öpö*, and those which can become nouns.

**17.1.1.1 Description verbs which can take the intensifier *öpö*.** There are two time-oriented description verbs which appear in the time phrase: *sutu* ‘long time’ and *halu* ‘nighttime’. The intensifier *öpö* appears often with *sutu*, but we have only one example of it appearing with *halu*. The verb *sutu* always occurs with the postposition *ha*.

(616) *sutu ha sa hu waiki -o*  
 long:time TEMP 1:SG go already -PUNCT

*noai kipi*  
 INDEF:PERF would  
 ‘I would have gone a long time ago.’

(617) *sutu ha wa lo -ti -o ke*  
 long:time TEMP 2:SG sit -CONT -PUNCT IP  
 ‘Have you been sitting for a long time just now?’

(618) *waiha sutu ha sa a -so -lö kite*  
 later long:time TEMP 1:SG leave -FOC -DIR FUT  
 ‘Later, a long time from now, I’ll leave.’

Note: *waiha* is treated as one word and *sutu ha* as two because of the possible addition of the intensifier for *sutu*.

(619) *sutu upö ha öla a pata -nö*  
 long:time INTNSF TEMP jaguar 3:SG AUG -AG

*Sanöma töpö pewö oa -ma*  
 Sanuma 3:PL all eat -CMPL  
 ‘A very long time ago the big jaguar ate all the Sanuma/people.’

- (620) te      halu          upa          tehe, . . .  
 3:SG nighttime INTNSF when  
 'When it (was) far into the night, . . .'

**17.1.1.2 Description verbs which become nouns.** There are at least four time-oriented description verbs which can become nouns. These nouns are: *wakala* 'light, day'; *mumi* or *numi* 'dark, night'; *wisa* 'late, afternoon'; and *hena* 'early, morning'. All take the postposition *ha*, but *wisa* and *hena* usually take *tehe*.

a. *wakala* 'light, day'

- (621) ī      te      wakala    ha    maa    sama          ma  
 REL 3:SG day      on rock 1:PL:EXCL CLASS  
 se -ö          soa          -ö  
 hit -NONASP immediately -NONASP  
 'On that day we go to breaking up rocks.'

- (622) wakalai    ha          wa      kō      kili      kule  
 light      TEMP 2:SG return afraid PRES  
 'During the daytime you are afraid of returning.'

b. *numi/mumi* 'dark, night'

- (623) ī      te      numi    ha      sa      ami    nini    halu    -ki  
 REL 3:SG night TEMP 1:SG hand hurt at:night -FOC  
 'On that night my hand hurts at night.'

- (624) numai    ha      sa      silimo    pasi      -o  
 night TEMP 1:SG anxious separate -PUNCT  
 ku -a          -ma  
 be -DUR -CMPL  
 'I was feeling anxious at night (others weren't).'

- (625) möthali    te          mumi    ha  
 middle 3:SG night TEMP  
 'in the middle of the night'

c. *wisa* can mean either 'late afternoon' or, if it is preceded by *hi* 'this', it means 'yesterday, recently'. 'Late afternoon' can be expressed by adding the classifier plus *-i* with the postposition *ha*, or by the optional occurrence of the classifier preceding *wisa* and with the postposition *tehe*.

- (626) hi wisa ha töpö  
 this late:afternoon TEMP 3:PL  
 ko -na -so -lö -ma  
 return -EXT -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
 'They went back home yesterday.'
- (627) wisa te-i ha sa ko -pi  
 late:afternoon 3:SG TEMP 1:SG return -FOC  
 'In the late afternoon I return home.'
- (628) ī naha wisa(i) tehe, ī naha lele -a  
 REL like late:afternoon TEMP REL like run -DUR  
 ku -a ko -kö -ma  
 be -DUR return -FOC -CMPL  
 'Like that, when (it was) late afternoon, like that (they) went running again.'

d. *hena* 'early', plus the postposition *tehe* (or even, rarely, *ha*) often means 'tomorrow, the next day'.

- (629) hena tehe samakö huso hena kule  
 early TEMP 1:PL:EXCL prepare:to:leave early PRES  
 'The next morning we get ready to leave early.'
- (630) hena te sai tehe makö  
 early 3:SG really TEMP 1:PL:INCL  
 a -su -lö -pö  
 leave -FOC -DIR -DESID  
 'Let's leave really early in the morning.'
- (631) ī hena ha samakö pāha  
 REL early TEMP 1:PL:EXCL go:far  
 soa -ki kölö -ö  
 right:away -FOC LOC -NONASP  
 'On the next day we right away go far down(river).'

**17.1.2 Time phrases with relative phrase.** Only the postposition *tehe* has been found occurring with the relative construction in the time phrase.

- (632) töpö kali -palo wi, ī tehe . . .  
 3:PL work -REPET INDEF REL TEMP  
 'When they work . . .'
- (633) töpö kali -palo noai, ī tehe . . .  
 3:PL work -REPET INDEF:PERF REL TEMP  
 'When they worked . . .'
- (634) töpö kali -palo -pili, ī tehe . . .  
 3:PL work -REPET -DP REL TEMP  
 'When they worked (eye-witnessed) . . .'
- (635) ulu a ku -po toita pia -le,  
 child 3:SG be -EXT:FOC good about:to -PRES  
 ī tehe nii te oa hena mai kite  
 REL TEMP food 3:SG eat early NEG FUT  
 'When the child is just about to be born, (the mother) will not eat food.'

**17.1.3 Time phrases with clause and postposition.** The tense-degree of knowledge-location markers *kule*, *ke*, *kupi*, and *kupili* do not occur with the temporal postpositions, and in these cases the time is indicated by the verb of the main clause.

**17.1.3.1 State or action of the main clause simultaneous with that of the subordinate clause.** (See also exs. 353, 354.)

- (636) hise ha kamisa ku -a tehe, töpö  
 here LOC 1:SG be -DUR TEMP 3:PL  
 thomö -mo mai kite  
 agouti -act:like NEG FUT  
 'When I am here they will not steal.'
- (637) sa ose tehe, witi ha sa kai  
 1:SG young TEMP INTER LOC 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT  
 pili -o -ma  
 live -PUNCT -CMPL  
 'When I was young, where did I live?'



(638) samakö pili -a  
 1:PL:EXCL live/lie:in:hammock -DUR

hisa -ti -a tehe, a ko -pi  
 at:home -CONT -DUR TEMP 3:SG return -FOC  
 'He arrives while we are lying in our hammocks.'

(639) samakö hu halu -ti pa te halu -so  
 1:PL:EXCL go at:night -CONT while 3:SG dawn -FOC  
 'It becomes day while we are traveling at night.'

**17.1.3.2 State or action of the main clause prior to that of the subordinate clause.** When the state or action of the main clause takes place before that of the time phrase, the time phrase has the negative immediately preceding the postposition, and either the time phrase or the main clause has the adverb *pali/pai* 'first, before'. (See also exs. 355, 356.)

(640) simone -a pali -a mai ha, te  
 spin -DUR first -DUR NEG TEMP 3:SG

su -a mai kite  
 take -DUR neg FUT  
 'I won't record before the (spools) spin around.'

(641) nii te oa hena mai ha,  
 food 3:SG eat early NEG TEMP

halili -mo hena pai -ti -a  
 with:sharp:pain -PRFRM early first -CONT -DUR  
 'At the point when she is fasting early, she is groaning in pain before (childbirth).'

**17.1.3.3 State or action of the main clause after that of the subordinate clause.** When the state or action of the main clause takes place some time after that of the time phrase, this phrase usually takes the postposition *ha* or the indefinite perfect *noai* with the postposition *ha*. (See also exs. 359, 360.)

(642) wa namo a -su -lö noai ha, au  
 2:SG hunt leave -FOC -DIR INDEF:PERF TEMP your

nao a wani a huama hisa  
 mother 3:SG DEPR AUD converse:with at:home

hāto -ma  
 secretly -CMPL

'After you went hunting, (she) converses secretly at home with your mother.'

(643) ī naha öla a wani ku -ta -kö  
 REL like jaguar 3:SG DEPR be -EXT -FOC

noai ha, töpö a īka -palo  
 INDEF:PERF TEMP 3:PL AUD laugh -REPET

kō -a kölö -a  
 return -DUR LOC -DUR

'After the jaguar acts like that, they laugh again down there.'

(644) sa ko -na -so -lö noai ha,  
 1:SG return -EXT -FOC -DIR INDEF:PERF TEMP

pata u öki -mo -na -so kite  
 big water full -PRFRM -EXT -FOC FUT

'After I leave for home, the river will fill up.'

(645) ma te ma -ta -so -ö ha  
 rain 3:SG be:not -EXT -FOC -NONASP LOC

sa kali -palo kō kite  
 1:SG work -REPET return FUT

'When it stops raining I'll work again.'

The completive *-ma* can occur in temporal constructions and gives the sense of definite or completive perfect (pluperfect) if the main verb already is in the past tense. The completive also is often used in the time phrase when the main clause consists of an ideophone which has no tense marking. (See also exs. 357, 358.)

(646) öla a tu -o -ima -ma tehe, . . .  
 jaguar 3:SG climb -PUNCT -DIR -CMPL TEMP

ī hamö öla a pi sokö -so -lö -ma  
 REL LOC jaguar 3:SG inside propel -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
 'After the jaguar had climbed up approaching, . . . there the jaguar  
 was propelled in (the tree which had been bent back magically).'

(647) a sete -a ko -ta -kö solö -ma  
 3:SG attach -DUR return -EXT -FOC LOC -CMPL

tö -ka, plotho  
 TEMP -THEME blow:out (ideophone)  
 '. . . after she had attached herself here again, (she was) shot at  
 (with blow gun).'

(648) wāthemo ko -kö -ma ha, tökö  
 tighten:and:push return -FOC -CMPL TEMP 2:DL

pata, plīo  
 AUG slide:out (ideophone)  
 'As soon as she had tightened up and pushed, the big (placenta)  
 slid out/was expelled.'

**17.2 Location phrases.** Location phrases consist of a locative postposition with either certain words, with a noun phrase, or with a clause.

**17.2.1 Certain words with locational postposition.** The adverb *hise/hisa* 'here' and the locative adjective *kolo* 'bottom' may occur with the postposition *ha* 'at, on, in, to' and *hamö* 'to, along, in vicinity of'. (For *hise/hisa* see exs. 351, 370, 371, 468, and 784b; for *kolo* see ex. 818.)

Other words which may take either *ha*, *hamö*, *niha* 'to, at, with', or *nihamö* 'to, with' are: the demonstratives *ki* 'that' and *mi* 'that near you' (203, 448, 525); the relative *ī* 'the referred to' (209), and the interrogative *witi* (238, 242, 243).

**17.2.2 Noun phrases with locational postposition.** The locational postpositions are *ha/hamö* or *niha/nihamö*.

(649) ki maa ma -kö ha hekula töpö ku -a  
 that rock CLASS -DL in *hekula*:spirits 3:PL be -DUR  
 'There are *hekula* spirits in that mountain.'

- (650) Samatali töpö niha hapoka ku -o opa -ma  
 Samathali 3:PL at/with pot be -DUR INTNSF -CMPL  
 'There were a lot of pots at/with the Samathali people.'
- (651) pola kase pata hamö piliso ku -a kölö -a  
 rapids edge AUG along path be -DUR LOC -DUR  
 'There is a path down along the edge of the big rapids.'
- (652) hi ti patete -i ti ha samakö  
 wood CLASS thin/flat -INDEF CLASS on 1:PL:EXCL  
 lo -a mi kuteenö, . . .  
 sit -DUR NEG being:that . . .  
 'Being that we don't sit on a flat (piece of) wood, . . .'

**17.2.3 Clauses with locational postposition.** With clauses that make up part of a locational phrase, the postpositions *ha/hamö* are used when the verb of these clauses has the verb with the witnessed aspect (which appears in the contracted form without the initial *ku-*); otherwise, the postpositions *paha/pahamö* (or the contracted forms *pa/pamö*) are used.

- (653) ki ti -ki öpa -lati ha masita te  
 that CLASS -DL stand -PRES:WIT:LOC by/at dirt 3:SG  
 usi -i te ku -a  
 black -INDEF 3:SG be -DUR  
 'Over there by that tree there is black dirt.'
- (654) wai tu kolo wai pa -lali  
 little water bottom DIMIN lie -PRES:WIT:LOC  
 ha kutiata a kā soa laso -a  
 at canoe 3:SG be:in:water still LOC -DUR  
 'Where the bottom of the small stream lies over there, there is a canoe in the water' or  
 'At the mouth of the small stream over there, . . .'
- (655) solokoamasö -nö satoto opa paha  
*solokoamasö*:bird -AG low INTNSF LOC

taka kai lo -ma  
 CLASS (fire) SUB:PTCPNT sit -CMPL  
 'The *solokoamasö* bird perched down low with the fire  
 (he had snatched from alligator's mouth).'

**17.3 Manner phrases.** There are two types of manner phrase, the relative phrase and the comparative phrase, both of which occur with the postposition *naha* 'like'.

**17.3.1 The relative manner phrase.** The relative manner phrase has the relative *ī* followed contiguously by the postposition *naha*. (See sect. 16.5 for discussion on the relative pronoun *ī*.)

(656) — Olomai hamö sa ko -pi pia  
 Olomai to 1:SG return -FOC intend

kule -ö — ī naha a ku -ma  
 PRES -EXCLM REL like 3:SG say -CMPL  
 ' "I am about to return to Olomai," like that he said.'

(657) ī naha te ku -a -ö ha, napö  
 REL like 3:SG be -DUR -NONASP upon Carib

töpö niha sa noka kō mai kite  
 3:PL with 1:SG follow return NEG FUT  
 'Upon it being like that, I will not follow with the Carib again.'

**17.3.2 The comparative manner phrase.** The comparative manner phrase occurs within the relative phrase and comprises one part of a comparison. It is marked by the phrase final *naha* 'like'.

(658) ki töpö thomö -mo ku -a wi naha,  
 that 3:PL agouti -act:like be -DUR INDEF like

ī naha wa ku -a pia salo  
 REL like 2:SG be -DUR intend RES  
 'You intend to be like they are stealing' or  
 'You intend to steal like they do.'

(659) pata töpö ku -a noai naha, ī naha  
 old 3:PL be -DUR INDEF:PERF like REL like

wa ku -a hōtō -o -pō  
 2:SG be -DUR also -PUNCT -DESID

'Like the old people were, like that you should be, too.'

## 18 Verb phrase structure

The class of verb occurring as head of the verb phrase correlates with the clause type in which it occurs, except in the one case in which the existence verb occurs as head of an identification clause. Thus, in description clauses there are description verbs, in motion clauses, motion verbs, etc. Each class of verb, therefore, is basic to one clause type. It is possible, however, for a verb to occur in a clause type other than its basic one. The verb phrase in such a case is a derived verb phrase. For example, a transitive verb occurring in a stative clause is a derived stative verb. (See sect. 18.5 which deals with derivation.)

The verb phrase may be analyzed in terms of nuclear and peripheral constituents. The peripheral constituents are adverbs and function to modify the head. A maximum of four have been found in any one verb phrase. In general, there are fewer in stative type verb phrases than in others. The broad meaning of the classes of adverbs are: time, location, manner, co-occurrence in relation to other participants, sequence in relation to other actions, and limitation of action. This is also the usual order in which the adverbs occur within the verb phrase. The adverbs are discussed in sect. 18.7.

The nuclear constituents are the head and combinations of constituents indicating durative, punctiliar, iterative, and repetitive aspects, extent of action, continuation, change focus, negation, direction, location, a single category with the three components of tense, degree of knowledge and location, and degree of fulfillment.

Following is a list showing the linear occurrence of these constituents in the verb phrase. Top to bottom in the vertical arrangement represents what would be left to right in a horizontal one.

Modification: general (adverb)

Head

Aspects: durative, punctiliar, iterative

Aspect: repetitive

Intensifier (adverb)

Aspect: extent of action

Modification: specific (adverb)

Causative

Aspect: continuation or change focus

Direction, location

Negation

Tense-degree of knowledge-location or  
modality of degree of fulfillment

**18.1 Tense, degree of knowledge, and location.** Tense and the modality of degree of knowledge on the part of the speaker of the state or action are expressed in the same marker, which is verb-phrase final. The location in relation to the speaker is indicated in this same marker when the state or action is in the present tense and witnessed by the speaker.

There are three degrees of knowledge on the part of the speaker: witness, verification, and supposition. With very few exceptions, the markers expressing degree of knowledge are mutually exclusive with those expressing the modality of degree of fulfillment discussed in sect. 18.3.

**18.1.1 Witness by the speaker.** A state or event witnessed by the speaker can be either present or past tense. All of the markers indicating witnessed have, in their full form, an initial *ku-* or in some cases its alternates *ki-*, *kō-*, or *k-*. Cases in which the *ku-* or its alternates are dropped are discussed in sect. 18.1.1.3.

**18.1.1.1 Present witnessed.** If the state or event is in present time, then location is also included. In analyzing the list below, it is possible to make further subdivisions and conclude that *ku-* indicates ‘witness’, *-la-* ‘horizontal location’, *-po-* ‘vertical location’, and *-kili* ‘down’, whether horizontal or vertical. Further dissection might be possible, but probably not too useful.

*kule* ‘near the speaker’ is the only present tense-degree of knowledge-location marker that is used with all verbs. The other markers listed below are not used with description and emotion verbs. (When *kule* occurs on these verbs, they become derived receptive verbs. Also there is the exceptional usage of *kimati* ‘going away from speaker’ with the verb *topa* ‘good’, with the meaning ‘progressing well’, as in 671.)

For a sampling of the usage of *kule* see (19, 24–26, 48, 51–53, 69, 71, 72, and 101).

One other observation in connection with *kule* is that at times the strict meaning of ‘present-witnessed-here’ is stretched a bit, in the sense that tense is still present time, but the location might be away from the speaker and the event not necessarily witnessed at the moment of speaking. The following is one example.

- (660) *ī na töpö ku kule*  
 REL like 3:PL say PRES  
 'That's what they are saying.'  
 (The speaker had just come from a conversation in another house  
 and reports what they are talking about.)

Following are the other present-degree of knowledge-location markers:

*kulai/kulaai* 'fairly near, having been seen by the speaker, but at the moment hidden by some obstruction such as a tree, wall, etc.' (661, 662);

*kulati/kulahati* 'farther away from the speaker (than indicated by *kule*) but on the same level, without any rises or depressions to speak of' (663);

*kulali/kulahali* 'upriver or across the river or even on land when there are one or more low spots or valleys between the speaker and the other person or object' (664, 665);

*kulatili* 'far away inland from the river' (666);

*kulakili* 'far away downriver' (667);

*kupoli/kupoholi* 'up above in air, tree, etc.' (668);

*kupokili* 'down below in hole, earth, etc.' (669);

*kimati/kuimati* 'going away from speaker on same level' (670, 671);

*kimani/kimahani/kuimani/kuimahani* 'going away from speaker upriver or across river' (672);

*kimakili* 'going away from speaker downriver' (673);

*kimi* 'toward speaker' (674).

- (661) *hi ai kutiata pö kalol(o) -a kulai*  
 this another canoe 3:PL float -DUR PRES:WIT:LOC  
 'There are other canoes floating here (beyond the trees).'
- (662) *mateta ti wai a toto -ma kulai*  
 suitcase CLASS DIMIN HSY give -CAUS PRES:WIT:LOC  
 '(He) is providing small suitcase(s) (inside the house).'



