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RICE UNIVERSITY

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF TRUMAI

by

RAQUEL GUIRARDELLO

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

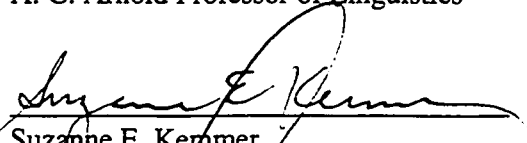
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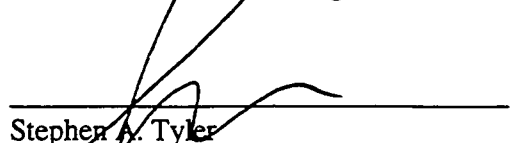
Spike Gildea, Thesis Director
Associate Professor of Linguistics



Philip W. Davis
A. C. Arnold Professor of Linguistics



Suzanne E. Kemmer
Associate Professor of Linguistics



Stephen A. Tyler
H. S. Autrey Professor of Anthropology

HOUSTON, TEXAS
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ABSTRACT

A Reference Grammar of Trumai

by

Raquel Guirardello

Trumai is a genetic isolate language spoken in Brazil. This grammar describes the main aspects of Trumai, with hopes of contributing to typological studies. In describing and analyzing the linguistic data, I begin with synchrony, but I sometimes utilize internal reconstruction to help understand certain grammatical patterns.

Trumai is basically an isolating language. There are few inflectional morphemes and words usually consist of a single morpheme. There are four open classes in Trumai: nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Nouns and verbs clearly constitute two different classes; adjectives share some characteristics with nouns and verbs, but constitute a class on their own.

The distinction between alienably and inalienably possessed nouns is manifested in several constructions, as is the distinction between humans, animates, and inanimates. As expected, the transitive verb phrase in Trumai contains the O and the V; surprisingly, the intransitive verb phrase contains the S, meaning that the Trumai VP is Absolutive-V. There are four verbs types in the language: Intransitive, Extended Intransitive, Transitive, and Extended Transitive. There are also auxiliaries, which can be subdivided in two sets: Aspect-Mood and Spatial-orientation (with the further subdivision of Body Posture and Directional auxiliaries).

Trumai has rich syntax, although word order can change because of pragmatic factors. The case-system shows an Ergative-Absolutive alignment. With regard to grammatical relations, the traditional relations of 'Subject', 'Object', and 'Indirect Object' do not play a central role in Trumai grammar. The case-marking system and the syntax of the language consistently identify three argument types: Absolutive, Ergative, and Dative; each type contains a subset of the traditional relations.

Other interesting facts observed in Trumai: (i) when a Transitive verb is causativized, both the causer and the causee are marked as Ergative; (ii) the main strategy for voice manipulation is argument suppression; (iii) there is a construction that could be classified as an instance of "possessor ascension"; (iv) the verb of a complement clause behaves as an inalienably possessed noun (more specifically, as a body part term); (v) there are multiple types of negative clauses in Trumai.

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especially grateful to Amatiwana, Kumaru, Yakairu, Ariakumalu, Amawakulu, Karu, Tawalu, Wayaku, Yakuta, Wari, and Ararapan. I also present my respectful thanks in memory of Īnūtīārī; it was very sad to go back to the Terra Preta village and not have his presence among us anymore.

Dr. Lucy Seki (State University of Campinas, São Paulo, Brazil) introduced me to the area of studies of the indigenous languages of Brazil and granted me the opportunity of studying Trumai. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to her. I also thank Dr. Denny Moore (Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, Belém, Pará), for providing me with the resources for developing educational activities and materials for the Trumai people.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abl	ablative
Abs	absolutive
Allat	allative
Caus	causative
Com	comitative
Collect	collective
Cop	copula
Dat	dative
Dem	demonstrative
Des	desiderative
Dir	directional
Dual	dual
Erg	ergative
Ext.Intr	extended intransitive
Ext.Tr	extended transitive
Fem	feminine
Foc	focus
Foc/Tens	particle of Focus/Tense (ka_in / chī_in)
Gen	genitive
Imp	imperative
Incho	inchoative
Inst	instrumental
Intens	intensity particle
Intr	intransitive
Loc	locative
Masc	masculine
Neg	negation
Nzr	nominalizer
NzrEx	nominalizer 'ex' (the morpheme -t'(a))
Perf	perfective
PL	plural
Plzr	pluralizer
Poss	possessive
Pr	pronoun
Priv	privative
Purp	purpose
Quest	question
Reas	reason
Rlzr	relativizer

SG	singular
Tr	transitive
Voc	vocative (for kinship terms)

Conventions

[]	in the chapter on Phonetics and Phonology: phonetic transcription in the remaining chapters: phrase boundaries
{ }	representation of morphemes
xx_xx	morphemes that are independent, but generally associated in a specific context

PREFACE

This dissertation is a study of Trumai, an indigenous language spoken in the central area of Brazil, in the Xingu Reserve (see map, appendix 2). The current work is the first attempt at organizing a reference grammar of this language, providing a general description of how the system of Trumai is organized .

As the reader will notice, this study is not complete. Several points are only partially explored due to lack of sufficient data. I apologize for this fact, but unfortunately the work of description and analysis of an unknown language is susceptible to this kind of problem when the access to the consultants is not so easy. On the other hand, there are so many different aspects to be explored in a language that is almost impossible to study it in a very comprehensive way in only a few years. Thus, the current study has the limitations of being just a Ph.D. dissertation, and not the “most definitive” work on the Trumai language. In the future, I intend to fill gaps found in this work and refine the points that need more analysis. I also intend to analyze certain aspects of the language in separate studies, investigating these specific aspects in a deeper way.

Next, we have information about the Trumai people, their language, and about my research work with them.

The Trumai people: Ethnographic information

The Trumai people live in the Xingu reserve, an area officially recognized and protected by the Brazilian government. The area is administrated by the governmental

organization named FUNAI (Fundação Nacional do Índio), which deals with issues related to indigenous people in the entire country. The local administration of the Xingu Reserve is composed of Indians from the reserve who are hired by FUNAI; these Indians work in the FUNAI offices that are located inside the reserve. In the offices (called “postos”), there are doctors or nurses available for health services; the work of the doctors/nurses is seasonal (a doctor/nurse spend some months in the reserve, and after that is replaced by another doctor/nurse). Nowadays, young Indians are being trained to be health assistants and deal with first-aid problems in their villages.

There are 17 different indigenous groups living in the reserve; the languages spoken by these groups belong to the four major stocks of Brazilian languages (according to Rodrigues 1986): the Tupi stock (languages: Kamayurá; Aweti, Kayabi; Juruna); the Arawak stock (languages: Yawalapiti; Mehinaku; Waurá); the Cariban stock (Kuikuru; Kalapalo; Nahukwa; Matipu; Ikpeng (or: Txikão)); and the Ge stock (Suyá; Tapayuna; Panará; Metunktire (or: Txukahamãe)). The Trumai language does not belong to any of these stocks, being considered, genetically speaking, an isolate language.

The Trumai people live mainly in three villages in the reserve: Terra Preta, Boa Esperança, and Steinen. However, there are also Trumai families living in other places, such as the “postos” Pavuru, Leonardo, and Diauarum, and the city of Canarana, one of the cities close to the Xingu reserve. The number of people living in Trumai villages varies from year to year, since the families have been moving around in recent years. The most recent official count was 94 people (Unifesp/97).

According to my personal registers, only 51 people speak Trumai (this is considering not only the people who are in the Trumai villages, but also the other ones in the “postos”, the city, and other locations in the reserve). Other members of the community either speak one of the indigenous languages of the Xingu reserve (e.g. Kamayurá, Aweti, Suyá, Waurá) or Portuguese, the official language of Brazil. There are historical explanations for the decreasing number of speakers: in the past, many Trumai died in wars and epidemics of the flu and measles¹. In order to reconstitute the group, Trumai individuals married people from other Xingu groups, introducing then other languages into the Trumai villages. More important, Portuguese was introduced as a lingua franca for couples that could not communicate in an indigenous language. Many Trumai Indians learned Portuguese in the “postos” located in the reserve; during the seventies, the Trumai lived close to one of these governmental offices, where indigenous use of Portuguese is very common.