- (663) ī ha Sanōma tōpō hila  
REL LOC Sanuma 3:PL be:together:on:ground  
  
kulati  
PRES:WIT:LOC  
'At that place there are Sanuma (sitting) on the ground.'
- (664) kutiata a kā kulali  
canoe 3:SG be:in:water PRES:WIT:LOC  
'There is a canoe in the water (upstream).'
- (665) pōkatō ha thalökō a tha kulali  
across:river LOC firewood 3:SG do PRES:WIT:LOC  
'(He) is cutting firewood on the other side of the river.'
- (666) ki hamō Waika tōpō saponomo kulatili  
that LOC Waika 3:PL feast PRES:WIT:LOC  
'The Waika are feasting way over there.'
- (667) amito osō pata a huso  
airplane CLASS AUG AUD leave  
  
kō -a kulakili  
return -DUR PRES:WIT:LOC  
'The plane is leaving again (downriver).'
- (668) ala a lo -a kupoli  
macaw 3:SG perch -DUR PRES:WIT:LOC  
'A macaw is perching up there.'
- (669) hi taka ha ma tu  
this CLASS:hole in water CLASS  
  
ku -a kupokili  
be -DUR PRES:WIT:LOC  
'There is water down in this hole.'
- (670) olō kökö wani hole -a kimati  
snake CLASS DEPR crawl -DUR PRES:WIT:LOC  
'A snake is crawling away.'

(671) te topa kimati  
 it good PRES:WIT:LOC  
 'Is it (my work) going along well?'

(672) samakö pi samo kō -ti -o  
 1:PL:EXCL inside go:upriver return -CONT -PUNCT

kimani  
 PRES:WIT:LOC

'We continue going upriver (in canoe) again.'

(The speaker is telling an account of a trip and, as narrator, no doubt detaches himself in a sense from the group going upriver, even though he himself was a part of the group. Thus the meaning of going away from the speaker still holds.)

(673) tuta sama sokö kimakili  
*tuta*:fish 1:PL:EXCL fish PRES:WIT:LOC  
 'We go along downstream fishing *tuta*.'

(674) hasa a pi wani a söpöpo  
 deer 3:SG inside DEPR HSY carry:by:hand

kō kimi  
 return PRES:WIT:LOC

'(He) is coming toward here carrying deer (meat) wrapped up.'

For the present-witnessed-location marker, occasionally *po-* (different from the *-po-* 'vertical location' mentioned above) is used instead of *ku-*. The reason for this is not certain, but it might be that when *po-* is used, progressive action is emphasized rather than the action being witnessed.

(675) ma te hālā pole  
 rain 3:SG rain PRES:LOC  
 'It is raining.'

(676) sa kahi wani waisa -ma sinomo  
 1:SG speech DEPR lowly -CAUS always

pasi -ti -o hīsu -a polati  
 separate -CONT -PUNCT causing:anger -DUR PRES:LOC  
 '(He) is always despicably belittling what I say over there.'

- (677) a hu pole, ī a hai -ki  
 3:SG go PRES:LOC REL 3:SG SPECFR -CNFRM  
 'Is it the one going around here?'

**18.1.1.2 Past witnessed.** A state or event witnessed in past time is either immediate past, recent past, or distant past.

The immediate past is marked by *ke/kehe/kuhe* which indicates the same morning, same afternoon, or same night in which the speaker is reporting. (See exs. 56, 115, 116, 145, 206, 217–219, 617.) The *kuhe* form is archaic. Our hypothesis is that the older form *kuhe* changed to *kehe* with the *u* changing to *e* to conform to the second *e*, and that then the *h* dropped to give the much more commonly used *ke*.

The recent past is marked by *kupi/köpü/kipi* which indicates the same 24 hour period but not the same morning, afternoon, or night during which the speaker is reporting. (See ex. 612.)

The distant past is marked by *kupili/köpili/kipili* which indicates yesterday or before. (See exs. 55, 213, 255a, 260, 609, 611.) Among Sanuma speakers there is dialectal difference in the use of *kupili* versus *köpili* versus *kipili*, with some modification also according to the vowel preceding this marker. After a front vowel most speakers use *kipili*, whereas after a back vowel, most use *kupili*.

The completive *-ma* discussed in sect. 18.3.1 can be considered as a past tense marker and its use does not necessarily preclude the state or event having been witnessed by the speaker.

**18.1.1.3 Present and past witnessed without the initial *ku-*.** The initial *ku-* indicating witnessed (or its alternates *ki-*, *kö-*, or *k-*) may be dropped when preceded by a negative (302, 307, 308, 601, noting that *l* becomes *n* after a nasal syllable). *ku-* must be dropped in a relative clause (376, 522–528), and in a location phrase (104, 653, 654). There is also what seems to be an idiomatic usage in which the *ku-* drops, possibly deemphasizing the witnessed modality.

- (678) kamisa niha, — soli — ku pasi -a  
 1:SG to brother:in:law say separate -DUR

sai -le  
 has:to:be -PRES:LOC

'He has to call me "brother-in-law" (and not something else).'

- (679) au thewö niha sa pi waiso -le  
 your:SG daughter REFRNT 1:SG inside desire -PRES:LOC  
 'I covet your daughter.'

**18.1.2 Verified by the speaker.** Verification on the part of the speaker may be either present or past. Present verification is expressed by the evidential marker *noa*; past verification is expressed by the markers *thai* or *thali*.

**18.1.2.1 Present verification.** A state or event which has taken place in the past and which is verified in the present is expressed by the evidential marker *noa/no*. This verification may be by seeing evidence (680) or by hearing from someone who has firsthand knowledge of the state or event (681, 682).

- (680) hisa ai te lo -ma. ku -o  
 here another 3:SG sit -CMPL be -PUNCT  
  
 sai -o noa ta  
 really -PUNCT EVID obvious  
 'Here someone sat. It is very evident that (someone) really was here.'

- (681) makö lope -o opa noa  
 2:PL fast -PUNCT INTNSF EVID  
 'It is evident that you were really fast.'

- (682) wisa ma kö wai sa -ma  
*cuxiu*:monkey 2:PL 3:DL DIMIN be:over:fire -CAUS  
  
 apa -ti noa  
 INTNSF -CONT EVID  
 'It is evident that you really piled up the *cuxiu* monkeys over the fire.'

**18.1.2.2 Past verification.** A state or event which has been verified in the past is expressed by the markers *thai* 'immediate or recent past verification' or *thali* 'distant past verification'. These may occur with or without the completive *-ma*, and may occur with the evidential *noa*.

Without the completive *-ma*, the verification markers *thai* and *thali* indicate that the state or event was witnessed in the past with the supposition that the same condition prevails at present.

- (683a) tu      öki thali  
 water full VERIF:IP  
 ‘The river is full. (I saw that it was full today, and assume that it still is full.)’
- (683b) tu      öki thali  
 water full VERIF:DP  
 ‘The river is full. (I saw that it was full yesterday, and assume that it still is full.)’
- (684a) salo    pö    hu -palo    thali  
 game 3:PL go -REPET VERIF:IP  
 ‘There is a lot of game (witnessed today).’
- (684b) salo    pö    hu -palo    thali  
 game 3:PL go -REPET VERIF:DP  
 ‘There is a lot of game (witnessed yesterday or before).’
- (685) peanopö -nö    pusopö a    se thali  
 husband -AG wife 3:SG hit VERIF:DP  
 ‘The husband hits his wife (witnessed in past with assumption that the hitting still continues).’

With the completive *-ma*, the verification markers indicate that it is the evidence of the state or event which was seen or heard in the past with no indication that the same condition exists at the present time.

- (686) a      ko      -ta    -pö    -ma    thali  
 3:SG return -EXT -FOC -CMPL VERIF:IP  
 ‘She returned home.’ (The speaker did not see her when she returned, but saw the girl afterward at home.)
- (687) te      se      -ma    thali  
 3:SG hit/kill -CMPL VERIF:DP  
 ‘(Someone) hit/killed him (yesterday or before).’ (The speaker did not witness the hitting or killing, but did verify the event by seeing the evidence of wounds in the case of hitting, or the corpse in the case of killing.)

With the evidential *noa/no*, the verification markers indicate that the state or event was verified in the past by hearing the report from someone who had firsthand knowledge of the state or event.

- (688) wa pili -o soma no thali, ī hamö . . .  
 2:SG live -PUNCT first EVID VERIF:DP REL LOC  
 'There where (I heard that) you first lived . . .'
- (689) wa töpö täpä asa noa thali a  
 2:SG 3:PL give:away:to exclusively EVID VERIF:DP surprise  
 '(I heard that) you gave goods away to them only!'

**18.1.3 Supposition by the speaker.** A strong supposition is indicated by the marker *kite*. This supposition usually refers to future time, but can refer to the present, both present and future at once, and the past.

**18.1.3.1 Supposition regarding the future.** With any verb other than description and emotion, *kite* refers to a strong supposition regarding the future, except in cases where present-locational markers or indefinite perfect aspect are also employed as in sects. 18.1.3.3 and 18.1.3.4. (For *kite* referring to the future, see exs. 14, 42, 60–65, 77, 78, 114.)

**18.1.3.2 Supposition regarding the present and future.** With description and emotion verbs it is hard to draw a line between present and future with *kite*. Here it can refer to present, future, or both. The participant is usually not in the presence of the speaker.

- (690) ulu te ohi ipö kite  
 child 3:SG hungry AUG SUPPOS:PRES/FUT  
 'I suppose that the child is/will be hungry.'

**18.1.3.3 Supposition regarding the present.** With the present-locational markers, *kite* refers to present time. In these constructions, the locational markers do not have the *ku*- 'witnessed'.

- (691) töpö hu -lali kite  
 3:PL come -PRES:LOC SUPPOS  
 '(I suppose) they are coming (from upstream).'
- (692) töpö hu -lakili kite  
 3:PL come -PRES:LOC SUPPOS  
 '(I suppose) they are coming (from downstream).'

**18.1.3.4 Supposition regarding the past.** With the indefinite perfect *noai*, *kite* refers to a strong supposition regarding an event in past time.

(693) ulu a patasipö -a waiki -a  
 child 3:SG grown:up -DUR already -DUR

hâto -so noai kite  
 not:seen -FOC INDEF:PERF SUPPOS

'My child probably already has grown up by now (said by father who has been away visiting for a long time).'

(694) ī ha Sanöma wani ku -o  
 REL LOC Sanuma DEPR be -PUNCT

toti -o kō ma noai kite  
 good -PUNCT return NEG INDEF:PERF SUPPOS

'There probably wasn't a Sanuma there anymore.'

**18.2 Aspect.** The verb phrase can be marked for one of several aspects: durative, punctiliar, iterative and habitual (all of which can be indicated by *-a*, *-o*, *-ö* or zero); repetitive (*-talo*, *-palo*); extent of action (*-ta*, *-la*, *-pa*); continuative (*-ti*); and change focus (*-so*, *-ki*, *-li*, *-pi*). (See sect. 18.3 for completive, indefinite, and 'settled state' aspect.)

**18.2.1 Durative, punctiliar, iterative, and habitual/customary or non-aspectual.** **Durative** is a linear or progressive aspect along a time line, as in 'He is writing'. **Punctiliar** is an aspect in which the action or state is conceived of as a totality, a single conceptual unit, an action regarded as an event or single fact without reference to the length of time it occupied. 'He writes a letter' or 'He wrote a letter' would be punctiliar in contrast to 'He is writing a letter' or 'He was writing a letter', which would be durative. **Iterative** indicates that there is repeated activity within one action as in 'distribute, hand out, give out' versus 'give', and as in 'walk' versus 'go'. **Habitual/customary or nonaspectual** expresses a general fact without reference to a time line. The tense markers and the completive are notably absent when nonaspectual markers occur. Nonaspectual is seen in such expressions as 'He writes (he knows how to write)' or 'People sit; birds perch'.

The choice of markers for these aspects depends on the verb class with which they occur. These are first described (sect. 18.2.1.1) and this is followed by a section on mechanical rules governing *-a* and *-o* (sect. 18.2.1.2).

**18.2.1.1 Distribution and meaning of *-a/-o/-ö* according to verb classes.** With description and emotion verbs, the *-a* occurs with the present-witnessed-location *kule* and indicates a durative or progressive state (695,

696). The punctiliar *-o* is always used with past-witnessed *ke/kupi/kupili*, completive *-ma*, or evidential *noa*, and almost always in conjunction with the intensifier *-öpö* (697, 698). The nonaspectual is unmarked, and is far more common than the durative forms (700).

(695) hutu mosökö mö ha, hutu mosökö  
sky CLASS look:at upon sky CLASS

ausi -a kule  
white -DUR PRES  
'As I look at the sky, it is white/whitening.'

(696) samakö hīsu -palo opa hōtō -a kule  
1:PL:EXCL angry -REPET INTNSF also -DUR PRES  
'We are being angry, too.'

(697) piliso hamö töpö ohi -o opa -ma  
trail on 3:PL hungry -PUNCT INTNSF -CMPL  
'They were really hungry on the trail.'

(698) soase hopöliwö a umi -o opa noa  
uncle porcupine 3:SG stingy -PUNCT INTNSF EVID  
'It is evident that Uncle Porcupine is/was really stingy.'

(699) Maokolitasoma hemaka koami -o -ma  
Maokolitasoma back:of:neck bitter -PUNCT -CMPL  
'The back of Maokolitasoma's neck was bitter.'

(700) ī suö te kili  
REL woman 3:SG afraid  
'That woman is afraid.'

Position verbs take either *-a* or *-o*; they are never unmarked in relation to the durative or punctiliar aspects unless the change focus markers occur. The punctiliar *-o* indicates that a state has been completed or that it has not yet taken place (future or negative); or that a state as a whole is being contrasted with another state (705b). In contrast to all other verb types except existence, the nonaspectual or customary is marked by *-a* (706).

(701) nomi pili -a, pili -a, pili -a,  
thin lying -DUR lying -DUR lying -DUR



pili -a, pili -a  
 lying -DUR lying -DUR  
 'Thin (he) is lying (in hammock), lying, lying, lying, lying.'

(702) samakö mi -a halu -a, halu -a,  
 1:PL:EXCL sleep -DUR at:night -DUR at:night -DUR  
 halu -a kule  
 at:night -DUR PRES  
 'We are sleeping on and on at night.'

(703) hāiwö thoto -kö ha sa pili -o kupi  
 used CLASS:hammock -DL in 1:SG lie -PUNCT RP  
 'I lay in a used hammock.'

(704) samakö mi -o tete -o opa  
 1:PL:EXCL sleep -PUNCT long:time -PUNCT INTNSF  
 waiki -o noai ha, . . .  
 already -PUNCT INDEF:PERF TEMP  
 'After we had already slept a very long time, . . .'

(705a) a mi -a kule  
 3:SG sleep -DUR PRES  
 'She is sleeping.'

(705b) a mi -o kule  
 3:SG sleep -PUNCT PRES  
 'She is asleep (just went to sleep).'

(706) sama a pa -a. manasi a  
 tapir 3:SG lie:on:ground -CUST piping:guan 3:SG  
 lo -a  
 perch -CUST  
 'A tapir lies on the ground. A piping guan perches.'

Existence verbs, unlike others, contrast between durative and punctiliar with the completive. Durative with the completive indicates a summary of events which took place over a period of time (707, 708). Punctiliar with the completive, as in other verbs, pictures the event or state as a whole or as one point in time (709). Nonaspectual is ambiguous with durative because the form can be identical and the semantic distinction is arbitrary (710).

- (707) pö ku -a -ma  
 3:PL be -DUR -CMPL  
 'They were (like that).'
- (708) ī hamö pata töpö pewö ke -palo kölö nö  
 REL LOC old 3:PL all fall -REPET LOC SEQ  
 -ka, ki hamö kasu a wani a -so,  
 -THEME that LOC capibara 3:SG DEPR go:away -FOC  
 ki hamö ai plolo a wani a -so,  
 that LOC another otter 3:SG DEPR go:away -FOC  
 ki hamö ai hatamö a wani  
 that LOC another Brazilian otter 3:SG DEPR  
 a -so, ī naha ku -a -ma  
 go:away -FOC REL like be -DUR -CMPL  
 'There all the old peoples, having fallen (into water), out there the  
 capibara goes away, out there one of the (small) otters goes away,  
 out there one of the Brazilian otters goes away, that's how it was.'
- (709) sutu upö ha -kö, polakapi töpö  
 long:ago INTNSF TEMP -CNFRM two 3:PL  
 ku -o -ma  
 be -PUNCT -CMPL  
 'Very long ago there were two (people).'
- (710) ipa sao a ku -a  
 my sister 3:SG be -DUR/CUST  
 a. 'My sister is (somewhere).' (Durative.)  
 b. 'My sister exists' or 'I have a sister.' (Customary)

The use of *-a* and *-o* with intransitive and semitransitive verbs is more complicated than with other verbs. Intransitive and semitransitive verbs can be divided into two classes: one class has the durative *-a* or the punctiliar *-o* on the stem when followed contiguously by the completive *-ma* or by the tense-degree of knowledge marker, whereas the other class does not. This second class may or may not have the iterative aspect marked by *-a* or *-o*. The iterative may be durative (marked by *-a*) or punctiliar (marked by *-o*). The durative iterative occurs with the repetitive aspect (716). The punctiliar iterative occurs with the change focus *-ki* and needs more verification to determine if this is actually an iterative aspect.

The nonaspectual or customary marker for verbs (except for the stative and receptive verbs) is *-ö*. When following a high vowel, the *-ö* accommodates to that vowel, so that following a stem ending in *-i*, the *-ö* becomes *-i* and following a stem ending in *-u*, the *-ö* becomes *-u* (70, 721, 725).

(711a) a wani wä -a kule  
 3:SG DEPR report -DUR PRES  
 'He is reporting.'

(711b) a wani wä -o -ma. a  
 3:SG DEPR report -PUNCT -CMPL 3:SG  
  
 wä -o nö, . . .  
 report -PUNCT SEQ  
 'He reported. Having reported, . . .'

(712) maikoi -ki pata ha a tu -o -ma  
*maikoi*:tree -DL AUG LOC 3:SG climb -PUNCT -CMPL  
 'He climbed the *maikoi* tree.'

(713) töpö hasu -o alu kule  
 3:PL pass:by -PUNCT CLARIF PRES  
 'They are passing by close to us.'

(Note: Punctiliar, not durative, is used here because the passing by is thought of in relation to the point at which they are passing by the speaker. If the whole trajectory involved in passing by were intended, then the durative *-a* would be used.)

(714) setenapi töpö pi hasu -o  
 non:Indian 3:PL inside pass:by -PUNCT  
  
 kō -a kule  
 return -DUR PRES  
 'The non-Indians in (boat) are passing by again.'

(Note: Here is a case of both *-a* and *-o* occurring in the same verb phrase. The verb stem takes *-o* for the reason stated for the above example. The modifier *kō* again is durative or progressive and therefore takes the *-a*. In terms of immediate constituents, we could say that the 'passing by' is punctiliar, but that the 'passing by again' is durative.)

(715a) hukii Sili a pi a ke -o  
 today Seely 3:SG inside AUG fall -PUNCT

kō -a kule  
 return -DUR PRES

'Today Seely inside (plane) is landing again.'

(Note: This example bears out the explanation in (714). It is not the duration or progression of falling which is in view, but rather the point of falling or landing. Contrast this with the falling of a star in 715b.)

(715b) sitikali a ke -a kō -a kule  
 star 3:SG fall -DUR return -DUR PRES  
 'A star is falling again.'

(716) a hu -a -talo  
 3:SG go -DUR:ITER -REPET  
 'Walk!' (Said to baby.)

(717) kolo hamö ai töpö a  
 bottom LOC other 3:PL HSY

wele -o -ki  
 go:downriver -PUNCT:ITER -FOC  
 'Others are going downriver.'

(718) suö wani hu -o -ki ke  
 woman DEPR go -PUNCT:ITER -FOC IP  
 'Did a woman go around there?'

(719) ma te hele -ö  
 rain 3:SG rain/fall -CUST  
 'Rain falls.'

(720) wisa tehe Sanöma töpö ia -ö  
 afternoon TEMP Sanuma 3:PL eat -CUST  
 'Sanuma eat in the afternoon.'

(721) masita ha salusi a hu -u  
 ground on coatimundi 3:SG go -CUST  
 'A coatimundi goes about on the ground.'

Durative and punctiliar are not prominent aspects with transitive and ditransitive verbs. Examples here are limited to the iterative aspect and the nonaspectual.

- (722a) *ökoma kökö toto -kö*  
 banana DL give -FOC  
 'Give the bananas (to one person).'
- (722b) *ökoma kökö toto -a -kö*  
 banana DL give -ITER -FOC  
 'Give the bananas (to many people).'
- (723) *ī ha thoto -pö*  
 REL LOC CLASS:hammock -PL  
  
*te -a -la -li kupili*  
 receive -ITER -EXT -FOC DP  
 'At that place they received the hammocks (being distributed).'
- (724) *kawa ta -ö öpa -ö*  
 2:SG know -NONASP INTNSF -NONASP  
 'I know you well.'
- (725) *sa te hini -i*  
 1:SG 3:SG hear -NONASP  
 'I hear it.'
- (726) *ī te wakala ha sama ma*  
 REL 3:SG day LOC 1:PL:EXCL CLASS:rock  
  
*se -ö soa -ö, se -ö soa -ö,*  
 hit -NONASP still -NONASP hit -NONASP still -NONASP  
  
*se -ö soa -ö, se -ö soa -ö,*  
 hit -NONASP still -NONASP hit -NONASP still -NONASP  
  
*se -ö soa -ö*  
 hit -NONASP still -NONASP  
 'On that day we still smash rocks, still smash rocks, still smash rocks, still smash rocks, still smash rocks.'

**18.2.1.2 Mechanical rules governing *-a* and *-o*.** (1) With the occurrence of change focus (*-so*, *-ki*, *-li*, *-pi*), *-a* automatically occurs on both the verb

head and modifiers if they are not contiguous to the change focus or extent aspect plus change focus.

(727a) a pata ke -pa -so ke  
 3:SG AUG fall -EXT -FOC IP  
 'He fell in.'

(727b) a pata ke -a soa -pa -so ke  
 3:SG AUG fall -DUR right:away -EXT -FOC IP  
 'He fell in right away.'

(727c) a pata ke -a möthalö -a  
 3:SG AUG fall -DUR middle -DUR  
 toti -pa -so ke  
 good -EXT -FOC IP  
 'He fell in right in the very middle.'

(2) Polysyllabic stems (87) and modifiers (728) which end in *-a* never add *-o*; the performative *-mo* and the repetitive *-talo/-palo* never add the suffix *-a* (45, 737).

(728) a ku -o hisa -ma  
 3:SG be -PUNCT at:home -CMPL  
 'She stayed at home.'

(3) The aspect attached to the intensifier *-öpö* is always *-a*, never *-o* (18, 478, 650).

(4) In a purpose construction, the suffix *-a* occurs on the verb head which takes the purpose marker. (See sect. 14.4.1.) The only exception to this is when *-o* occurs on the existence verb in the main clause. In this case, the verb which expresses purpose also takes *-o* (731).

(729) pii ni su -a -mö a -su -lö ke  
 tobacco CLASS get -DUR -PURP go:away -FOC -DIR IP  
 'Did he go to get tobacco?'

(730) ī hamö sa pili -a -mö ku -a  
 REL LOC 1:SG live -DUR -PURP be -DUR

kō -ki pia salo  
 return -FOC intend RES  
 'I intend to live in that place again.'

(731) ī a wani sete -o -mō  
 REL 3:SG DEPR be:attached -PUNCT -PURP

ku -o taso -ma hamō -ka  
 be -PUNCT LOC -CMPL LOC -THEME  
 '. . . to where she was to be hanging on (to cliff).'

(5) In those instances where the use of change focus is restricted (e.g., with present tense, negative, and the *tehe* time clause), *-o* instead of the change focus *-ki* is used to express the initiation of a new state or action. (This is stated as a mechanical rule, yet unlike the others this rule has an observable semantic basis.)

(732a) a pili -ki pia salo  
 3:SG lie -FOC intend RES  
 'He intends to lie down (tomorrow).'

(732b) a pili -o pia kule  
 3:SG lie -PUNCT intend PRES  
 'He intends to lie down (now).'

(733a) a pili tihe  
 3:SG lie NEG:IMP  
 'Don't be lying down.'

(733b) a pili -o tihe  
 3:SG lie -PUNCT NEG:IMP  
 'Don't lie down.'

(734a) a pili -a tehe, . . .  
 3:SG lie -DUR as  
 'As he was lying down, . . .'

(734b) a pili -o tehe, . . .  
 3:SG lie -PUNCT when  
 'When he lay down, . . .' or  
 'During the time within which he lay down, . . .'

**18.2.2 Repetitive aspect.** The repetitive indicates either that one agent is engaged in an activity which involves repetitive action or movement (running, working, saying over and over), or that several agents are together engaged in the same activity (talking, eating). The repetitive differs from repetition indicated by the modifier *kō* 'return, again' in that the latter indicates repetition after an interval.

There are intransitive and transitive forms of the repetitive aspect. The intransitive forms are *-talo* and *-palo*, with the difference corresponding to the difference in *-ta* and *-la* explained in sect. 18.2.3. *-talo* indicates rapidity or mental activity whereas *-palo* indicates force or physical activity. *-talo* and *-palo* are not to be confused with alternate forms of the extent of action and change focus sequences *-ta-so* and *-pa-so*, which are *-ta-lo* and *-pa-lo* (743a, b).

The transitive forms for the repetitive are *-tala* and *-pala* (739, 740a, 741).

(735) sa hu -a -talo pä -ti -a kule  
1:SG go -DUR -REPET merely -CONT -DUR PRES  
'I'm merely strolling around.'

(736) ī na pata tōpō ku soa -talo -ma  
REL like old 3:PL say right:away -REPET -CMPL  
'Thus said the old people right away over and over.'

(737) te wani noka -palo kule  
3:SG DEPR follow -REPET PRES  
'He follows us around.'

(738) makō ia -palo hena -ti -o -ma  
2:PL eat -REPET early -CONT -PUNCT -CMPL  
'You kept eating early in the morning.'

(739) mona ma wani a oa -tala apa  
*mona*:fruit CLASS DEPR AUD eat -REPET INTNSF  
  
piki -a kulai  
unexpectedly -DUR PRES:LOC  
'They ate the *mona* fruit unexpectedly/as second choice.'

(740a) pata tōpō -nō hisa tōpō  
old 3:PL -AG young:men 3:PL



kali -pala -ma -ti -ma  
 work -REPET -CAUS -CONT -CMPL  
 'The old people kept making the young men work.'

(740b) hisa töpö kali -palo -ti -ma  
 young:men 3:PL work -REPET -CONT -CMPL  
 'The young men kept working.'

(741) pö pata ĩka -pala -ma  
 3:PL AUG laugh -REPET -CAUS

waiki -ti -o -ma  
 already -CONT -PUNCT -CMPL  
 '(He) was already making them laugh.'

**18.2.3 Extent of action.** There are three suffixes, *-ta*, *-la*, *-pa*, which mark an aspect labeled 'extent of action'. Each marker has a variety of meanings, and context should decide the one which is appropriate in any given occurrence. The possible meanings for *-ta* are 'rapid, a mental act, ingressive, sudden, with temporary result'; for *-la* the possibilities are 'gradual, repetitive, progressive, distributed, with semipermanent result'; and for *-pa* the possibilities are 'forceful, at once, a physical act, conclusive, final, with permanent result'.

Contrast in meaning of the three markers is seen especially in (742–747). As to their position in the verb phrase, they precede the post-head adverbs (748, 749) except with the occurrence of the change focus (*-so*, *-ki*, *-li*, *-pi*), in which case the extent of action markers immediately follow these adverbs (750–754).

(742a) po a ke -la -so ke  
 machete 3:SG fall -EXT -FOC IP  
 'The machete fell (with semipermanent effect. It fell on land and can be retrieved).'

(742b) po a ke -pa -so ke  
 machete 3:SG fall -EXT -FOC IP  
 'The machete fell (with permanent effect. It fell into the water and probably cannot be retrieved).'

(742c) po a ke -a kō -ta -so ke  
 machete 3:SG fall -DUR return -EXT -FOC IP  
 'The machete fell again (with temporary effect. The machete was already retrieved once and will be again).'

- (743a) a lisi -ta -lo  
 3:SG pass:through -EXT -FOC  
 'Go in.'  
 (Said outside the house, thinking of the ingressive nature of action.)
- (743b) a lisi -pa -lo  
 3:SG pass:through -EXT -FOC  
 'Come in.'  
 (Said inside house, thinking of conclusive nature of action.)
- (744a) kawa -nō sa onono -pa -ma -nō  
 2:SG -AG 1:SG be:well -EXT -CAUS -FOC  
 'Cure me.' (Emphasis on permanence and physical act.)
- (744b) tōpō onono -ta -ma wi, ī a  
 3:PL be:well -EXT -CAUS INDEF REL 3:SG  
 'He is one who cures people.'  
 (Emphasis on mental capacity and on a temporary effect in that the action is performed over and over.)
- (745a) a ke -ma -ni  
 3:SG fall -CAUS -FOC  
 '(He) falls (the game animal).'
- (745b) a ke -ta -ma -ni  
 3:SG fall -EXT -CAUS -FOC  
 '(He) drops it (into food or cooking pot).'
- (746a) a wani ohi -la -so  
 3:SG DEPR hungry -EXT -FOC  
 'He becomes hungry.' (Progressive)
- (746b) a wani ohi -pa -so  
 3:SG DEPR hungry -EXT -FOC  
 'He becomes starved.' (Conclusive)
- (747a) thoo thoto huiti -pa -so -ma  
 rope CLASS break -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 'The rope broke.' (Forceful, at once)

- (747b) sii            thotho    masö            huiti    -a  
 hammock    CLASS    cross:strands    break    -DUR
- apö            -la        -so            -ma  
 INTNSF    -EXT    -FOC        -CMPL  
 'The cross-strands of the hammock broke.' (Progressive, distributed)
- (748) ki        ha        kasa            pö        halo        löpö        -ta  
 there    LOC    caterpillar    3:PL    wrapped    cooked    -EXT
- asa            nö        -ka, . . .  
 exclusively    SEQ    -THEME  
 'There, having roasted the package of caterpillars, exclusive of others, . . .'
- (749) wale        a        nia        -pa        pasi        -o  
 peccary    3:SG    shoot    -EXT    separate    -PUNCT
- ma        -o            salo    -ka, . . .  
 NEG    -PUNCT    RES    -THEME  
 'Because he had not shot the peccary, . . .'
- (750) samakö    pi        kale    -o            kō  
 1:PL        inside    float    -PUNCT    return
- soa            -ta        -ki        ke  
 right:away    -EXT    -FOC    IP  
 'Right away we floated (in canoe) again.'
- (751) ipa    wani    sa        te        wai        su        -a  
 my    DEPR    1:SG    3:SG    DIMIN    get    -DUR
- pasi            -ta        -li  
 separate    -EXT    -FOC  
 'I take my goods (separate from others).'
- (752) ipa    wa        toto    -a            toti    -ta        -pi        kite  
 my    2:SG    give    -DUR    good    -EXT    -FOC    FUT  
 'Will you really give me (your daughter)?'

- (753) a kutiata tha nömö -pa -li  
 3:SG canoe make next -EXT -FOC  
 'He makes his canoe next.'
- (754) amotha sama pö wani oa hena -na -ni  
*paca* 1:PL:EXCL PL DEPR eat early -EXT -FOC  
 'We eat the *pacas* early in the morning.'

**18.2.4 Continuative.** A state or action that is continuous is marked by *-ti*. The continuative aspect may occur with any verb except a description verb.

- (755) sa mönaha -ti -i  
 1:SG happy -CONT -NONASP  
 'I am continually happy.' (Emotion verb)
- (756) ī na a ku -a -ti -ma  
 REL like 3:SG be -DUR -CONT -CMPL  
 'He was continually like that.'
- (757) — hapo — a wani ku -ti -a kule  
 come 3:SG DEPR say -CONT -DUR PRES  
 ' "Come here," he keeps on saying.'
- (758) töpö wani aulu -mo opa -ti -ma  
 3:PL DEPR wounded -act:like INTNSF -CONT -CMPL  
 'They kept on acting really wounded.'
- (759) manasi a wai ia -ti -i  
 piping:guan 3:SG DIMIN eat -CONT -NONASP  
 'The piping guan keeps eating.'
- (760) sama tae -ti kule  
 tapir look:for -CONT PRES  
 '(We) keep on looking for tapir.'

**18.2.5 Change focus.** Each verb has a static and dynamic form. The dynamic form has one of four change focus markers: *-so*, *-ki*, *-li*, or *-pi*. The general meanings are as follows. (More specific meanings will be given in connection with the various verb types.) The *-so* indicates a process leading to a new state or action and is the prominent marker for receptive verbs. The *-ki* indicates initiation of a new action, state, or experience, and is found predominantly with intransitive and semitransitive verbs. The *-li* occurs only with transitive and ditransitive verbs and indicates goal focus

and the finalization of an experience or the reception of an action. The *-pi* focuses on the location of an action and is limited to the idea of important bases such as the home, hearth, or head of a person. This marker does not occur with stative and receptive verbs.

The first section deals with the usage of the change focus with various verb types and the second gives the restrictions and morphophonemic alternates for the change focus markers.

**18.2.5.1 The usage of change focus with various verb types.** The only change focus option for the existence verb is *-ki*. The use of *-so* would put the verb into the derived receptive verb class (sect. 18.5.2.1). Example (761) speaks of change in terms of action to be taken, and (762) in terms of a new location.

Compounded with verbs of another class, especially state and action, *ku-be* plus *-ki* indicates the beginning of a new state or action (763, 764).

(761) mi na makö ku -kö -pö  
 INTER like 1:PL:INCL be -FOC -DESID  
 'What shall we do?' (Lit: 'How shall we be?')

(762) ī a sai ha tōpō a ku -ki  
 REL 3:SG house at 3:PL HSY be -FOC  
 'They stay at that house (overnight on a trip).'

(763) ilöpō ku -ki  
 grayheaded be -FOC  
 '(She) becomes greyheaded.'

(764) hole -a ku -ki ke  
 crawl -DUR be -FOC IP  
 'He just got so that he could crawl.'

The change focus *-ki* rarely occurs with description and emotion verbs. More often *-so*, denoting process, is employed, and the result is a derived receptive verb. When *-ki* is used with description or emotion verbs, there is always an adverb of time, location, or manner, or the intensifier *-öpō*. Following are some of the few examples of *-ki* with description and emotion verbs, along with contrasts with *-so* to clarify the meanings.

(765a) sa ami nini -a halu -ki  
 1:SG hand hurt -DUR at:night -FOC  
 'My hand hurt during the night.' (He had injured it during the day, but it was at night that it really hurt.)

- (765b) sa ami nini -a halu -so  
 1:SG hand hurt -DUR at:night -FOC  
 'My hand (started) hurting at night.' (The whole change from not hurting to hurting took place at night.)
- (766a) a nini -a apa -ki kite  
 3:SG hurt -DUR INTNSF -FOC FUT  
 'It will really hurt.'
- (766b) a nini -a apa -so kite  
 3:SG hurt -DUR INTNSF -FOC FUT  
 'It will really start hurting.'
- (767a) sa hīso opa halu -ki kupi  
 1:SG angry INTNSF at:night -FOC RP  
 'It was at night that I really got angry.'
- (767b) sa hīso opa halu -so kupi  
 1:SG angry INTNSF at:night -FOC RP  
 'I became really angry at night.'

The usual option for the dynamic form of position verbs is *-ki*, an option which is as frequent in occurrence as the static form (768, 769). The option of *-so* is extremely rare. In the one example found, the mother has been sitting for days with her new born baby. Finally, she comes to the time when she is able to lie in the hammock with the baby. It is the process leading up to the new position which is in view. Also of interest is the comment by the Sanuma language helper that the *-so* could not be used if the modifier *-ko* 'return, again' were not used (770).

- (768) wa pili -a kō -ki  
 2:SG lie -DUR return -FOC  
 'You lie down again.'
- (769) salo a lo -ki ke  
 game 3:SG perch -FOC IP  
 'A bird just now alighted.'
- (770) a kai wai pili -a  
 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT DIMIN lie -DUR

kō -pa -so noai ha, . . .  
 return -EXT -FOC INDEF:PERF TEMP  
 'When (the mother) had come to the point of lying down with (the baby) again, . . .'

Receptive verbs almost always have the focus marker *-so*, except for the places where there are co-occurrence restrictions applying to change focus markers with any verb class (sect. 18.2.5.2). There are rare instances in which *-ki* is used with receptive verbs, in which case the focus is on the time, place, or manner of change rather than the process or change itself (774, 775).

(771) noma -so kupili  
 die -FOC DP  
 '(They all) died.'

(772) amotha a motö -pa -so  
*paca* 3:SG disappear -EXT -FOC  
 'The *paca* disappeared.'

(773) te numa -so  
 3:SG be:dark/night -FOC  
 'It becomes dark.'

(774) huki ipö a noma -kö -ma  
 now INTNSF 3:SG die -FOC -CMPL  
 'It was just now that he died.'

(775) sii thoto -kö ha a noma -kö -ma  
 hammock CLASS -DL in 3:SG die -FOC -CMPL  
 'It was in his hammock that he died.'

With intransitive and activity verbs *-so* gives prominence to the process leading up to or involved in the action and *-ki* gives prominence to the beginning of a new action.

(776) tu öki -mo sipa apö -so kite  
 water full -PRFRM without:return INTNSF -FOC FUT  
 'The river will get full and won't subside.'

(777) wi na wa moni ku -ta -so ke  
 INTER like 2:SG almost say -EXT -FOC IP  
 'What were you about to/leading up to say?'

(778) nakö kolo wani -mo pä -ki  
 leaves bottom bad -PRFRM merely -FOC  
 'The bottom part of the leaves (of booth) merely gets worn away.'

Motion verbs can take either *-so* or *-ki* as the change focus markers. With this class of verb *-so* focuses on departure whereas *-ki* focuses on destination. Certain motion verbs such as 'leave' and 'flee', because of the meaning of their stems, only take *-so*, the focus on departure. In the majority of cases, when the focus *-so* occurs with motion verbs, so does the directional *-lö* 'away from' (779, 780). Other verbs such as 'arrive' and 'fall to the ground' only take *-ki*, the focus on destination (781, 782). Other verbs such as 'fall' and 'go' can take either focus (783, 784).

With the verb *kō/ko* 'return', the change focus *-pi* is used when speaking of returning to home base—a person's place of residence, or the residence where he has been visiting for a long period of time, so that he considers it his temporary home (785). The existence verb *ku* 'be' can be used with the verb *kō/ko* 'return', which in turn can have the marker *-pi* (786).

(779) tiko hamö wa wai a -su -lö pia salo  
 different LOC 2:SG DIMIN leave -FOC -DIR intend RES  
 'You intend to go away to another place.'

(This verb *a-* 'leave' never occurs without the focus *-so* and with this verb, and only with this verb, most speakers use an alternate form *-su* instead of *-so*.)

(780) pumotomö a tokö -so -lö -ö  
 opossum 3:SG flee -FOC -DIR -NONASP  
 'The opossum flees.'

(781) Sanöma te walo -ta -ki  
 Sanuma 3:SG arrive -EXT -FOC  
 'A Sanuma arrives (at the place where the girl is picking fruit in forest).'