Nowadays, the new generation is replacing Trumai with Portuguese, which has prestige in the area (it is the official language of the country; it is the language for doing business in the cities, and even for getting jobs in the FUNAI organization). Even though the young people still can understand Trumai, they are using Portuguese in their daily conversation.

As access becomes easier, trips to the cities close to the reserve have become very frequent. Because of the more intense contact with the life in the cities, many changes are

¹ The main sources for historical and cultural information about the Trumai people are: Steinen (1884), Quain (1955), Villas Boas (1970), Monod-Becquelin (1975); Guirardello (1992); Becquelin and Guirardello (to appear).

occurring in the Xingu reserve (more specifically, in the upper Xingu area): introduction of western clothes, radio, TV, etc. Eventually, these changes will have serious effects for the culture of the groups of the reserve. In the case of the Trumai people, the situation is already dangerous. The oral tradition is dying, some ceremonies are becoming less frequent, and the language is being replaced with Portuguese. If nothing happens to change this scenario, the language will be lost in few more generations.

This endangerment is a part of what motivated me to study the Trumai language, and later to work with the community in order to develop a bilingual education program in the village schools. Although a bilingual school is not the solution for every problem that the Trumai people are facing, at least it provides hope that something can be done to help preserve their cultural and linguistic knowledge.

Studies on Trumai

As mentioned above, Trumai is an isolate language, that is, its genetic affiliations are unknown. Possibly the other languages that were related to Trumai already disappeared without any kind of documentation, which then would make Trumai the only existent representative of an entire linguistic family. Greenberg (1987) proposes that Trumai belongs to the Equatorial stock, one of the three South American branches of the Amerind stock (the other branches would be Macro-Tukano and Andine). However, it is not clear how Trumai would be related to the other languages classified in the Equatorial stock; and even if Trumai really belongs to the Equatorial stock, its relationship with the

other putative Equatorial languages seems to be so distant that standard comparative studies are not feasible.

Von den Steinen (1884) was the first researcher to present information about the Trumai people and their language; he provides a list of basic vocabulary in Trumai (i.e. kinship terms, names of animals, objects, body parts). Quain and Murphy (1955) did anthropological studies on the Trumai people, but not on the language. The first descriptive studies on the Trumai language were made by Monod-Becquelin (1970, 1975, 1976, 1977). Her work was focused on the description of the phonology and some aspects of the morphology of the language. Monod-Becquelin's work was followed by my studies (Guirardello 1992, 1993, 1994).

My research work with the Trumai people

My research on Trumai started in 1989, during my Master's studies with Dr. Lucy Seki (Department of Linguistics, University of Campinas). Dr. Seki has a general project for the documentation and description of the languages of the Xingu reserve; my project on Trumai is part of her larger project.

My studies on Trumai were developed first at the University of Campinas (1989-92), and later at the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi (1992-94) and Rice University (1994-present). During my years of research, I have made several trips to the Trumai villages, during which I have collected linguistic data, ethnographic information, and mythological, cultural, and historical texts (dates of field work: July 1989 ; July 1990 ;

July 1991 ; October-November 1993 ; May 1994 ; July 1995 ; October-November 1996 ; October 1997).

In my Master's thesis (Guirardello 1992), I described aspects of the Trumai language (phonology, word classes, and the case-marking system), revising some points of the study made by Monod-Becquelin and analyzing other phenomena of the language. In this Ph.D. dissertation, I reanalyze some points of my previous study, e.g. word classes, and explore new issues, such as the syntax of Trumai. My goal in the elaboration of this work is to give to the reader an overall view of Trumai, covering multiple aspects of the language; the intention is to produce a reference grammar that can be used in the future for typological studies, or that can contribute to studies on the genetic affiliation of Trumai.