(782) a kahe -pa -ki ke  
 3:SG slip:and:fall:down -EXT -FOC IP  
 'He slipped down and fell.'



- (783a) ipa makusa a ke -la -so ke  
 my needle 3:SG fall -EXT -FOC IP  
 'My needle just now dropped.'
- (783b) amito osö ke -ki  
 airplane CLASS fall -FOC  
 'The airplane lands.'
- (784a) hena tehe samakö hu -a  
 early TEMP 1:PL:ECXL go -DUR  
  
 ko -na -so -lö -ö  
 return -EXT -FOC -DIR -NONASP  
 'Early (the next day) we leave again.'
- (784b) hise hamö sa hu -kö nö -ka, . . .  
 here LOC 1:SG come -FOC SEQ. -THEME  
 'Having come here, I . . .'
- (785) wa ko -ta -pi ke  
 2:SG return -EXT -FOC IP  
 'Did you just now return?'
- (786a) a ku -a ko -pi  
 3:SG be -DUR return -FOC  
 'He returns (home to stay).'
- (786b) a ku -a ko -ki  
 3:SG be -DUR return -FOC  
 'He returns (to encampment to overnight).'

With transitive and ditransitive verbs, lack of the focus marker indicates that it is the action itself which is given prominence. *-so* focuses on the reception or receptor of the action, and the result with transitive verbs is to change them to derived receptive verbs (sect. 18.5.2.1). *-li* focuses both on the initiator and the receptor; *-ki* on the initiator or initiation of the action; and *-pi* on a specific or final goal or base toward which the action takes place. By 'base' is meant the final destination or place or person of prominence, depending on the verb used. As seen already, for *kö* 'return' the base is home (785, 786a). This is true also for *-pi* when used with *si-* 'carry on one's back' (800b). The other bases are: *fire* for *sa-* 'place on fire' which usually consumes or at least transforms that placed on it (797a); the *head* for *se-* 'hit', possibly considered the prominent member of the body

and the most vulnerable in terms of destruction (790); and *ego* for *toto*-‘give’ and *te*-‘take’ (798a, 799b).

The verb *se*-‘hit/kill’ offers good examples which contrast the change focus markers (787–790) and also the lack of focus (726).

- (787) a se -pa -so -ma  
3:SG hit -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
‘He got killed (accidentally by person with pole).’
- (788) witi pili -nō a se -pa -lö -ma  
who PRTCLZR -AG 3:SG hit -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
‘Who killed him (on purpose)?’
- (789a) se -kö. se -kö. se -kö  
hit -FOC hit -FOC hit-FOC  
‘(Go ahead and) hit (me). Hit. Hit.’
- (789b) pili hōo ha se -kö -ma  
CLASS back on hit -FOC -CMPL  
‘(Someone) hit him on the back.’
- (790) a se -pō -ma  
3:SG hit -FOC -CMPL  
‘(Someone) hit him on the head.’
- (791a) öla sa pata nia -ki  
jaguar 1:SG AUG shoot -FOC  
‘I shoot a jaguar.’  
(Thinking of the activity the speaker was engaged in.)
- (791b) öla sa pata nia -pa -li.  
jaguar 1:SG AUG shoot -EXT -FOC  
‘I shoot a jaguar.’ (Thinking of the effect on the recipient—death.)
- (792a) hi ti -ki, ī ti -ki  
wood CLASS -DL REL CLASS -DL  
  
tuse -a kō pai -ki  
cut -DUR return first -FOC  
‘(I) cut down those trees first again.’ (Speaker is telling a series of activities he was engaged in: cutting a field, making house, etc.)

(792b) hi sa ti tuse -lö nö -ka, . . .  
 wood 1:SG CLASS cut -FOC SEQ -THEME  
 'Having felled my trees, I . . .'

(793a) silaka sa kökö toto -ki pia salo  
 arrow 1:SG DL give -FOC intend RES  
 'I intend to give my arrows.'

(793b) silaka sa kökö te -li pia salo  
 arrow 1:SG DL receive -FOC intend RES  
 'I intend to receive my arrows.'

(794a) a naka kupi  
 3:SG call:for RP  
 '(Someone) called for him (but he didn't come).'

(794b) a naka -li kupi  
 3:SG call:for -FOC RP  
 '(Someone) called for him (and he did come).'

(795a) sa te ta -pa ke  
 1:SG 3:SG see -EXT IP  
 'I saw it.'

(795b) sa te ta -la -li ke  
 1:SG 3:SG see -EXT -FOC IP  
 'I found it.'

(796a) sa ta hini ke  
 1:SG 3:SG:AUD hear IP  
 'I heard it.'

(796b) sa ta hini -ni ke  
 1:SG 3:SG:AUD hear -FOC IP  
 'I understood it.'

(797a) pata te suö -nö ökoma -kö wai  
 old 3:SG woman -AG banana -DL DIMIN

sa -pö -ma  
 put:on:fire -FOC -CMPL

'The old woman put the bananas on the fire.' (The object is drastically affected.)

- (797b) koa thaka niha te sa -kö -ma  
 fire CLASS by 3:SG put:on:fire -FOC -CMPL  
 'The (battery) was put by the fire.' (The object is not drastically affected. The location is more in focus than the process of heating.)
- (798a) ipa husopö a toto -pi kupili  
 my wife 3:SG give -FOC DP  
 '(He) gave (me) my wife.'
- (798b) kama hai ī pusopö a toto -ki kupili  
 3:SG SPECFR REL wife 3:SG give -FOC DP  
 '(Someone) gave him his wife.'
- (799a) Tonatu a -nö mateta ti te -lö -ma  
 Donald 3:SG -AG suitcase CLASS get -FOC -CMPL  
 'Donald got/bought a suitcase (to sell to a Sanuma).' (Said by person other than the Sanuma who was to receive the suitcase.)
- (799b) Tonatu a -nö ipa mateta ti te -pö -ma  
 Donald 3:SG -AG my suitcase CLASS get -FOC -CMPL  
 'Donald got/bought my suitcase.' (Said by the Sanuma who was to receive the suitcase.)
- (800a) ilo a wani si -li  
 howler:monkey 3:SG DEPR carry:on:back -FOC  
 'He carries the howler monkey on his back.'
- (800b) ilo a wani si -pi  
 howler:monkey 3:SG DEPR carry:on:back -FOC  
 'He carries the howler monkey back home on his back.'

**18.2.5.2 Restrictions and morphophonemic alternates for the change focus markers.** The change focus markers *-so*, *-ki*, *-li* and *-pi* cannot occur with the present tense, with a negative, or with a temporal clause with the temporal marker *tehe*. Exceptions to the temporal clause restriction are *-pi* which becomes *-po* in the temporal clause, and *-so* which becomes *-to* or *-po* when preceded by the extent of action aspects *-ta* and *-pa* in the temporal clause.

*-ki/-li/-pi* become *-kö/-lö/-pö* when followed in the same clause by a syllable the vowel of which is other than *i* (1, 190, 241, 291, 292, 686, 761, 788, 789b, 792b, 797), except in the case in which the following morpheme is a witnessed marker (56, 212, 410).

With imperatives, *-ki/-li* become *-kö/-lö* (154b, 156–158, 744a, 789a).

In the imperative and sequential constructions, *-so* becomes *-lo* (261b, 362). (The verb root *a-* ‘leave’ never occurs without the change focus *-so/-lo* and only in this verb the *-so* becomes *-su* and *-lo* becomes *-lu* (89, 90, 115, 116).) Also in imperative and sequential constructions, *-pi* becomes *-po* with the motion verb *kō* ‘return’ (264b), and it sometimes becomes *-pa* with the transitive verbs *se* ‘hit’ (265b, 445), *si-* ‘carry:on:one’s:back’ (801), and *sa* ‘put:on:fire’ (802, 803).

- (801) sa pata si -pö -lö -ö  
 1:SG AUG carry:on:back -FOC -DIR -NONASP  
 sa pata si -pa -lö nö, . . .  
 1:SG AUG carry:on:back -FOC -DIR SEQ  
 ‘I carry the big (jaguar) home on my back. Having carried the big (jaguar) home on my back, I . . .’
- (802) waka sāi sa pä -ta -pa nö, . . .  
 giant:armadillo meat put:on:fire merely -EXT -FOC SEQ  
 ‘Having merely put the giant armadillo meat on the fire, . . .’
- (803) pili amuku sa hei -po kule  
 CLASS liver put:on:fire behind -FOC PRES  
 ‘(Someone) puts the liver on the fire (as others go on).’

### 18.3 Modality. (See sect. 10 for interrogatives and sect. 11 for imperatives.)

The modality of degree of knowledge is included with the tense marker (sect. 18.1). This section discusses the degree of fulfillment modality which includes complete fulfillment, possible fulfillment, desired fulfillment, intended fulfillment, indefinite or incomplete fulfillment, settled fulfillment, and hypothetical fulfillment. Some of these categories might better be considered as aspects (e.g., complete, indefinite, and settled state), but they are included in this section because they occur in the same position in the verb phrase as the other modalities described here and are mutually exclusive with them.

**18.3.1 Complete fulfillment.** The marker for complete fulfillment is *-ma* ‘completive’ which indicates also that the state or event has taken place without any focus on degree of knowledge. There are instances of *-ma* indicating completion of a hypothetical situation that has not yet occurred. In these cases, the *-ma* occurs with a verb in a subordinate clause (379b, 380). (For examples of *-ma* indicating completion in the past see 1–5, 18, 27, 41, 73, 74.)

**18.3.2 Possible fulfillment.** Possible fulfillment is marked by *matimö*, which always speaks of a future possibility.

(804) wa ke -la -so matimö  
 2:SG fall -EXT -FOC maybe  
 'You might fall.'

**18.3.3 Desired fulfillment.** Desired fulfillment is expressed by *-pö* and is translated by 'ought to' or 'let's . . .'. (See sect. 11.2.1 with examples, and also exs. 231, 393, 436, 439, 466, 630, and 659; *-pö* is also used signifying purpose in a subordinate clause—see sect. 14.1.3, exs. 386, 387.)

**18.3.4 Intended fulfillment.** Intended fulfillment is expressed by *pia* 'intend' plus either *kule* 'present witnessed', when the fulfillment is immediate future, or *salo* 'result', when the time of fulfillment is further on than the immediate future. The gloss for intended fulfillment can be either 'intend to' or 'about to'.

(For *pia kule*, see exs. 199, 218, 236, 243, 386, 433, 456, 472; for *pia salo*, see exs. 102, 171, 198, 239, 240, 266a, 408, 409, 464; for *pia salo* signifying intention in a subordinate clause, see exs. 174, 384.)

**18.3.5 Indefinite fulfillment.** The markers *wi* and *noai* indicate indefiniteness or incompleteness as to fulfillment. (See sect. 15.3.2.2 for the indefinite *-i* which is used with descriptive verbs.)

*wi* is usually used in relative constructions and nominalizations (529–533, 535–540, 558–565, 573, 632), but also can be found in the comparative construction (658), the sequential construction (370, 371), the contrary-to-expectation construction with *maaki* 'even though' (805, 806), idiomatically with *kuno mai* 'negative' (341), and, in at least one dialect, with the suppositional *kite* (807).

*noai* indicates indefinite past and occurs in conjunction with the suppositional *kite* (693, 694), with the relative construction (16, 534, 633), with the comparative construction (659), with the hypothetical result construction (616), with the temporal postpositions *halhamö* (359, 360, 642–644, 704, 770), and with the contrary-to-expectation *maaki* (808).

(805) ī na kamakö ku wi maaki, . . .  
 REL like 2:PL say INDEF even:though  
 'Even though you all say that, . . .'

(806) napō            tōpō   sai      pō      ha   makō   wani  
 Maiongong 3:PL house 3:PL by 2:PL DEPR

hasu      -o            wi            maaki, . . .  
 pass:by -PUNCT INDEF even:though  
 'Even though you pass by the Maiongong house, . . .'

(807) po            wani      mö      -a      pä      -ta      -li  
 machete DEPR look:at -DUR merely -EXT -FOC

wi            kite  
 INDEF FUT/SUPPOS  
 '(I suppose) he is just going to look at a machete.'

(808) pola      te            sino    pata    ku    -ta      -so  
 rapids 3:SG only AUG be -EXT -FOC

noai                    maaki, . . .  
 INDEF:PERF even:though  
 'Even though there might have been only rapids, . . .'

**18.3.6 Settled fulfillment.** The marker *-wō* indicates that the state or action of the verb is a settled state or action. This has been labeled as 'subject emphasis' in that, with the use of *-wō*, there seems to be a portrayal of the subject as one who is characterized by the state or action of the predicate (188, 189, 304, 448, 450, 451).

*-wō* is used not only on verbs, but on certain post-head adverbs (sect. 18.7) when employed as modifiers, not of a verb, but of another type of phrase such as noun, time, location, or manner (219, 442).

**18.3.7 Hypothetical fulfillment.** Hypothetical fulfillment constructions have two clauses: the subordinate clause which is the hypothetical condition, and the main clause which is the hypothetical result. (See sect. 14.2.1, with exs. 395–399.)

**18.4 Person, number, gender.** Person and gender are not categories that occur in the verb phrase. As for number, there is one marker, *-he/-e*, which occurs with transitive verbs and is verb-phrase final. It indicates that the subject is plural and that the object is singular (93, 113, 411). More times than not, the subject is not overtly stated in the same clause (as in 113). There are rare examples in which the subject is singular in form, but in which it is understood that there is more than one agent involved in the action. The following is one of these examples, in which it is clear from the

preceding narrative portion that Omawö's brother cooperated with Omawö in getting back at the jaguar.

- (809) Omawö a wai -nō öla a wani tha  
 Omawö 3:SG DIMIN -AG jaguar 3:SG DEPR do  
 hōtō -pa -ma -nō kölö -ma -he  
 also -EXT -CAUS -FOC LOC -CMPL -PL:S  
 'Omawö (and his brother) got back at the jaguar down there (by killing him).'

**18.5 Voice and derivation.** (See sect. 5 on passives and sect. 6 on causatives.) There are two types of derivation in connection with the verb. One type has to do with the formation of a verb, usually from a nonverb, the result of which is a derived verb **stem**. The other type deals with the formation of one class of verb from another verb class, the result of which is a derived verb **phrase**.

**18.5.1 Derived verb stems.** There are two types of verb stems which can be the result of derivation: the description verb and the intransitive verb.

The derived description stem is made up of a noun stem plus the descriptivizer *-pō* or *-söpō*, which has the meaning 'having the characteristics or property of, full of'. Only a limited number of nouns are used to make up description stems. Some of them are: *masita-pō* 'be dirty', *kosoto-pō* 'be muddy', *walakasö-pō* 'be full of sores', *kasi-pō* 'be full of fire ants', *apia-söpō* 'have the color of the *apia* fruit'.

The derived intransitive stem is made up of the performativizer *-mo* with a core which can be: a noun stem (*ulu-mo* child-PRFRM 'act like a child'); a description verb (*ose-mo* young-PRFRM 'act young, childish'); a modifier (*hai-mo* quickly-PRFRM 'act quickly, hurry'); reduplication of certain verb stems, some of which may include the extent of action marker *-ta* (*öpa öpa-mo* stand stand-PRFRM 'stand around' and *na-ta na-ta-mo* wake:up-EXT wake:up-EXT-PRFRM 'keep waking up'); or reduplication of ideophones (*ua ua-mo* cry cry-PRFRM 'keep crying').

**18.5.2 Derived verb phrases.** The change focus *-so*, the directional *-lö/-hölö*, or the causative *-ma* are employed in the formation of derived verb phrases. Derivation also takes place in certain verbs through change of semantic roles in the clause, without any formal marking in the verb phrase (sect. 18.5.2.4).

**18.5.2.1 Derivation through the change focus *-so*.** When the marker *-so*, which is a distinguishing feature of the basic receptive verb, is added to any one of the stative verbs or to the operation transitive verb, the result



is a derived receptive verb. The object of an operation clause becomes the subject of the derived receptive clause (but retains the semantic role of 'patient').

There are identificational receptive verbs (810), existential receptives (811, 812), descriptive receptives (813, 814), emotive receptives (815), and operational receptives (816).

- (810) masupö a wani hai, ī sai te  
 toucan 3:SG DEPR SPECFR REL evil:spirit 3:SG

ku -pa -so -ma  
 be -EXT -FOC -CMPL

'The toucan turned into an evil spirit.'

- (811) hi ulu te niha polakapi te inama  
 this child 3:SG REFRNT two 3:SG dry:season

ku -pa -so kite  
 be -EXT -FOC FUT

'The child will become two years old.'

- (812) au pösösö a wani ku -pa -so  
 your mother:in:law 3:SG DEPR be -EXT -FOC

pia wi, ī a  
 intend INDEF REL 3:SG

'She is the one who is about to become your mother-in-law.'

- (813) watata asö heu -la -so matimö  
 cloth CLASS wet -EXT -FOC possibly  
 'The cloth might become wet.'

- (814) oi oi te -nö a utiti -a  
 hungry hungry 3:SG -INST 3:SG weak -DUR

apö -pa -so -ma  
 INTNSF -EXT -FOC -CMPL

'He became very weak from hunger.'

- (815) ka pi ha wa kili -so ke  
 INTER PRTCLZR of 3:SG afraid -FOC IP  
 'What did you become afraid of?'

- (816) hi ti pata -nō a se -pa -so kupi  
 wood CLASS AUG -INST 3:SG hit -EXT -FOC RP  
 'He got hit by a big pole.'

**18.5.2.2 Derivation through the directional *lö/-hölö*.** When *-lö/-hölö* 'DIR', which is a feature of motion verbs, is added to transitive and ditransitive verbs, the result is a derived transitive motion verb.

- (817) sa pata si -pö -lö -ö  
 1:SG AUG carry:on:back -FOC -DIR -NONASP  
 'I carry the big (jaguar) away back home on my back.'

- (818) kolo hamö kutiata a ko -nō -nō -ma  
 bottom LOC canoe 3:SG return -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
 '(He) went and got his canoe back downstream.'

- (819) peanopö a wani -nō moko te  
 husband 3:SG DEPR -AG young:woman 3:SG

noka -ma -nō -nō -ö  
 follow -CAUS -FOC -DIR -NONASP

'The husband makes the young woman follow along.' (Here is a case of both the causative and directional components in the same verb.)

- (820) napö töpö sai pö hamö hama  
 Maiongong 3:SG house 3:PL to visitor

töpö -nō ipa po kökö te -lö -lö -ma  
 3:PL -AG my machete 3:DL take -FOC -DIR -CMPL

'The visitors took my machetes to the Maiongong house.'

**18.5.2.3 Derivation through the causative *-ma*.** The causative *-ma* may be used with any verb except the existence verb *ku* 'be'. (See sect. 6.)

**18.5.2.4 Derivation through change of semantic roles.** While it is true that there is usually a change of roles of the participants in any basic clause which becomes a derived clause, thus far this change has been linked to a marker within the verb. There remain some derived description and operation transitive clauses in which there is no marker within the verb; it is the change of the semantic roles of the participants which is the dominant feature of the derivational process.

Certain verbs which are basically transitive can function as derived stative verbs. The object-as-patient of the transitive clause becomes the subject-as-statant of the stative clause, and the subject-agent of the transitive clause is omitted. In (821–824), all derived stative clauses, the verbs are basically transitive.

(821) kutiata a      ōka ma      kule  
 canoe 3:SG tie NEG PRES  
 ‘Isn’t the canoe tied?’

(822) thoo thoto      kuse -a      kule  
 rope CLASS untie -DUR PRES  
 ‘The rope is untied.’

(823) hi      ti      la      kule  
 wood CLASS shut PRES  
 ‘The door is shut.’

(824) ti                      hāko pole  
 CLASS:wood open PRES  
 ‘The door is open.’

Similarly, there is a subclass of basically stative position verbs which do not take the causative marker *-ma* or any other derivational affix, but can function as derived transitive verbs through the change of subject-as-statant to that of object-as-patient and the introduction of a subject agent. The change focus marker *-ki/-kö* in the verb does not in itself change the basic verb to a derived one, but this marker always occurs in the derived form. (See sect. 18.2.5 for explanation of static and dynamic forms of the verb.)

(825a) Basic position verb (static form, without *-ki/-kö*):  
 a      titi      -ti      -o      ke  
 3:SG be:inside -CONT -PUNCT IP  
 ‘He was inside (of it).’

(825b) Basic position verb (dynamic form, with *-ki/-kö*):  
 a      titi      -kö  
 S:3:SG be:inside -FOC  
 ‘Be/Get inside.’ (The 3rd person pronoun *-a* is usually used for 2nd person in imperatives.)

(825c) Derived operation transitive verb:

a titi -kö  
 O:3:SG be:inside -FOC  
 'Put it inside.'

(826a) Basic position verb:

sama a pa -ki ke  
 S:tapir 3:SG lie:on:ground -FOC IP  
 'The tapir lay down (on the ground).'

(826b) Derived operation transitive verb:

sama a pa -ki ke  
 O:tapir 3:SG lie:on:ground -FOC IP  
 '(He) laid the tapir (on the ground).'

Some description verbs can become derived operation transitive verbs either through the use of the causative marker *-ma* or through the derivational process under consideration. In the latter case usually *-pa* or *-ta* 'extent of action' is added to the verb phrase. The choice of whether to use the causative *-ma* or the extent of action *-pa/-ta* depends upon whether the prominence is on the resultant state (with *-ma*) or on the action itself, as in 'Make it tight' versus 'Tighten it'. (See exs. 156–158.)

**18.6 Direction, location, and clarification.** There are direction and location indicators within the verb phrase; they follow extent of action and change focus markers and precede the tense-degree of knowledge-location and degree of fulfillment markers. In a given verb phrase there can be direction, location, or a combination of both when the directional is *-ima* 'approaching' (186, 831, 832).

The clarification marker also follows the change focus markers and precedes the tense-degree of knowledge-location markers.

**18.6.1 Direction.** The directional occurs only with verbs of motion and indicates whether the actor is going away from a given point, approaching it, or arriving.

*-hölö* 'leaving' is by far the most commonly used of the directionals. The first vowel *-ö* usually becomes a reduplication of whatever vowel precedes the *-hölö*. The *h* is usually dropped and often the reduplicated vowel is also dropped, except in the imperatives, in which the stress is on the first syllable of *-hölö* (447, 827, 828). Thus *-lö* is the most common form. (55, 58, 59, 89, 291, 368, 371, 618, 642).

- (827) lopa -halö / lopa -alö  
 quick -DIR quick -DIR  
 'Go away quickly.'
- (828) hu ko -honö / hu ko -onö  
 go return -DIR go return -DIR  
 'Go away again.'

*-ima* 'approaching' is usually in relation to the speaker, but does not need to be (186, 358, 438, 569, 646).

*-so/-solö* 'arriving' is always in relationship to the main actor, usually the speaker. (See exs. 451 and 647 for *-solö* and ex. 539 for *-so*.)

**18.6.2 Location.** The locationals *laso/taso/kölö* indicate a topographical relationship with the point of reference being a river or clearing or even ground versus air. Unlike the directionals and the clarifier *alu*, these locationals can occur with the durative *-a* (82, 443, 654).

*laso* indicates either 'up' or 'across' (e.g., 'upriver, up in the air, up a tree, up a mountain,' etc.) (94, 269a, 448, 654).

*taso* indicates 'inland (from river), outside', or 'in the forest' (186, 247, 268a, 369, 443, 448, 731).

*-lö* and *-tö* are alternate forms for *-laso* and *-taso* respectively in imperative constructions (268b, 269b, 283, 607). Also *taso* becomes *-tö* when followed by the sequential *nö* or by the temporal marker *tehe/te* (830, 831).

*kölö* indicates 'downstream' (82, 153, 208, 213, 215, 289, 328, 371, 413).

- (829) opo sa wai se -a sisa -pa -li taso  
 armadillo 1:SG DIMIN kill -DUR only -EXT -FOC LOC  
 'I only kill an armadillo.'
- (830) ī ha sapa kō soa -pa -so taso.  
 REL LOC turn:back return right:away -EXT -FOC LOC  
 sapa kō soa -pa -lo -tö nö, . . .  
 turn:back return right:away -EXT -FOC -LOC SEQ  
 'In that place I return right away. Having returned right  
 away, I . . .'
- (831) a kai ko -ima -tö tehe, . . .  
 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT return -DIR -LOC while  
 'While he (led by another) is coming back (in the forest), . . .'

- (832) a hu -ima naso  
 3:SG come -DIR LOC  
 'He approaches (from) upriver.'

**18.6.3 Clarification.** In all examples found, the clarification marker *alu* occurs only with the witnessed modality (*kule*, *ke*, *kupi*, *kupili*). The speaker employs *alu* to clarify to the listener an action which the latter might not readily notice, understand, or expect.

- (833) . . . sa ku pä -a ti -a alu kule  
 1:SG say merely -DUR CONT -DUR CLARIF PRES  
 '. . . I'm just saying.'

- (834) a kate -a alu kule  
 3:SG fly -DUR CLARIF PRES  
 'It (a bird) is flying (in picture).'

- (835) samakö heka ku -pa -so  
 1:PL:EXCL head:wound be -EXT -FOC

toti -o -alu kupili  
 well -PUNCT -CLARIF DP

'We really received head wounds (even though you might think that we could have defended ourselves).'

**18.7 Incorporation.** Adverbs may be incorporated into the verb phrase. Most of the adverbs follow the verb head and precede the causative, change focus, direction-location, negative, and tense-modality markers, but there is a class of three adverbs which precede the verb head. With the verb head, these adverbs form a unit which in turn can be further modified by the adverbs which follow the head.

Special attention is given to the intensifier adverb *-öpö*.

**18.7.1 Pre-head adverbs.** The three pre-head adverbs signify nonreality: *moni* 'almost' (836, 837); *mani* 'in a dream' (839, 840); and *hole* 'falsely' (841, 842). Like the first head of a compound verb head (sect. 18.8), these pre-head adverbs precede the categorizer (*wani*, *wai*, *pata*) of the noun phrase (837, 838). When modifying a compound verb head, the pre-head adverbs occur between the first and second verb head (838).

- (836) a      moni    ke    -la      -so      -ma  
 3:SG almost fall -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 'He almost fell.'
- (837) a      moni    wani    ku    maaki, . . .  
 3:SG almost DEPR say even:though  
 'Even though he almost says, . . .'
- (838) töpö    nasi                    pewö    moni    pata  
 3:PL VB:HEAD<sub>1</sub> all      almost AUG  
  
 tu                    -pa      -so      -ma  
 VB:HEAD<sub>2</sub> -EXT -FOC -CMPL  
 'They all almost drowned.' (The compound verb *nasi tu* means  
 'drown'.)
- (839) wi      na    wa    mani      ku -a      ke  
 INTER like 2:SG in:a:dream be -DUR IP  
 'What did you dream about?'
- (840) ipa    husopö    sa      mani      ta    -la      -li      kupi  
 my wife    1:SG in:dream see -EXT -FOC RP  
 'I saw my wife in a dream.'
- (841) a      hole    kali    -palo      -ti      kule  
 3:SG falsely work -REPET -CONT PRES  
 'He's not really working.'
- (842) ī      na    töpö    hole    ku    -u  
 REL like 3:PL falsely say -NONASP  
 'That's what they falsely say.'

**18.7.2 Post-head adverbs.** The post-head adverbs may be grouped into the following general categories: time, location, manner, co-occurrence in relation to other participants, sequence in relation to another action, and aspects of an action. In general, the linear ordering of these adverbs is that given above, with time occurring first and limitation of action last. Most of the adverbs of time, location, and manner, as well as a few of the others, are derived from verb stems and become adverbs when they follow another verb head. Following is a list of adverbs together with their categories. The listing for time, location, and manner is only partial.

Some of the time adverbs are: *hena-* 'early in the morning' (199, 209), *halu-* 'during the night' (623), *tute-* 'first part of', and *tole-/tolehe* 'latter part of/further on' (179).

Some of the location adverbs are: *tole-/tolehe* 'further on' (371), *pasökö-* 'further to side', *mötälö-* 'in the middle' and *hisa-* 'at home/in house' (172, 360).

Some of the manner adverbs are: *hai-* 'quickly' (296, 317), *sapa-* 'turning back' (134–137), *toti-* 'good/well' (160, 217), *hasu-* 'passing by' (182), *nono-* 'upright' (25), and *kawese-* 'at the edge of'.

The adverbs in the category of co-occurrence in relation to other participants are: *hei-/hi-* 'separating from/overtaking' (110, 438), *le-* 'coming towards/meeting' (357, 444), *nani-/nai-* 'together with, also' (45, 528), *hötö-* 'apart from, also, in return' (174, 188, 190), *pasi-* 'separate, in contrast to' (27, 130, 191), and *hāto-* 'secretly, out of sight, maybe' (450, 642).

The adverbs showing a sequence in relation to another action are: *soma-* 'first' (355), *pali-/pai-* 'before' (371), *nömö-/hömö-* 'next' (362), and *kō-/ko-* 'return/again' (448, 643, 647).

The adverbs which give some aspect of an action are: *waiki-* 'already' (145, 161, 211, 212), *soa-* 'still/immediately' (86, 192), *pä-* 'merely' (44, 138), *asa-* 'exclusively, advantageously' (178, 181), and *sis-* 'only' (437, 829).

The adverb *sai* 'really, exactly, inexorably, unalterably' can also be an adjective, and is different from the adverbs mentioned above in that it can modify not only the head of the verb phrase, but also a temporal or locational word (846, 847).

(843) kamisa pi ku upa sai -a kule  
1:SG inside say INTNSF unalterably -DUR PRES  
'I really think (that, and will not change).'

(844) ma tu koa sai -le  
water CLASS drink unalterably -PRES  
'He has to drink water (and can't drink anything else).'

(845) sa husu -a toti -a waiki -a  
1:SG leave -DUR well -DUR already -DUR

sai -lo he -ö  
unalterably -EXT:FOC IP -EXCLM

'I have already really just left and cannot do otherwise (e.g., help you build the house).'



- (846) hi -ki sai  
 here -CNFRM exactly  
 'Right here—not somewhere else.'
- (847) sakömi sai ha, sa hu ko -onö kite  
 after:long:time really after, 1:SG go return -DIR FUT  
 'After a really long time I will return.'

**18.7.3 The intensifier *öpö*.** Phonologically, the intensifier has the following alternate forms: *öhöpö*, *öpö*, *öpö*, *Vpö*. The first form is extremely rare; the second is heard occasionally in emphatic speech. In the more common forms, nazalization is dropped and the first vowel accommodates to whatever vowel precedes it. Thus, there are examples of *apö* (104), *epö* (33, 450), *ipö* (141, 162), *upö* (87, 447), and *opö* in *kauko opö* 'very soft'.

The intensifier *öpö* can occur with stems of verbs of description (33, 141, 178), emotion (383), existence (18, 19, 570), and experience (66, 177, 184, 189); it also occurs with adverbs which are derived from description verbs (104, 162, 184, 447).

The intensifier can also occur after the performative *-mo*, after the repetitive *talo/palo* (304, 478), after *-po* 'change focus' (354), after the causative *-ma* (172), and after the negative (305, 306, 313).

**18.8 Auxiliary and compound verbs.** The existence stative verb in a subordinate merged clause could be considered an auxiliary verb. (See sect. 14.4.2, exs. 427–431.)

There are some verb heads which are compound in that they have two elements, and these are separated in the linear ordering by the adjective in a noun phrase, by the categorizer of the noun phrase (*pata*, *wai*, *wani*), and by the prehead adverbs *moni*, *mani*, *hole*. (See sect. 15.3.1.3, exs. 512, 513, 515–517, and sect. 18.7.1.) The fact that the prehead adverb is not mutually exclusive with Vb. Head 1 of the compound verb is one criterion for setting up a distinction between them and treating them as two different classes. Other distinctions are seen in studying the make-up of the compound verb.

Although there might be more, the following are the common words making up Vb. Head 1: *hama* 'visit' (335, 848), *wasimö* /*wasumö*/*wasömö* 'en masse' (512), *mamo* 'with eye' (52, 849), *sömöka* 'with ear' (446), *namö/namo* 'with intent to kill, harm, or destroy' (360, 537, 642), *nasi* 'having to do with termination of life, whether human or plant' (513, 515, 516, 850), *nasö* 'follow after immediately' (851), and *pi* 'inside' (38, 45, 212, 336–338, 341, 478, 555). Some of these elements in Vb. Head 1 are from the noun class (e.g., *hama* 'visitor', *mamo* 'eye', *sömöka* 'ear', *nasö* 'nail, claw'); others are from descriptive verbs (*nasi* 'bitter', *namo* 'sharp').

In contrast to the prehead adverbs, the constituents of Vb. Head 1, with the exception of *pi* 'inside', are followed by a very limited number of verbs (about 20, mostly intransitive). Our data show only one Vb. Head 2 possibility for *sömöka* 'ear' (which is *ta* 'see'), two possibilities for *nasi* 'bitter', and three for *mamo* 'eye'. A few motion verbs such as *hu* 'go', *eku* 'cross over', *a-* 'leave', and *walo* 'arrive' may constitute Vb. Head 2 for Vb. Head 1 *hama* 'visit' and *wasimö* 'en masse'. In addition to some of these motion verbs, the verbs *simö* 'send', *himö* 'point', and *kuse* 'untie' are verbs that can be included in Vb. Head 2 when Head 1 is *namo/namö*. With *nasö* there can occur either the intransitives *hu* 'go' and *hā* 'trip' or the transitives *te/su* 'take'.

Unlike the other examples of Vb. Head 1, *pi* 'inside' occurs with many verbs, most of them description and emotion verbs, along with the very common verb *kuu* 'say'. *pi* is included here as Head 1 of a compound verb rather than as a prehead adverb because other prehead adverbs can occur with *pi* (517) and because *pi* plus the verb acts as a unit and in at least some cases may occur as a post-head adverb (45). (See sect. 19.3 for *pi* used as a locative adjective.)

Head 1 plus Head 2 of the compound verb often can be translated by one verb in English (e.g., *hama hu* 'visitor go' or 'visit', and *pi kuu* 'inside say' or 'think').

(848a) *ī na sa hama hu -kö -ma*  
REL like 1:SG visit go -FOC -CMPL  
'Like that I went visiting.'

(848b) *sa hama a -su -lö kite*  
1:SG visit leave -FOC -DIR FUT  
'I will go away on a visit.'

(848c) *ī ha sa hama hasu -ki*  
REL LOC 1:SG visit pass:by -FOC  
'There I pass by, visiting.'

(849a) *sa mamo hu -a -talo pasi -ti -a*  
1:SG eye go -DUR -REPET separate -CONT -DUR  
  
*alu kule*  
CLARIF PRES  
'I am looking after (the children) here.'

(849b) ulu töpö niha sa mamō  
 child 3:SG for 1:SG eye  
 le -a -palo -ti  
 be:in:waiting -DUR -REPET -CONT  
 'I'm watching out for the children (keeping my eye on them).'

(850) ai a hikali nasi to -a  
 another 3:SG garden destroy good -DUR  
 ko -pa -li  
 return -EXT -FOC  
 '(I) cut down the underbrush of another garden again.'

(851) wale sa kö nasö po mi salo,  
 peccary 1:SG 3:DL follow:after carry NEG RES  
 hi sa walo -a ko -ta -ki kite  
 here 1:SG arrive -DUR return -EXT -FOC FUT  
 'Because I'm not chasing the peccary, I will arrive here.'

## 19 Adjective phrase structure

The possible modifier sequences in noun phrases are discussed in sect. 15.3.1. There are no adjective phrases as such, but a few additional remarks are given here about the three basic types of adjective that occur in noun phrases: descriptive, quantitative, and locative.

**19.1 Descriptive adjectives.** Descriptive adjectives are derived from description verbs (401, 507, 508, 510, 527).

**19.2 Quantitative adjectives.** Quantitative adjectives specify the quantity of a substance or a group and include such adjectives as *pewö* 'all' (509, 589), *see* 'a portion of', *asawösö* 'a broken off part of', *komisi* 'nearly empty', and *sino* 'only'.

**19.3 Locative adjectives.** There are two classes of locative adjectives: intrinsic and extrinsic. The intrinsic locative adjective indicates a location in relation to the noun itself. Usually this location is some part of the item such as *ola* 'top part', *hösöka* 'surface', etc. Some intrinsic locational adjectives are also body parts as in *hikali hūko* 'garden forehead', i.e., 'top part of garden' (192), and *maa ma-kö palökö* 'rock CLASS-DL chest', i.e., 'side of mountain'.

If the noun which is the point of reference is clear, it may be deleted in an intrinsic locative phrase as in *kolo ha* ‘bottom at’, i.e., ‘downriver’.

The extrinsic locative adjective indicates a location in relation to an object outside of the noun. There is only one adjective in this class, *pi* ‘inside of’ (209, 561, 646, 672, 674, 714, 715, 750). Here again, if the noun which is modified is clear from the context, the noun may be deleted (209).

*pi* is also used as the first element of one type of compound verb (sect. 18.8), where the second element of the compound verb is a stative verb or a speech verb and in which the *pi* signifies a state or action inside the actor or subject. This is in contrast to the use of *pi* as a locative adjective, in which case the state or action is outside the actor or subject.

Another reason we have considered *pi* to be one of the locative adjectives is its use alone with the noun, as in the word for ‘match’: *koa taka pi* ‘fire CLASS inside’.

## 20 Adverb phrase structure

(See sects. 1.2 and 17.) Many adverbs are incorporated within the verb phrase (sect. 18.7). Other adverbs and adverbial phrases occur preceding the subject and predicate and can be divided into those indicating time, location, and manner.

**20.1 Temporal adverbs and phrases.** The temporal adverbs which do not occur with a postposition are: *huki/hukii* ‘now, today’ (202, 292, 436), *waiha* ‘later’ (114, 199, 291, 332), and *sakumi/sakömi/sakimi* ‘after a long interval, after a long time’ (199).

Temporal adverbial phrases which have the postpositions *tehe* ‘during, when, while’ and *ha* ‘at the point of, upon, as soon as’ are discussed in sect. 17.1.

**20.2 Locational adverb and phrases.** There is only one locational adverb, *hise* ‘here’, which can occur without a postposition (467), but more commonly occurs with the postposition *ha/hamö*; in this case *hise* often becomes *hisa* (351, 370, 371, 468, 784b).

Locational phrases are treated in sect. 17.2.

**20.3 Manner adverb and phrases.** There is only one manner adverb which is not incorporated in the verb, *naha* ‘like’, and while it can be used alone (215, 216), it is usually used in a phrase or after the indefinite *wi* in a comparative construction (400–403). In a phrase, *naha* is usually used in conjunction with the relative *i* ‘the referred to’ (205, 210, 333), or with the interrogative *wi* (230–237).

The subordinate clause marked by *kai*, which is merged into the main clause, could be considered an adverbial construction expressing manner. (See sect. 14.4.1, exs. 412–415 and sect. 15.3.1.3, exs. 519–521.)

There are a few description verbs which are adverbial in meaning, such as *lope* ‘fast’, *opi* ‘slow’ (84, 85, 451), and others which can be used adverbially, such as *wini/wani* ‘little’ (187, 852) and *pe* ‘big’ (853). Used adverbially all these description verbs take the indefinite *-i*. Sometimes the use of *-i* is ambiguous with a relative construction, as in (854). (Compare sect. 15.3.2.2 for the use of *-i* in relative clauses.)