As already mentioned, besides my scientific investigation of the language, I am also assisting the Trumai community in the development of a bilingual education program in the village schools. The schools in the villages are relatively new and are still in the process of development (before, there were no schools in the villages, only in the governmental offices - the "postos" - and only Portuguese was taught there). I started an education project in Trumai in 1993, with financial support from the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi (a Brazilian federal research institute) and the Norwegian Rainforest Foundation (represented in Brazil by IPHAE, Instituto Para o Homem, Agricultura e Ecologia). This project was developed from 1993 to 1997, and consisted in the elaboration of an orthography for the language, production of the first literacy materials in Trumai, and training of the first indigenous teachers, who already knew how to write in Portuguese (I worked mainly with people from the Terra Preta and Steinen villages, with

whom I had more contact; recently, I had the opportunity to work with people from the Boa Esperança village too). My educational work with the Trumai people was later incorporated into another project, coordinated by the 'Instituto Socio-Ambiental' (ISA), a non-governmental organization that has a general project for the education of all the groups of the Xingu reserve; their work has the support of the Brazilian government. My role nowadays is to give orientation about writing and discuss linguistic issues with the Trumai teachers, who are now more confident and independent in their writing production.

Data, approach, levels of analysis

For the dissertation, I used linguistic data from native speakers of Trumai. Some of the examples in the dissertation came from elicitation, and some from texts. For the study, I used oral texts (which were taped and transcribed with the help of consultants) and written texts (from students at the Trumai schools). The texts were of several genres: historical and mythological narratives; narratives of daily life events; explanation of cultural facts; procedural texts (i.e. explanation of how to make an object); and dialogues (cf. appendix for a selection of these texts).

For the elicitation, I worked with several consultants who are bilingual in Trumai and Portuguese (although with different degrees of bilingualism). In the elicitation section, Portuguese was the intermediary language used for the communication with the consultants. I worked with Amatiwana (a middle aged man) and with his sister Kumaru (a middle aged woman); for Kumaru and Amati, Portuguese is a second language, learned

after they were adults (however, Amatiwana's Portuguese is very good, almost native). I also worked with Yakairu, Ariakumalu, Amawakulu, Karu, and Tawalu; they are all young people (their age is between 20-30) and they learned Portuguese before they were adults. Other people who helped me with information about the language and culture were Īnitiari (an old man, who has since died); Wayaku, Yakuta, Wari, and Ararapan (middle aged people).

With regard to the theoretical approach used in the dissertation, I have adopted a broad Functionalist approach, including the works of Givón (1984, 1990, 1994, 1997), Hopper and Thompson (1980), Comrie (1989), Lakoff and Johson (1980), among others. I chose to work with this approach because Functionalism is an outgrowth of Typology, which is very important and helpful in the study of unknown languages such as Trumai. Given that Trumai is an isolate language, there is no possibility of comparing it to other genetically related languages, a fact that limits the work of analysis (comparison with other languages of the same family can be very insightful, because the developments observed in the related languages can help the linguist to understand better the facts that s/he is observing in the language under study). Thus, in the absence of genetically related languages to compare, the contribution of typological studies has been very important for my work, because these studies provide a view of what kinds of phenomena are observed in the languages of the world. Knowing that some of the patterns found in Trumai were already attested in other languages (therefore, they are possible in human languages), I had a better basis to understand and describe the Trumai data.

Historical studies, such as those made by Heine and Reh (1984) and Heine (1993, 1997) have also been very insightful for me, giving me an idea of how historical developments can give rise to some patterns observed in a language. Some of Heine's ideas were the basis for my analysis of the Trumai auxiliaries (chapter 4) and for the internal reconstruction that I propose in chapter 5. As I mention in the latter chapter, the internal reconstruction presented there does not have the purpose of describing the synchronic data; it is merely a way of bringing new light on the facts observed in the data, seeing them from a different perspective. Of course, when we talk about historical changes and the rise of new patterns, several questions have to be addressed, such as:

- (i) how can we avoid the danger of transferring diachronic analyses to the synchronic grammar?
- (ii) how can we recognize that a morpheme or a construction is still the same or is already a "new" one? Which or how many criteria are necessary to qualify a morpheme/construction as reanalyzed? Are semantic and pragmatic differences enough, or do we need also syntactic, morphological and phonological differences?
- (iii) how can we avoid performing the analysis of linguistic data only on the basis of syntax? That is, how can we use the evidence from syntax without being completely driven by it, to the point of ignoring other levels, such as semantics and pragmatics?

These questions are not easy to answer. A linguist may address them in different ways, depending on his/her theoretical perspective, and different answers have different consequences. Depending on how the second question is answered, the analysis of a morpheme/construction can change a lot.

In this dissertation, the formal aspects of Trumai are taken into account, but the semantic and pragmatic aspects also have a very importance place. I am presenting here the analyses that seem more adequate for the facts observed in the data. In some cases, when the scenario observed in the Trumai examples is too complex and more than one account is possible, I prefer to present all the possible competing analyses without deciding in favor of any of them. It seems to me that it is better to leave some point open to discussion than to decide on an analysis that is not clearly the best. In the future, as further research brings new information about these points, I will revisit these points.

As a final comment, I would like to say that in the text I use the pronouns 'we' and 'our' instead of 'I' and 'my', but this is merely for stylistic reasons. I am solely responsible for all the work presented here.

CHAPTER 1

Phonetics and Phonology

This chapter describes the characteristics of Trumai phonetics and phonology. In section 1.1. we present the Trumai consonants and vowels. Section 1.2. is dedicated to the characterization of stress. In section 1.3. we present some considerations about syllable types; finally, section 1.4. will present special phonetic facts observed in Trumai.¹

1.1. The inventory of phonemes

Trumai has 23 consonants and 6 vowels. In Guirardello (1992), the number of Trumai phonemic consonants was smaller, given that the analysis for some phones was different from the current one: the lateral fricative /ɬ/ was analyzed as an allophone of /l/, but now it is analyzed as a independent phoneme; the affricate /ts/ and the ejectives /t̚' /, /t' /, /k' /, and /ts' / were previously classified as consonant clusters (i.e. /t + s/, and /t + s + ʔ/), but we now believe they are more adequately analyzed as single phonemes. Therefore, the consonant chart presented here has some differences in relation to the one presented in the previous work.

1.1.1. Consonants

This section briefly presents the inventory of consonantal phonemes in Trumai.

¹ In this chapter, since the topic is phonetics and phonology, the International Phonetic Alphabet (I.P.A.) will be used for the Trumai data. In the next chapters, the orthography used by the Trumai people for educational purposes will be adopted (see Tables 1.2, 1.4).

The consonantal chart has asymmetries, such as the existence of only one voiced stop consonant, and the presence of the bilabial stop /p/ but not the bilabial ejective /p'/. For a more detailed analysis of the phonemes and the contrasts among them, see Guirardello 1992, 9-46.²

The Trumai stops are /p/, /t̪/, /t/, /d/, /k/, and /ʔ/. The alveolar /t/ is sometimes articulated with a little retroflexion. The only voiced stop is /d/. Except for the glottal stop, which never occurs word initially or word-finally,³ stops occur in all positions. The stops /p/, /d/, /k/ have an implosive allophone when word final in monosyllabic words (e.g. [pʊᵔ] 'package', [kɔᵔ] 'wax', [pʊᵔ] 'mutum' (a kind of bird)).

The nasals /m/ and /n/ occur in all positions. When preceding a consonant, /m/ does not assimilate for place: [ʃom'ta] 'throw/play' ; [hom'tɛ] 'shine' ; [hamda't̪a] 'where' ; [sumsi'at] 'kind of fruit' ; [lem'xɔ] 'wound' ; [cham'lo] 'a time ago'. In contrast, /n/ assimilates when preceding /t̪/ and /k/: [aᵔ't̪ uk] 'breath' ; [amɔŋ'kɛ] 'another'.