(852) wini ipi -i sa ha -palo  
small INTNSF -INDEF 1:SG talk -REPET

pä -ta -a  
merely -EXT -DUR  
‘I am merely talking a little bit.’

(853) waiha pe epi -i sa ta -ö  
later big INTNSF -INDEF 1:SG know -NONASP

pi topa -a  
inside good -DUR  
‘Later I want to know in a great way/know a lot.’

(854) a wai pötö öpi -i a wai  
3:SG DIMIN full INTNSF -INDEF 3:SG DIMIN

ko -ta -po sinomo  
return -EXT -FOC always  
‘The little one always returns full’ or  
‘The little one who is full always returns.’

# Particles

## 21 Particles

**21.1 Sentence particles.** The interrogative and negative particles are discussed in sects. 10 and 12 respectively.

There is a particle *a/ha* which follows the noun phrase and which precedes the verb and indicates that the subject or object is not seen, but heard (labeled ‘auditive’) or heard about (labeled ‘hearsay’). (For auditive, see 212, 360, 384, 387, 415, 443, 446, 447, 517, 561, 643, 667, 796; for hearsay, see 662, 674, 717, 762; some of these are ambiguous.) Following the third person singular pronoun *te*, usually the particle *a* replaces the vowel *e* of the pronoun (212, 855).

This particle can occur with the noun phrase when the verb is not present, as in the following example.

(855)    *awai, ī        ta*  
          yes    REL 3:SG:AUD  
          ‘Yes, (it is) that (talk).’

**21.2 Discourse particles.** The relative *ī* functions as a discourse particle when it refers back to an element beyond the sentence in which it is found. This has been discussed in sect. 16.5.1 (609–611).

The discourse particle or clitic under discussion here is *-ka*. As mentioned in sect. 9.1, the clitic *-ka* affixed to the subordinate clause markers draws attention to the fact that the event, state or identified item contained in this subordinate clause is highlighted as being part of the main theme. Some of the subordinate clause markers followed by *-ka* thus far exemplified are: the sequential *nō* ‘having’ (106, 446, 449, 450, 708, 748, 784b, 792b), *ha* ‘upon’ (450), *kuteenō* ‘being that’ (389), *maaki* ‘even though’ (392), and *salo* ‘because’ (749). This clitic may also highlight various clause constituents such as agent (108, 118, 119), instrument (122), and adverbial constructions (104, 186, 199, 201, 377, 434, 541, 647).

The use of *-ka* also signals the fact that the main clause that follows is also part of the main theme and deserves special attention. The clitic *-ka* does not occur in the setting at the beginning of a narrative, in the explanation or summary at the end, or in flashbacks (see texts in the Appendix).

The example below is taken from a narrative telling about a close call with a snake in the forest at night. The setting of the narrative consists of four main clauses and eleven subordinate clauses. Then, for the first time, the clitic *-ka* appears on two subordinate clauses followed by two other subordinate clauses without the clitic. Ten subordinate clauses precede the next subordinate clause with *-ka*. The rest of the narrative has 18 more subordinate clauses before the next occurrence of *-ka*, which is on a locational phrase containing the important fact that the speaker arrives safely home.

Phonologically, phrases with the clitic *-ka* do not have the rising final intonation that they would have otherwise. There is a glottal stop after the clitic, followed by a slight pause.

- (856)            sa    pili -a        pai -a        tö    -ka,  
                   1:SG lie -DUR first -DUR while -THEME
- te    numa -so    -ö            ha    -ka,  
 3:SG dark -FOC -NONASP upon -THEME
- hoa.                    — kamisa -nö wa wani se -a  
 go:away                    1:SG -AG 2:SG DEPR kill -DUR
- asa                    -pa -li kite — sa ku  
 advantageously -EXT -FOC FUT        1:SG say
- nö -ka,                    sai a hamö -ka, sa  
 SEQ -THEME            house 3:SG to -THEME 1:SG
- kai                    wani kō -a  
 SUB:PTCPNT DEPR return -DUR
- halu -pö -lö -ö  
 at:night -FOC -DIR -NONASP
- ‘. . . As I am lying (in hammock), as soon as it gets dark, . . . (I) go out. . . . “I am going to kill you (you won’t kill me)” (I) having said, . . . I (with others who had come out to get me) arrived home at night.’

### 21.3 Verification particles and interjections

**21.3.1 Verification particles.** Following is a fairly complete list (all those the meaning of which is relatively certain) of the particles which show the speaker’s emotion, or his relation to, or subjective evaluation of, the state or event in the utterance.

The confirmative *-kö/-ki* is used in both the interrogative as well as the declarative and is used to ask for or give confirmation (127, 148, 205, 210, 214, 215, 258, 298, 345, 365–367). Other verification particles such as *o* and *a* may follow the confirmative *-kö/-ki* (875, 877.)

The desiderative *sa* expresses a wish that a certain state or event were actuality in present time.

(857) ipa sokopi a ku -o sa  
 my spear 3:SG be -PUNCT DESID  
 'Oh that my spear were here.'

(858) amito osö hu sa  
 plane CLASS come DESID  
 'If only the airplane would come.'

The stimulative particle *sö* indicates that the situation expressed is accompanied by the stimulation of the speaker's emotion in either a pleasant or unpleasant way.

(859) olö kökö -nö sa namo ke -a  
 snake 3:DL -AG 1:SG attack fall:on -DUR  
  
 le -pö sö  
 meet -FOC STIM  
 'The snake attacks me (at my head).'

(860) sa te mö wätä -a ku -kö -ma,  
 1:SG 3:SG look:at leaning:over -DUR be -FOC -CMPL

sa pi honiho opa sö! sa kili -palo  
 1:SG inside startle INTNSF STIM 1:SG afraid -REPET

opa sö! sa ami wali -o akö -palo  
 INTNSF STIM 1:SG hand hold -PUNCT tight -REPET

opa sö  
 INTNSF STIM

'When it happened that I look leaning over (high bridge), I am much startled. I am really scared. I hold on really tight.'



(861) sami a nakö wai ku -a tö -ka,  
 one 3:SG tooth DIMIN be -DUR when -THEME

wa pisi sö. — sami sa pi  
 2:SG sex:hungry STIM one 1:SG inside

mamo -ta -kö nn — wa pi  
 have:intercourse -EXT -FOC VERIF 2:SG inside

wai ku -pa sö  
 DIMIN say -EXT STIM

‘When there is one little tooth (of the child), you are really hungry for sex. “I’ll just have intercourse once,” you resolve to yourself.’

The prohibitive *samuku* indicates that the subject is unable to accomplish the action expressed, and is usually in a rhetorical question.

(862) tiko hamö wa hu samuku  
 different LOC 2:SG go PROHIB  
 ‘You can’t go somewhere else, can you?’

(863) sami -i mi na kali -palo samuku  
 one -INDEF INTER like work -REPET PROHIB  
 ‘How could I possibly work alone?’

The particle *ta* signifies that what is expressed in the utterance is obvious and often conveys irony, as in (866) and (867). This particle can be followed by the verification particle *o* (867).

(864) — hise -mö -kö ta — pi ku mai  
 here -LOC -CNFRM obvious inside say NEG  
 ‘ “It’s obviously through this way,” (you) don’t think’ or  
 ‘You should know that the (path) is through here.’

(865) — sanöma te ta — kökö pi  
 Sanuma 3:SG obvious 3:DL inside

wani ku -u  
 DEPR say -NONASP

‘The snake thinks, “It is obviously a person” ’ or  
 ‘The snake realizes it is a person.’

(866) au tatati ti ku -a kule ta  
 your grater:board CLASS be -DUR PRES obvious  
 'Your grater board isn't here, is it?'

(867) kama hai ī sitipa nakö kule  
 3:SG SPECFR REL money CLASS PRES  
 kite ta o  
 SUPPOS obvious VERIF  
 'He surely doesn't have any money, does he?'

Finally, there is a set of verification particles labeled simply as 'VERIF'. These consist of a single vowel, sometimes preceded by aspiration. When an immediately preceding vowel is *-ö*, this *-ö* is most commonly dropped (872, 873).

The particle *a* 'VERIF' indicates surprise, or a circumstance outside the control of the speaker.

(868) ī pö wani toti -a -talo  
 REL 3:PL DEPR good -DUR -REPET

opa -ti -wö a  
 INTNSF -CONT -S:EMPH VERIF  
 'Those continue to be ones that are really good!'

(869) te sai poka apa -le a  
 3:SG house be:empty INTNSF -PRES VERIF  
 'The house is really empty!'

(870) — ipa po a piho —  
 my machete 3:SG give

sa ku kupili maaki a  
 1:SG say DP even:though VERIF  
 'Even though I said, "Give me my machete," (I could not control the outcome.)'

(871) kili -a -ti a  
 afraid -DUR -CONT VERIF  
 'Wow!'

(872) wi na ta -kö a / -ka  
 INTER like obvious -CNFRM VERIF -CNFRM:VERIF  
 'How can it be?'

(873) ipa noa te te -lö a / -la  
 my pay 3:SG get -FOC VERIF -FOC:VERIF  
 'Get my pay (when you go away visiting).'

The particle *o* 'VERIF' indicates a sudden change of state or event or a change in which the speaker is suddenly enlightened.

(874) sa te makoko -pa -ma pia kule o  
 1:SG 3:SG plain -EXT -CAUS intend PRES VERIF  
 'I am about to understand (how to read this)!'

(875) sa ko -nö -kö o / -ko  
 1:SG return -DIR -CNFRM VERIF CNFRM VERIF  
 'I'm going back home now.'

(876) sa kō -a waiki -ta -lö -kö o /  
 1:SG return -DUR already -EXT -DIR -CNFRM VERIF  
 -ko  
 -CNFRM:VERIF  
 'I'm already on my way home (said when getting up to leave).'

(877) amotha sa wani nia -pa laso -kö o /  
*paca* 1:SG DEPR shoot -EXT LOC -CNFRM VERIF  
 -ko  
 -CNFRM:VERIF  
 'I'm going out to shoot a *paca*.'

(878) ī na -kö ta o  
 REL like -CNFRM obvious VERIF  
 'So that's how it is?'

(879) ma o  
 none VERIF  
 'There aren't any more!'

- (880) hena tehe sa ku -o kō sisa o  
 early TEMP 1:SG be -PUNCT return only VERIF  
 'I'm only going to stay till tomorrow.'

The particle *u/hu* 'VERIF' indicates that the participant is forced by circumstances to be or act in a certain way. Usually the participant is first person.

- (881) sa kili sai hu  
 1:SG afraid really VERIF  
 'I'm really afraid!'

- (882) ki ipa nii sa te oa  
 that my food 1:SG 3:SG eat  
  
 kō -ti -o laso -kö hu  
 return -CONT -PUNCT LOC -CNFRM VERIF  
 'I'm going over there to eat my food again (none at home).'

- (883) wa öpa opi -kö nö -kö hu  
 2:SG stand slow -FOC SEQ -CNFRM VERIF  
 'Stop!' (Lit: 'You, having stopped.')

- (884) sa wati sai thai hu  
 1:SG cold really VERIF:RP VERIF  
 'I have been really cold.'

The particle *ö/hö* 'VERIF' indicates exclamation and phonologically is glided toward a sound which is more fronted and slightly higher than the *ö* (206, 212, 217, 270–281, 286b). When this particle is preceded by another vowel *ö*, there is assimilation, as in the last clause of (885), in which the confirmative *-kö/-ki* precedes the verification particle *ö*.

- (885) — awi ö! sa topa soa kule -ö —  
 yes VERIF 1:SG well still PRES -VERIF

wa ku -pö -kö  
 2:SG say -DESID -CNFRM:VERIF  
 ' "Yes! I am still well," you should say!'

**21.3.2 Interjections.** The following are examples of some of the most common interjections. These are considered as sentences. Some of the interjections may be followed by a verification particle (889–891a), some

may be followed by an adverb (891b, 892), at least one has an aspect marker (891a).

- (886) hö  
 what's:this  
 'Hey, what's this?!'
- (887) hua  
 surprise  
 'Wow!'
- (888) kui/kulikö  
 I:don't:know  
 'I don't know' or 'How should I know?'
- (889) hai / hai o  
 okay okay VERIF  
 'Okay.'
- (890) nai / nai a  
 not:so not:so VERIF  
 'Not so.'
- (891a) päla / päla o / päla -ö  
 definitely:not definitely:not VERIF definitely:not -CUST  
 'Definitely not!'
- (891b) päla pasi -wö  
 definitely:not separate -S:EMPH  
 '(My answer is) not any other than "definitely not!".'
- (892) peiso / piso / peiso sai  
 of:course of:course really  
 'Of course!'

# Phonology

## 22 Phonology

### 22.1 Phonological segments

**22.1.1 Consonants.** There are eleven consonantal phonemes: *p, t, k, th, ts, s, h, m, n, l, w*.

The plosives are *p, t, k, th*. *p, t, k* are voiceless plosives at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation: *paso* [paso] ‘spider monkey’; *tapu* [tapu] ‘fat’; *kahi* [kahi] or [kai] ‘mouth’. *p, t, k* have voiced variants intervocalically in which there is free fluctuation, the voiceless plosive being the more common: *ipa* [ipa] or [iba] ‘my’; *hute* [hute] or [hude] ‘heavy’; *āka* [āka] or [āga] ‘tongue’.

*t*, word medially in fast speech, sometimes has the flapped liquid variant [ř] at the alveolar point of articulation: *kutiata* [kutiařa] or [kuřiařa] ‘canoe’.

*k*, beside having the variant [g], occasionally varies with [kh] word initially, and always has the variant [ky], a voiceless palatal plosive with added palatalization release, when following *i* and preceding *a*: *kahi* [kahi], [khahi], [kai], or [khai] ‘mouth, language’; *konasö* [konasi] or [khonasi] ‘a black ant’; *waika* [waikya] ‘Waika’ (a large dialect group of Yanomami), *hikali* [hikyali] ‘garden’; *īkapalo* [īkyapalo] ‘smile, laugh’.

*th* is an aspirated alveolar plosive contrasting with the unaspirated alveolar plosive *t*: *tha* [tha] ‘do’ vs. *ta* [ta] ‘see’; *luthe* [luthe] ‘moldy’ vs. *hute* [hute] ‘heavy’.

*ts* is a voiceless alveolar affricated plosive and occurs word initial or word medial. Word medially it has a voiced variant [dz], or occasionally [z] in fast speech, usually in a word with more than two syllables. *ts* has another variant, an alveopalatal affricated plosive [tš] or [dž], which occurs contiguous to *i*, the [dž] freely fluctuating with [tš] intervocalically (see next paragraph for the writing of *ts* as *s*): *salaka* [tsalaka] ‘fish’; *hasa* [hatsa] or [hadza] ‘deer’; *masupö* [matsupɨ], [madzupɨ], or [mazupɨ] ‘toucan’; *masulu* [matsulu], [madzulu], or [mazulu] ‘beads’; *sinimo* [tsinimo] ‘corn’; *kamisa* [kamitša], [kamidža], or [kamiža] ‘1:SG’. Two words have been heard from some speakers in which [ts] varies with [tš] when it is not contiguous to [i]: *sami* [tsami] or [tšami] ‘one, alone’; *sopi* [tsopi] or [tšopi] ‘hot’.

There has been some discussion as to the interpretation and writing of *ts* and *s*. Those working in dialects of Sanuma north of Brazil relate that there is no *ts* in those dialects. Even in Brazil, the phonological distinction

between [ts] and [s] is negligible and can best be heard in the environment of *i* in which the alveolar plosives [t, d] or the voiced fricative [z] are easily distinguished: *kamisa* [kamitʃa], [kamidʒa] or [kamiʒa]; *sai* [sai] 'house' vs. *sai* [tsai] 'really', which in the environment of *i* are *sami sai* [tsami sai] 'one house' vs. *sami sai* [tsami tʃai] 'really one'. Because of (1) the difficulty in distinguishing [ts] and [s] in most environments, (2) the fact that literate Brazilian Sanuma themselves had great difficulty in writing *ts* vs. *s*, and (3) the desirability of uniformity in orthography for Sanuma both in Brazil and Venezuela, we have disregarded the distinction of *ts* and *s* in the practical orthography and write only *s*.

*s* is a voiceless alveolar fricative having an alveopalatal variant [ʃ] when occurring contiguous to *i* in the same word: *silaka* [ʃilaka] 'arrow'; *mosili* [moʃili] 'gnat'. There is at least one word which does not fit this analysis: *solosama* [soloʃama] 'songthrush'.

*h* is a nonsyllabic voiceless vocoid occurring word initial and word medial. The word-medial *h* is often lenis or sometimes drops out completely: *hasa* [hatsa] or [hadza] 'deer'; *ohi* [ohi] or [oi] 'hungry'; *waiha* [waiha] or [waia] 'later'. (The fact that there are cases in which a particle-initial *h* drops out could indicate that these are part of a larger phonological word, although we have chosen to interpret them as separate grammatical words: *a kuu ha* [a kuu ha] or [a kuu a] 'upon him saying'.)

*m*, *n* are voiced nasals at the bilabial and alveolar points of articulation: *mamo* [mamo] 'eye'; *nana* [nana] 'anatto'; *manu* [manu] 'small variety of curassow'.

*l* is an alveolar lateral and occurs word initial or word medial. It is never contiguous to a nasalized vowel (see sect. 22.4.8): *laka* [laka] 'bamboo'; *ala* [ala] 'macaw'; *holisi* [holiʃi] 'fake'.

*w* is a voiced bilabial nonsyllabic vocoid and occurs word initial or word medial: *wale* [wale] 'peccary'; *iwathama* [iwathama] 'alligator'.

**22.1.2 Vowels.** There are seven oral vowels and six nasal vowels: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *ö*, *ä*. All of these except *ä* have a nasal counterpart.

*i* and *ī* are high close front unrounded vocoids. Sometimes, following a back vowel or semivowel, [i] alternates with [ɪ], a high open front unrounded vocoid: *ilo* [ilo] 'howler monkey'; *hikali* [hikyali] 'garden'; *isi* [iʃi] 'penis'; *īsi* [iʃi] 'burned'; *kui* [kui] or [ku] 'I don't know'; *witi* [witi] or [wti] 'where?'.

*e* and *ē* are mid open front unrounded vocoids. [e] sometimes alternates with the high open front [ɪ] in unstressed syllables (except when following a syllable which has the vowel *e*): *hute* [hu.te] or [hu.tɪ] 'heavy'; *hetehe* [hetehe] 'light'; *hēto* [hēto] 'handle'.

*a* and *ā* are low central unrounded vocoids. [a] varies occasionally with the mid open central unrounded [ʌ]: *ate* [ate] 'near'; *āte* [āte] 'the big claw

of a crab'; *ala* [ala] 'macaw'; *sömöka* [sömöka] or [sömökʌ] 'ear'; *witi hamö* [witi hamö], [witi hāmö], or [witi hām] 'to where?'. [o] and *ō* are mid close back semirounded vocoids. [o] varies sometimes with [u] contiguous to *m*: *hokoloa* [hokoloa] 'closed in'; *hōka* [hōka] 'clear'; *kokoi* [kokoi] 'hawk'; *nasi kōi* [naši kōi] 'cassava drink'; *halo-ma* [haloma] or [haluma] 'wrap'.

*u* and *ū* are high close back semirounded vocoids: *umi* [umi] 'stingy'; *mumi* [mumi] 'dark'; *sululu* [sululu] 'itchy'; *uku* [uku] 'pull out, extract'; *ūka* [ūka] 'ditch'. *u* and *ū* have the variants [ɨ] and [ɨ̄] when contiguous to *k* and followed by *o*: *kuoma* [kioma] 'was'; *ūko* [ɨko] 'thread'; *hūko* [hiko] 'forehead'.