The Trumai fricatives are /f/, /s/, /ʃ/, /x/, /h/. The phoneme /x/ has a slightly voiced

² In the chapter on Trumai phonology presented in Guirardello 1992, there are a few examples with transcription errors, none of which invalidate the analysis for the phonology of the language, but which could be a problem if the data are used for comparative studies. Please, contact the author directly for the most recent transcriptions.

³ The glottal stop can occur inside a word, between a vowel and a consonant (e.g. [piʔta] 'step', versus [pita] 'go out') and between two vowels (e.g. [iʔa] 'a kind of bowl', [ajanaʔi] 'wild. rat'). In Guirardello 1992, the occurrence of /ʔ/ between vowels was considered predictable and therefore merely phonetic, but this analysis is only half true. The occurrence of /ʔ/ is predictable between vowels that belong to two adjacent words, that is, one vowel ends the first word and the other begins the following word (cf. section 1.4. for more details). However, word-internally /ʔ/ is not predictable: [kawaɔ] 'wasp', [awaʔɔ] 'macaúba (a kind of fruit)'.

allophone between vowels. Except for /h/, which is not found in word final position, the fricatives occur in all positions. The glottal fricative is also disappearing at the beginning of words (cf. section 1.4).

There are two affricates⁴ in Trumai, /ts/ and /ts'/, and four ejective consonants: /t̥' /, /t' /, /k' /, and /ts' /. As already mentioned, these sounds were classified as consonant clusters in previous works, but a close analysis of phonotactics reveals that they are better analyzed as single phonemes. If these five “sequences” were analyzed as clusters, they would be the only clusters allowed either word initially (e.g. [t̥'sax] ‘straight’) or word finally (e.g. [lɔ̥ts'] ‘Ablative’). If we consider them to be single phonemes, the syllable inventory simplifies to V, CV, and CVC, with consonant clusters allowed only across syllable boundaries. This analysis (i.e. as single phonemes) is more adequate for several reasons: (i) affricate [ts] is widely attested cross-linguistically; (ii) ejectives are also typologically common, including ejective affricates (Greenberg 1970; Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996); (iii) Greenberg (1970) notes that /p'/ is often missing from the inventory of ejectives; that is the case in Trumai, which lacks the ejective bilabial.⁵ Therefore, in the current analysis, /ts/, /t̥' /, /t' /, /k' /, and /ts' / are considered single phonemes. As instances of the occurrence of them, we have: [t̥ si¹wel] ‘way’, [de¹t̥'a] ‘good/well’, [ho¹mat] ‘red’, [k'ad] ‘hand’, [hɔ̥ts'a¹ek] ‘manioc.juice’.

⁴ For the affricates, there is no ‘dental-alveolar’ distinction. For this reason, although phonetically the affricates are [ts] and [ts'], in the phonological level we represent them without the dental mark [̥], since at the phonological level this detail is not important.

⁵ Greenberg also notes that ejectives are frequently misanalyzed as clusters in some grammars. The previous analysis of Trumai ejectives (Guirardello 1992) appears to be another such case.

The Trumai tap is /r/, and the liquids are /l/ and /ɭ/. The lateral fricative was analyzed in previous works as an allophone of /l/ following /t/ (Becquelin 1975; Guirardello 1992), but it is better analyzed as a separate phoneme because: (i) it is not clear that a /t/ really precedes the lateral fricative (as already mentioned in Guirardello 1992, sometimes the realization of the sound seems to be [tɭ], sometimes only [ɭ]); (ii) given the phonetic presence of [t], the sequence [tɭ] would be better analyzed as another complex segment rather than a cluster, for phonotactic reasons: there are no other cases of the combination stop + liquid, and as mentioned above we do not find the syllable type CCV or VCC with other consonants; (iii) at least one minimal pair was found: [ka^hlɛ] ‘thus’ - [ka^hɭɛ] ‘small.lizard’. The only question in need of further research is whether the phoneme is better treated as a lateral fricative or an affricate (i.e. /ɭ/ or /tɭ/). For the moment, it will be treated as a lateral fricative, until we find more evidence of its phonological alignment with either the affricate or the fricatives.