*ö* [ɨ̄] and *ō̄* [ɨ̄̄] are high close central unrounded vocoids: *hötötö* [hititi] 'completely' vs. *hōtō* [hiti] 'also'; *pö* [pi] 'they' vs. *pō̄* [pɨ̄] 'his/her father'.

*ä* [ə] is a mid close central unrounded vocoid (slightly fronted). [ə] has the variant [ɨ̄] (high close central unrounded) when preceding the vowel *o*: *äpäti* [əpəti] 'soft'; *päka* [pəka] 'opening, hole'; *hä-* [hə] 'burn'; *täpä* [təpə] 'anteater'; *ku pä-o* [ku piə] 'merely say'.

**22.2 Phonotactics.** There are two syllable patterns: V and CV. Within a root, these two syllable patterns may occur in the initial, medial, or final position: *i.po.ko* 'wind'; *po.a.ka* 'double'; *ho.ko.ma* 'bacaba fruit'; *pe.a* 'suffer'.

Three-syllable roots are common. Roots with four syllables are considerably less common and usually are noun roots or description verbs: *pu.mo.to.mö* 'opossum'; *si.pi.na.pi* 'pregnant'. There are rare cases of a noun root with more than four syllables: *te.le.ke.le.mö* 'a long plantain'.

**22.3 Suprasegmentals.** Stress is on the first syllable of two-syllable and three-syllable words; in words of more than three syllables, primary stress is on the penultimate syllable, with secondary stress word initial: '*au.lu* 'wounded, sick'; '*na.kö* 'tooth'; '*i.po.ko* 'wind'; '*ha.no.ko* 'ax'; '*to.lo.ko* 'crooked'; '*ka.pu.'lu.mö* 'yam'; '*ho.ko.'na.to* a 'type of vine'; '*mö.ta.ti.'le.mö* 'a type of banana'. (For sentence-final stress in the imperative and the use of the exclamation point to indicate this, see sect. 11.1.3.)

Intonation generally rises on the last syllable of a subordinate clause which is followed by the main clause or by another subordinate clause. There is no glottal occlusion at the end of these subordinate clauses. The exception to this is with the use of the clause-final discourse clitic *-ka*, in which there need not be rising intonation and in which there is a clause-final glottal stop (sect. 21.2).



## 22.4 Problems of interpretation

**22.4.1 Closed syllables (VC and CVC).** In fast speech there occur closed syllables because of the loss of the final vowel. We interpret [VC] as V.CV and [CVC] as CV.CV: *aloamö kökö* [aloami kiki] or [aloam kik] ‘*jararaca* (snake)’.

In word-final position, *-ö* may drop after the consonants *p, k, s, m, n*; *o* may drop after *k, m*; and *i* may drop after *s*: *kumisipö* [kumišipi] or [kumišip] ‘ear wax’; *ala kökö* [ala kiki] or [ala kik] ‘macaws’; *pösö* [pisi] or [pis] ‘apron’; *hamö* [hami] or [ham] ‘along, toward’; *silaka-nö* [šilakani] or [šilakan] ‘by means of an arrow’; *walemo koko* [walemo koko] or [walem kok] ‘sweet cassava’; *miši* [miši] or [miš] ‘cat’; *onomasi* [onomaši] or [onomaš] ‘white down’.

**22.4.2 Vowel sequences (V.V and CV.V vs. VV and CVV).** In a two vowel sequence, when the first vowel is mid or low and the second high, phonetically the sequence sounds like one syllable, but we interpret this sequence as two underlying syllables based on the fact that there are other two-vowel sequences in which two syllable pulsations are clearly distinguished: *sa.i* [sai] ‘house’; *ke.ö* [kei] ‘fall’; *a.u* [au] ‘your’; *ko.a* [ko.a] ‘drink’; *sa.o* [sa.o] ‘hang’; *su.ö* [su.i] ‘woman’.

**22.4.3 Consonant clusters.** The consonant clusters *pl* and *kl* are only found in ideophones and in nouns derived from ideophones (*ploam ploam* ‘a big toad’); therefore CCV is not included as one of the normal syllable patterns. There is one noun, *plolo* ‘small otter’ which might be an exception to the above rule, but which also might be derived from an ideophone. (See sect. 24 for examples of ideophones with the CCV pattern.)

**22.4.4 Long versus double vowel.** Inasmuch as there are nonambiguous sequences of two vowels (*heano* husband), and because a glottal stop frequently occurs between two vowels which are identical, we conclude that such an occurrence of two vowels constitutes a two-vowel sequence and not a lengthened vowel: *maa ma* [maa ma] or [maʔa ma] ‘rock’.

**22.4.5 Glottal stop.** As mentioned above (sect. 22.4.4), the glottal stop may occur between identical vowels. Subordinate clauses end with glottalization only with the use of the discourse clitic *-ka* (sect. 22.3). There is free fluctuation between glottalization and nonglottalization before an utterance beginning with a vowel. An interrogative never has an utterance-final glottal stop, whereas the declarative usually does.

(893a) a hu ke [ʔa hu keʔ/a hu keʔ]  
 3:SG come IP  
 'He came just now.'

(893b) a hu ke [ʔa hu ke/a hu ke]  
 3:SG come IP  
 'Did he come just now?'

Some instances of nonglottalization utterance final in the declarative are with the use of: ideophones (sect. 24), certain verification particles and interjections (e.g., *o*, *a*, *la*, and *u/hu* in sect. 21.3), a noun by itself (*paluli* 'It's a curassow.'). and verbs without their normal affixes (sect. 2.3 and examples).

**22.4.6 [i] and [u].** In word-initial position, [u] is interpreted as *w* when there is no stress on the [u]. When there is stress on word-initial [u], it is interpreted as the vowel *u* and it constitutes a syllable: *wö* 'basket' vs. *u.ö* 'intimate'. In that [i] in word-initial position always receives stress, it is interpreted as *i* and constitutes a syllable: *i.a* 'eat'; *i.e* 'blood'.

In word-medial position following another vowel and preceding a consonant, [i] and [u] are interpreted as vowels inasmuch as there are no nonambiguous consonant clusters word medially: *aulu* 'wounded, sick'; *haikamö töpö* 'ants'.

Word medially when occurring intervocalically, [u] is interpreted as *w* in the absence of a nonambiguous series of three vowels in a grammatical root: *iwathamö* 'alligator'; *asawösö* 'broken off'; *pewö* 'all'.

*i* does not appear intervocalically in the word-medial position with the exception of two loan words, *teia te* 'bottle' and *huia te* 'harpoon'. In these cases we still prefer to interpret [i] as a vowel because this is a rare occurrence and because of the inconvenience of introducing another phoneme *y*.

In word-final position, [i] and [u] are interpreted as vowels because of the ruling out of CVC as one of the syllable patterns (sect. 22.4.1 and examples).

**22.4.7 Aspirated plosives and affricates.** [th], [ts], and [ph] (this latter found only in ideophones) are interpreted as one consonant inasmuch as there are no consonant clusters except in ideophones. For convenience the [th] and [ph] are written as two consonants in the orthography, and [ts] is written as *s* (for the reasons given in sect. 22.1.1): *tha-ö* 'he makes'; *luthe* 'moldy'; *phatu* 'a sudden, fast departure (ideophone)'; *sanöma* [tsanɪma] 'Sanuma'.

**22.4.8 Nasalization.** It has been stated that all vowels except one have nasalized counterparts (sect. 22.1.2); there are other features of nasalization which have not been discussed.

If the first vowel of a word is nasalized, all the following vowels are also nasalized unless there is an intervening nonnasal consonant, and these following nasalized vowels are not marked as such in the orthography.: *hūa* [hūã] ‘nose’; *hēto* [hēto] ‘handle’.

If the first consonant of a syllable is *m* or *n*, the syllable is considered nasalized with nasalization on the vowel, even though this nasalization might not be as strong as a regular nasalized vowel. Within the grammatical word, [l] becomes *n* after a nasalized syllable, and the resultant syllable becomes nasalized. In these cases, in the orthography we have conformed to the Sanuma preference of writing *n* and not *l*. Thus *la-li* ‘EXT-FOC’ added to *oa hena* ‘eat (it) early’ becomes *oa hena-na-ni* ‘eat (it) early’.

Also for simplicity in the orthography, when a nasalized vowel causes the following *l* to become *n*, we have not written the marker for nasalization over this nasalized vowel. Thus *kō* ‘return’ plus the focus marker *-li* is *ko-ni* ‘retrieve’.

A nasal vowel may lose its nasalization before a syllable starting with a plosive; thus *kō* ‘return’ plus the focus marker *-pi* may be either [kō-pi] or [ko-pi], and again for simplicity of orthography, we have not written this nasal.

**22.4.9 The mid open fronted central vowel ə.** It has been shown that there is contrast between [ə], [e], and [i], and [ə] has been written as *ä* in our orthography and throughout this paper.

The occurrence of [ə] is not common. In a collection of text material, this vowel constituted only .6% in a count of 170,500 phonemes. The orthography of Venezuelan Sanuma does not include [ə], and because of the desirability of having one orthography for all Sanuma, we have devised the following as one possible alternate description, considering [ə] as a variant of either *e* or *ö*:

(1) [ə] is a variant of *e* when *e* occurs consecutively separated only by *l* or *p*. (The only exception to this would be in a word beginning with *s* as in *seleke* [seleke] ‘separate’.): *hele* [hələ] ‘swim, rain’; *helele* [hələlə] ‘smell’; *pele* [pələ] ‘drip’; *wele* [wələ] ‘go downstream’; *tepe* [təpə] ‘anteater’; *epena kökö* [əpəna kiki] ‘type of snake’; *epeti* [əpəti] ‘soft’.

(2) [ə] is a variant of *e* when it occurs before the syllable *tö*. In this case there is free variation between [ə] and [i] in this syllable: *hetöpo* [hətəpo] or [hətipo] ‘in various places’.

(3) [ə] is a variant of *e* in monosyllabic roots the consonant of which is *l* or *w*: *le* [lə] ‘encounter’; *we* [wə] ‘inform, mark a limit’.

(4) [ə] is a variant of *ö* in monosyllabic roots the consonant of which is *p*, *th*, *k* or *h*: *pö* [pə] 'cut in two'; *pö-* [pə] 'only, just'; *thö* [thə] 'prepare roll of tobacco'; *kö* [kə] 'fracture'; *hö* [hə] 'burn'.

(5) [ə] is a variant of *ö* in disyllabic roots when the vowel of the second syllable is not *ö*: *pöka* [pəka] 'small hole'; *pöla* [pəla] 'definitely not'.

**22.5 Morphophonemic processes.** Palatalization (see sect. 22.1.1 under *k*) has already been mentioned in the description of the phonology. The following is a summary of processes that pertain to the morphology.

**22.5.1 Assimilation.** Two vowels affected by the assimilatory process are *ö* and *e*.

*ö*, when preceding contiguously the vowel *i*, harmonizes with that vowel: *kuii* (*ku-ö-i* be-CUST-INDEF in 188, 234, 555, 557); *öpii* (*öpö-i* INTNSF-INDEF in 187, 213, 546, 548). Also the first *ö* of the intensifier harmonizes with the preceding vowel (sect. 18.7.3).

If not preceded by a pause, the first *ö* of the classifier *ösö* harmonizes with any preceding vowel except *i* (see also 192): *watata asö* (*watata ösö* cloth CLASS); *amito osö* (*amito ösö* airplane CLASS); *pu usö* (*pu ösö* sugar cane); *lapai ösö* (*lapai ösö* a type of banana plant).

The vowel *ö* in the confirmative *-kö* and the dualizer *-kö* usually harmonizes with an *i* if this is the only vowel of a preceding syllable and if the *ö* is not followed by another syllable with *ö* (as in 883): *tiki* (*ti-kö* wood-DL); *hukiki* (*huki-kö* today-CNFRM).

The vowel *e* assimilates to the vowel of the following morpheme in many cases and to the following *w* in one instance: *tökö* (*te-kö* TEMP-CNFRM); *tönö* (*te-nö* 3:SG-AG); *to wani* (*te wani* 3:SG DEPR).

In certain words, the final *e* assimilates to the following *a* or drops out. This is rare, and thus far we have retained the *e* in the orthography: *poose a* [poosa a] or [poos a] 'his younger brother/her younger sister'; *hise ha* [hitša ha] or [hitš a] 'here at'.

**22.5.2 Deletion.** One example of deletion is mentioned in the previous paragraph. There are also examples of deletion of *ö* and, less commonly, of *u* and *e*. In certain words, *ö*, *u*, and *e* drop before the aspect particles *-a* and *-o*: *sima* (*simö-a* send-DUR); *simo* (*simö-o* send-PUNCT); *hatuka* (*hatuku-a* open-DUR); *hatuko* (*hatuku-o* open-PUNCT); *seleko* (*seleke-o* separate-PUNCT).

Also, before the verification particles *a* and *o*, there is deletion of the *ö*: *tela!* (*te-lö-a* get-FOC-VERIF); *ai taka* (*ai ta-kö-a* INTERJECTION obvious-CNFRM-VERIF); *sa loiko* (*sa loi-kö o* 1:SG sit-FOC VERIF).

There is deletion of one *a* when two of them are contiguous across morpheme boundaries: *pa kule* (*pa-a kule* lie:on:ground -DUR PRES); *öla sa niapali* (*öla sa a nia-pa-li* jaguar 1:SG:SUBJECT 3:SG:OBJECT

shoot-EXT-FOC).

**22.5.3 Replacement.** Replacement takes place in the change focus markers (sects. 11.1 and 18.2.5.2) and in the location markers (sect. 18.6.2, exs. 830, 831).

## **23 Morphology**

The morphology has been dealt with in the preceding sections.

## Ideophones

### 24 Ideophones

#### 24.1 Representative sample of ideophones

<i>ha plo</i>	'land on ground'
<i>hoa</i>	'go away' (123)
<i>klan klan klan</i>	'chew, eat' (106, 118, text 1:5)
<i>klau klau</i>	'thunder'
<i>kleno kleno</i>	'untie hammocks' (exs. 105, 123)
<i>kletiti</i>	'tear apart' (106)
<i>kli</i>	'break off'
<i>kloso</i>	'pierce'
<i>klutu</i>	'swallow'
<i>klö klö klö</i>	'walking along' (text 1:10)
<i>kopo</i>	'go splashing into water' (377)
<i>kulö kulö kulö</i>	'climbing' (text 1:14)
<i>phatu</i>	'sudden departure'
<i>phau</i>	'hit/whip'
<i>plāu</i>	'run away'
<i>plō</i>	'slide out' (648)
<i>plotho</i>	'blow out through narrow opening' (647)
<i>tāi</i>	'cut' (text 1:4)
<i>tolo</i>	'put inside' (105)
<i>ua ua</i>	'cry'

There may be a reduplication of some ideophones with the performative *-mo* added to form an intransitive verb:

<i>klau klau-mo</i>	'thunder'
<i>tāi tāi-mo</i>	'cut'
<i>ua ua-mo</i>	'cry'

With some ideophones there may be repetition of the last syllable to represent prolonged action (see also text 1:26): *phatututu* (*phatu* sudden departure).

**24.2 Variation from normal phonology.** The normal syllable patterns are V and CV; however, there is at least one ideophone which always ends with the consonant *n* without vowel release: *klan* 'eat'.

Also deviating from the normal phonology are ideophones with aspirated *p* and consonant clusters *pl* or *kl* (see list in sect. 24.1).

**24.3 Syntactic usage of ideophones.** Ideophones substitute stative, intransitive, and transitive verbs (see examples cited in sect. 24.1).

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# Appendix

## Sanuma Texts

### Text 1. The Woman and the Jaguar

The first in a long series of myths, without interruption, as told by Abel into a tape recorder.

1.     öla     ma             -kö   pata   hamö   peanopö   a  
      jaguar   CLASS:rock   -DL   AUG   to        husband   3:SG  
  
      namö   wani    a        -so   -lö    -ma  
      hunt   DEPR   leave   -FOC   -DIR   -CMPL  
      'The husband went out hunting to Jaguar Mountain.'
2.     ki     hamö   peanopö   a        namö   wani    hu   -ima        taso  
      that   LOC   husband   3:SG   hunt   DEPR   go   -approach   LOC  
      'Out there the husband approaches, hunting.'
3.     ki     ha     kepu     usö     -kö   pi     öpa   -a  
      that   LOC   inga:fruit   CLASS   -DL   inside   stand   -DUR  
      'There is *inga* fruit out there.'
4.     ki     ha     namö   wani   ioto   -ki   tö   nö,  
      that   LOC   hunt   DEPR   curve   -FOC   LOC   SEQ  
  
      öla     ma             -kö   pata   kolo   hamö,   öla  
      jaguar   CLASS:rock   -DL   AUG   bottom   LOC   jaguar  
  
      ma             -kö   pata   öpa   -le,   ī     te  
      CLASS:rock   -DL   AUG   stand   -PRES   REL   3:SG  
  
      kote   -ta   -le     hamö,   ī     a     namö   wani  
      near   -EXT   -PRES   LOC   REL   3:SG   hunt   DEPR

ioto -a kōho pa -ka, lapai  
 curve -DUR reach:limit at:where -THEME *inga*:fruit

ösö -kö pi, tāi,  
 CLASS -DL inside cut:(IDEOPH)

tāi, tāi, tāi, tāi  
 cut cut cut cut

‘Out there having circled as he hunts, at the base of Jaguar Mountain, right near where Jaguar Mountain stands, at that place where he reaches the limit of his circling as he hunts, he cuts down *inga* fruit in (the tree).’

5. lapai ösö -kö pi tha -tala -lö  
*inga*:fruit CLASS-DL inside make -REPET -FOC

nö -ka, ī peanopö a wani -nö ī  
 SEQ -THEME REL husband 3:SG DEPR -AG REL

ösö hösöka a, klan, klan, klan, klan  
 CLASS top at eat:(IDEOPH) eat eat eat

‘Having done this to the *inga* fruit, the (referred to) husband eats away at the top of it (the fruit).’

6. ī ösö -kö tha -tala -lö nö -ka,  
 REL CLASS -DL make -REPET -FOC SEQ -THEME

a wani ko -ta -pö -lö  
 3:SG DEPR return -EXT -FOC -DIR

‘Having done this to the fruit, he returns back home.’

7. a wani ko -ta -po -lö nö -ka,  
 3:SG DEPR return -EXT -FOC -DIR SEQ -THEME

a wani pili -a ko -ta -ki  
 3:SG DEPR lie:in:hammock -DUR return -EXT -FOC

‘Having returned back home, he lies down again (in his hammock).’

8. — ki ha lapai ösö -kö  
 that LOC *inga* CLASS -DL

ki ha lapai sa asö pi pä -la -li  
 that LOC *inga* 3:SG CLASS inside cut -EXT -FOC

kupi — peanopö a wani ku ha -ka,  
 RP husband 3:SG DEPR say upon -THEME

pusopö a wani -nö -ka, pelupö a wai,  
 wife 3:SG DEPR -AG -THEME her:child 3:SG DIMIN

a wai ösiti ipö -ka, a wai  
 3:SG DIMIN tender INTNSF -THEME 3:SG DIMIN

ta -ta -pö -lö  
 leave -EXT -FOC -DIR

‘ “Out there *inga* fruit . . .” Upon the husband saying, “Out there I cut down *inga* fruit,” his wife leaves her little child, her very tender little child, and goes away.’

9. — sa asö -kö wani hukö -ta taso —  
 1:SG CLASS -DL DEPR pluck:off -EXT DIR

pusopö a ku nö -ka, a wani  
 wife 3:SG say SEQ -THEME 3:SG DEPR

lele -a -lö -ö  
 run -DUR -DIR -NONASP

‘The wife, having said, “I’m going out (into the forest) to pluck off the fruit,” she runs out.’

10. a wani lele -a -lö nö -ka,  
 3:SG DEPR run -DUR -DIR SEQ -THEME

klö, klö, klö, klö  
 go:along:(IDEOPH) go:along go:along go:along  
 ‘Having run out, she travels along.’

11. peanopö a maso -kö hamö kepu  
 husband 3:SG track -DL to *inga*

usö -kö pi pahoti -ma -ma  
 CLASS -DL inside cut -CAUS -CMPL

‘Along the tracks of her husband (i.e., along the places where her husband left signs of his having cut), (she) cut the *inga*.’

12. ĭ kepu usö -kö pi pahoti -ma  
REL *inga* CLASS -DL inside cut -CAUS
- nö -ka, a wani walo -ta tö -ka,  
SEQ -THEME 3:SG DEPR arrive -EXT TEMP -THEME
- sanöma te walo -ta -ki  
person 3:SG arrive -EXT -FOC  
'(She) cut that *inga* and when she arrives (there), a person arrives.'
13. sanöma te walo -ta -kö nö -ka,  
person 3:SG arrive -EXT -FOC SEQ -THEME
- hapo. hapo — ku nö -ka, a kai  
come come say SEQ -THEME 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT
- wani hu -a soa -ta -so -lö -ö  
DEPR go -DUR right:away -EXT -FOC -DIR -NONASP  
'A person arrives and having said, "Come. Come," she goes away right away (led by him).'
14. kai wani hu -a soa -ta -lo -lö  
SUB:PTCPNT DEPR go -DUR right:away -EXT -FOC -DIR
- nö -ka, öla ma -kö pata hamö,  
SEQ -THEME jaguar CLASS:rock -DL AUG to
- kulö, kulö, kulö, kulö, kulö, kulö  
climb:(IDEOPH) climb climb climb climb climb  
'Having gone away right away (led by him), they climb up Jaguar Mountain.'
15. a kai wani telulu -a -ti  
3:SG SUB:PTCPNT DEPR dance:back:and:forth -DUR -CONT
- ku -a laso  
be -DUR LOC  
'She starts dancing back and forth (led by him).'
16. telulu, telu, telulu, telu  
dance dance dance dance  
'She dances and dances.'

17. a kai wani telulu -a -ti  
 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT DEPR dance -DUR -CONT  
 pa -ka, a ohi wani utiti -po  
 while -THEME 3:SG hungry DEPR weak -carry  
 opa -ima -ta -so  
 INTNSF -approach -EXT -FOC  
 'As she continues dancing with him, she is becoming more and more hungry.'
18. a ohi wani — soase. soase. ki ha  
 3:SG hungry DEPR uncle uncle that LOC  
 wale kai telulu -a kawese -a -ta -lo  
 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT dance -DUR at:edge -DUR -EXT -FOC  
 'The hungry one . . . "Uncle. Uncle. Take me dancing near the edge." '
19. ki ha wale kai telulu -a  
 that LOC 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT dance -DUR  
 kawese -a -ta -lo — suö te ku -ma  
 at:edge -DUR -EXT -FOC woman 3:SG say -CMPL  
 ' "Take me dancing near the edge," said the woman.'
20. suö te ku -ma, ī naha pöpönö a  
 woman 3:SG say -CMPL REL like mother 3:SG  
 tha -ma -ti tö -ka, pelupö a  
 do -CAUS -CONT when -THEME child 3:SG  
 õsiti wai amisi toti -a apa  
 tender DIMIN thirsty good -DUR INTNSF  
 salo -ka, a amisi wai ua  
 RES -THEME 3:SG thirsty DIMIN cry:(IDEOPH)  
 -ua -mo hisa -ti -ma  
 -cry -PRFRM at:home -CONT -CMPL  
 'The woman said (that), and while the mother was constrained to continually saying that (or 'caused to say that' by the action of the man), because her little tender child was really very thirsty, the little thirsty one cried and cried back home.'

21. a amisi wai ua -ua -mo -palo  
 3:SG thirsty DIMIN cry -cry -PRFRM -REPET
- hisa -ti tö -ka, ki ha pöpönö  
 at:home -CONT when -THEME that LOC mother
- a isiki wani ausi -pa -ma  
 3:SG intestines DEPR white -EXT -CAUS
- toti -a apa  
 good -DUR INTNSF  
 ‘While the little thirsty one is crying at home, out there the mother is really being starved.’ (Lit: ‘The intestines of the mother are caused to be really clean.’)
22. öla ma -kö pata hamö öla a  
 jaguar rock -DL AUG LOC jaguar 3:SG
- pata -nö, öla ma -kö ha pöpönö a  
 AUG -AG jaguar rock -DL on mother 3:SG
- isiki wani ausi -pa -ma toti -a apa  
 intestines DEPR white -EXT -CAUS good -DUR INTNSF  
 ‘On Jaguar Mountain, the jaguar(-man), on Jaguar Mountain, causes the mother to be really starved.’
23. —soase. soase. ki ha  
 uncle uncle that LOC
- wale kai telulu -a kawese -a -talo  
 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT dance -DUR near:edge -DUR -REPET  
 ‘ “Uncle. Uncle. Take me dancing over there near the edge.” ’
24. ki ha wale kai telulu -a  
 that LOC 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT dance -DUR
- kawese -a -talo — suö a wani  
 near:edge -DUR -REPET woman 3:SG DEPR
- tha -ma -ti -ma  
 do -CAUS -CONT -CMPL  
 ‘ “Take me dancing over there near the edge,” (he) caused the woman to say.’ (Lit: ‘. . . caused the woman to do.’)

25. öla ma -kö ha suö  
jaguar rock -DL LOC woman

a wani tha -ma -ti -ma  
3:SG DEPR do -CAUS -CONT -CMPL

'On Jaguar Mountain (he) caused the woman to say (it).'

26. ī ' na ku tö -ka, ī na  
REL like say when -THEME REL like

hi ti -pö ose tiwalo ku -o  
wood CLASS -PL young in:clump be -PUNCT

pa -ka, — ilitititi, ilitititi, ilititi —  
at:where -THEME ilitititi ilitititi ilititi

salo pö wai ku -ma  
bird PL DIMIN chirp/say -CMPL

'When she said that, at the place where there was a clump of young trees, the little birds were chirping, "Iiliti, ilititi, ilititi." '

27. salo pö ku kai  
bird PL chirp SUB:VB

wai telek(e) -o pasi -o -ma  
DIMIN protrude -PUNCT separate -PUNCT -CMPL

'The little birds were fluttering about the trees (i.e., protruding) as they chirped.'

28. ī na öla ma -kö ha, ī na suö  
REL like jaguar rock -DL on REL like woman

a kai telulu -a ku -a kölö -ma  
3:SG SUB:PTCPNT dance -DUR be -DUR LOC -CMPL

'Like that on Jaguar Mountain, like that (the jaguar-man) took the woman dancing down there.'

29. ī a hekula pö ama  
REL LOC hekula:spirit PL song



pö a to -pa kölö  
 PL AUD join -EXT LOC

'It is down there that the songs of the *hekula* spirits are clear.'

30. to -pa nö -ka, Sanöma töpö niha  
 join -EXT SEQ -THEME Sanuma PL to

töpö ama pö a wä -pa -ö  
 PL song PL AUD relate -EXT -CUST

'Having been clear, the (*hekula*) songs are revealed to the Sanuma.'

31. ī a kai telulu -a -ö,  
 REL 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT dance -DUR -NONASP

telulu -a -ö  
 dance -DUR -NONASP

'In that place (the jaguar-man) leads her in dancing over and over.'

32. — soase. ki ha wale kai  
 uncle that LOC 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT

telulu -a kawese -a -talo — a kuu  
 dance -DUR near:edge -DUR -REPET 3:SG say

ha -ka, ki ha kai telulu -o  
 upon -THEME that LOC SUB:PTCPNT dance -PUNCT

kawese -po pali -o mai -ka, ma -kö  
 near:edge -carry first -PUNCT NEG -THEME rock -DL

salö -o paha a kai telulu -a  
 level -PUNCT at:where 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT dance -DUR

kōho -ta nö, a kai telulu -a  
 reach:limit -EXT SEQ 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT dance -DUR

kōho -ta nö, suö a kai  
 reach:limit -EXT SEQ woman 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT

ku -a -ti -ma  
 be -DUR -CONT -CMPL

'Upon her saying, "Uncle. Take me dancing over there near the edge," he did not first take her dancing near the edge, but took

her dancing to the limit of where it was really level, (he took) her dancing to the limit, (and like that) the woman was continually (led).'

33. suö a kai ku -pa -ti -i  
 woman 3:SG SUB:PTCPNT be -EXT -CONT -NONASP  
 'The woman is forcefully (led) continually.'

34. ku -pa -ti tö -ka, pelupö a  
 be -EXT -CONT when -THEME child 3:SG

ösiti wai ökö -palo hisa -ti -ma  
 tender DIMIN cry -REPET at:home -CONT -CMPL  
 'While she is being forcefully (led), her little tender child cried continually at home.'

35. a amisi wai utiti -pa -ma  
 3:SG thirsty DIMIN weak -EXT -CAUS

apa hisa -ma  
 INTNSF at:home -CMPL

'The little thirsty one was made really weak at home.'

36. hisa -ma  
 at:home -CMPL  
 'At home.'

37. suö a wani, ohi wani, a ohi  
 woman 3:SG DEPR hungry DEPR 3:SG hungry

wani mota toti -to tö -ka,  
 DEPR tired good -EXT:FOC when -THEME

— soase. ki ha wale kai telulu -a  
 uncle that LOC 1:SG SUB:PTCPNT dance -DUR

kawese -a -talo — suö a wani ku  
 near:edge -DUR -REPET woman 3:SG DEPR say

ha -ka, ki ha kai telulu -a  
 upon -THEME that LOC SUB:PTCPNT dance -DUR

kawese -a -talo  
 near:edge -DUR -REPET

'When the woman, the hungry (woman), the hungry (woman) becomes really exhausted, upon her saying, "Uncle. Take me dancing over there near the edge," (he) takes her dancing near the edge.'

38. ki ha telulu -a  
 that LOC dance -DUR

kawese -a kō -ta -so pa -ka,  
 near:edge -DUR return -EXT -FOC at:where -THEME

ki ha maa ma namo pata tutak(ö) -a  
 that LOC rock CLASS sharp AUG be:on:its:side -DUR

kölö pa -ka, ī suö a  
 LOC at:where -THEME REL woman 3:SG

wani -nō -ka, öla a, phatutututu.  
 DEPR -AG -THEME jaguar 3:SG fling:(IDEOPH)

'There where he takes her dancing near the edge again, there where there is a big pointed rock down there on its side, the woman flings the jaguar(-man).'

39. huuua, tāi  
 land:(IDEOPH) cut:(IDEOPH)  
 'He lands and is cut.'

40. aaaaau  
 aaaaau  
 '(The jaguar) groans loudly.'

41. ki hamö kitanani a pata helu -a  
 there LOC panther 3:SG AUG jump:up -DUR

soa -ta -so -lö -ö.  
 right:away -EXT -FOC -DIR -NONASP

'There a panther jumps out and away right away.'

42. ki hamö ī öla a pata  
 there LOC REL jaguar 3:SG AUG

lö ku -i -i, ī tulu wi a  
 SPECFR be -CUST -INDEF REFRNT striped INDEF 3:SG

pata nia soa -ta -so -lö -ö.  
 AUG shoot:out right:away -EXT -FOC -DIR -NONASP  
 'There, the upper part (becomes) a spotted jaguar (and) shoots off immediately.'

43. ī na ku -ta -so -lö -ma  
 REL like be -EXT -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
 'That is how it came to be.'

## Text 2. No New Tracks

A narrative as told by Simini about his unsuccessful attempt to find fresh tapir tracks.

1. — hena tehe sai a tha -pö  
 early TEMP house 3:SG make -DESID

— ku pä -la te maai, —  
 say merely -EXT TEMP even:though

sa husu -a toti -a waiki -a  
 1:SG prepared:to:leave -DUR good -DUR already -DUR

sai -lo heö — sa ku nö -ka,  
 really -FOC EXCLM 1:SG say SEQ -THEME

hena tehe sa a -su -lö -ö  
 early TEMP 1:SG leave -FOC -DIR -NONASP

‘Even though (someone) says, “Let’s make the house tomorrow,” I say, “I am already really all set to leave,” and then the next morning I leave.’

2. hena tehe sa a -su -lö -ma  
 early TEMP 1:SG leave -FOC -DIR -CMPL  
 ‘The next morning I left.’

3. hena tehe ma tu kase hamö  
 early TEMP water CLASS edge along

sa samo kuimani  
 1:SG go:upriver PRES:LOC

‘The next morning I go away upstream along the bank of the river.’

4. hasata u kase pata  
 Hasata CLASS edge AUG

hamö sa samo kuimani  
 along 1:SG go:upriver PRES:LOC  
 'I go away upstream along the bank of the Hasata River.'

5. napö töpö uli pö ha sa hasu -ki  
 Maiongong 3:PL area 3:PL at/in 1:SG pass:by -FOC

nö, hasu -ki nö, hasu -ki nö,  
 SEQ pass:by -FOC SEQ pass:by -FOC SEQ

hasu -ki nö, hasu -ki nö, hasu -ki  
 pass:by -FOC SEQ pass:by -FOC SEQ pass:by -FOC

nö, ī ha napö töpö namo hu kō -a  
 SEQ REL LOC Maiongong 3:PL hunt go return -DUR

ma hu kō -a ma, ī ha samakö  
 NEG go return -DUR NEG REL LOC 1:PL:EXCL

hasu -ki nö, ī ha, ī ha tute  
 pass:by -FOC SEQ REL LOC REL LOC new

epi -i sama maso ku -a  
 INTNSF -INDEF tapir tracks be -DUR

'I keep passing through the Maiongong area, when the Maiongong were no longer hunting there and we (Sanuma) used to pass through, and then there (in that area) there are very fresh tapir tracks.'

6. tute epi -i ī ha sama maso  
 new INTNSF -INDEF REL LOC tapir tracks

pata ku -a ha -ka, — ī naha  
 AUG be -DUR upon -THEME REL like

te pewö ku -a hāto -wö  
 3:SG all be -DUR maybe -S:EMPH

— sa ku -ma maaki, — huki  
 1:SG say -CMPL even:though now

sa te mö soa -ta -kö  
 1:SG 3:SG look:at right:away -EXT -CNFRM

— sa ku nö -ka, sa lele -kö -ma  
 1:SG say SEQ -THEME 1:SG run -FOC -CMPL

maaki, uli pewö pata hote epö  
 even:though area all AUG old INTNSF

‘Upon there being very fresh tapir tracks there, I said, “Maybe the whole area is like this,” but . . . “I’m going to look right away today,” I say and then I ran, but the whole big area has no signs of fresh tracks (i.e., is very old).’

7. hote epö ha -ka, — hena  
 old INTNSF upon -THEME early

tö -kö hāto -wö — sa ku nö,  
 TEMP -CNFRM maybe -S:EMPH 1:SG say SEQ

sa hu -a ko -na -so -lö -ma  
 1:SG go -DUR return -EXT -FOC -DIR -CMPL

maaki, hena tehe sa hu -a  
 even:though early TEMP 1:SG go -DUR

ko -na -so -lö -ma maaki, uli pewö  
 return -EXT -FOC -DIR -CMPL even:though area all

hote epö, hote epö  
 old INTNSF old INTNSF

‘Because there are no signs of fresh tracks, I say, “Maybe tomorrow,” and then I went out again, the next day I went out again, but the whole area is void of fresh tracks.’

8. — ī naha te uli pewö hote  
 REL like 3:SG area all old

ku -a hāto -wō — sa ku -u  
 be -DUR maybe -S:EMPH 1:SG say -NONASP  
 ‘ “Maybe the whole area is void of fresh tracks,” I say.’

9. sa ku nō -ka, sa kō -a  
 1:SG say SEQ -THEME 1:SG return -DUR

pā -pō -lō -ö  
 merely -FOC -DIR -NONASP  
 ‘Having said (this), I just go back home.’

10. ta -pa ma o  
 see -EXT NEG VERIF  
 ‘(I) don’t see (fresh tracks any more).’

11. ta -pa ma -o nō -ka, hena  
 see -EXT NEG -PUNCT SEQ -THEME early
- tehe sa hu -a ko -na -so -lō -ö  
 TEMP 1:SG go -DUR return -EXT -FOC -DIR -NONASP  
 ‘Not having seen any (fresh tracks), the next day I go out again.’

12. ki hamö sa te mö nömö -a  
 that LOC 1:SG 3:SG look:at next -DUR

kulati maaki, ī naha uli pewö pata  
 PRES:LOC even:though REL like area all AUG

hote ku -ö  
 old be -CUST  
 ‘Even though I look next out there, the whole area is without fresh tracks like that.’

13. — hote epö sai ta -kö! ai  
 old INTNSF really obvious -CNFRM another

sama maso tute ku -a kōtö -a mai  
 tapir tracks new be -DUR next:to -DUR NEG

kite -ö — sa ku -u  
 SUPPOS -EXCLM 1:SG say -NONASP  
 ‘ “It is obviously really without fresh tracks. There won’t be any other fresh tapir tracks near here,” I say.’



14. sa ku nö -ka, sa kō -a  
 1:SG say SEQ -THEME 1:SG return -DUR
- pä -pö -lö -ö  
 merely -FOC -DIR -NONASP  
 'Having said this, I just go home.'
15. — hena tehe pai ipö hamö  
 early TEMP far INTNSF LOC
- hāto -wö — sa ku nö, sa  
 maybe -S:EMPH 1:SG say SEQ 1:SG
- a -su -lö -ma maaki, ī ha  
 leave -FOC -DIR -CMPL even:though REL LOC
- opo sa wai se -a sisa -pa -li taso  
 armadillo 1:SG DIMIN kill -DUR only -EXT -FOC LOC  
 ' "Tomorrow maybe (I'll go) really far," I say, and then I left, but  
 in that place in the forest I just kill a little armadillo.'
16. sama sa maso tute ta -pa  
 tapir 1:SG tracks new see -EXT
- po -la te ku -no mai  
 carry -EXT TEMP be -EVID NEG  
 'I do not see fresh tapir tracks.'
17. — sama sa maso tute  
 tapir 1:SG tracks new
- ta -la -lö -ma, hu -a toti-a  
 see -EXT -FOC -CMPL go -DUR good-DUR
- apö taso kite -ö — sa ku -ma  
 INTNSF LOC FUT -EXCLM 1:SG say -CMPL
- maaki, sama sa maso tute ta -pa mi,  
 even:though tapir 1:SG tracks new see -EXT NEG

ta -pa mi, ta -pa mi, ta -pa mi  
 see -EXT NEG see -EXT NEG see -EXT NEG

‘ “If I find fresh tapir tracks, I’ll really go out there (in the forest),” I say, but I don’t see any fresh tapir tracks, don’t see any, don’t see any.’

18. — ha. hote epö -ta -lo heö  
 Oh! old INTNSF -EXT -FOC EXCLM  
 ‘ “Oh! (The area) is become void of fresh tracks!” ’

19. tiko hamö töpö wani kö -o  
 different LOC 3:PL DEPR return -PUNCT

waiki -o -kö -ma heö  
 already -PUNCT -FOC -CMPL EXCLM

— sa ku kupili  
 1:SG say DP

‘ “They (the tapir) have already returned to a different place!,” I said.’

20. naha -kö  
 like -CNFRM  
 ‘It’s like that.’