Finally, the Trumai approximants are /w/ and /j/. The approximant /j/ becomes a palatal nasal when it is followed by the sequence vowel + nasal consonant. For example: /ajen/ [a^hɲɛn] ‘grandfather’, /ajenaʔi/ [aɲɛnaʔ^hi] ‘wild.rat’, /kujan/ [ku^hɲān] ‘grass’.

The inventory of Trumai consonants is presented in Table 1.1. In Table 1.2, we have the same inventory, but now presented in the Trumai orthography used in literacy materials.

Table 1.1. The consonants of Trumai (I.P.A.)

	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops						
plain	p	t̪	t		k	ʔ
ejective		t̪ʼ	tʼ		kʼ	
voiced stop			d			
voiceless affricates						
plain		ts				
ejective		tsʼ				
fricatives	f	s		ʃ	x	h
nasals	m		n			
liquids						
plain lateral			l			
lateral fricative			ɬ			
tap			r			
glides	w			j		

Table 1.2. Trumai consonants in the Trumai orthography

	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops						
plain	p	t	t̪		k	ʔ
ejective		tʼ	t̪ʼ		kʼ	
voiced stop			d			
voiceless affricates						
plain		ts				
ejective		tsʼ				
fricatives	f	s		ch	x	h
nasals	m		n			
liquids						
plain lateral			l			
lateral fricative			tl			
tap			r			
glides	w			y		

1.1.2. Vowels

The vocalic system is simple. Trumai has six vowels: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /ɨ/, and /u/.

Table 1.3. The vowels of Trumai (I.P.A.)

	front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u
mid	e		o
low		a	

Table 1.4. Trumai vowels in the Trumai orthography

	front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u
mid	e		o
low		a	

All vowels become nasalized when followed by a nasal consonant. The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ have two allophones in free variation: [e] and [ɛ], [o] and [ɔ], respectively.

It is possible to find a sequence of two vowels in the same phonological word, but they belong to different syllables. Sequences of three vowels seem to be avoided. For example:

- (1) *pita* 'go.out' + *-ea* '3p Poss' + *-ɛ* 'Dative':

/pitaɛɛ/ [pita'aɛ] 'his/her going.out (Dative)'

two vowels, but in different syllables (a.a); sequence of three vowels avoided (e>ø)

1.2. Stress

Stress always falls on the final syllable of the word. Phonetic correlates of stress are greater intensity and higher pitch than preceding syllables:

- (2) a. [tsì.'púp] 'fire.wood'
 b. [pi.'kɛ́] 'house'
 c. [wà.rùʔ.tá] 'pumpkin'

1.3. Syllable Structure

This section presents the inventory of syllable types found in Trumai, and describes how syllable structure can be important in processes like reduplication. As we will see, syllable weight plays a role in Trumai reduplication.

1.3.1. Inventory of Syllable Types

There are four syllables types in Trumai, the most frequent being CV and CVC, the others being V and VC. As instances of each type, we have:

CV	/si/	'canoe' ;	/pi.ke/	'house'
CVC	/a.dis/	'Indian' ;	/tɔ.peɬ.ne/	'alligator'
V	/a.e/	'good' ;	/o.le/	'manioc'
VC	/a.us/	'bee' ;	/el/	'lover'

As said earlier, Trumai ejectives are better analyzed as single phonemes rather than as clusters. Observing the position they occupy in a syllable, it is possible to see that they behave as units. For instance:

/ts'u.ru/	'small.parrot'	<u>CV</u> .CV
/dap.ts'af/	'ankle'	CVC. <u>CVC</u>
/t̥'ak/	'manioc.bread'	<u>CVC</u>
/t̥'u t̥'.kax/	'slippery/plane'	<u>CVC</u> .CVC
/map.t̥'a/	'lip'	CVC. <u>CV</u>
/t'ah.mu.kat̥/	'high.place'	<u>CVC</u> . CV.CVC
/kot'.kan/	'bring together'	<u>CVC</u> .CVC
/k'a.te/	'fish'	<u>CV</u> .CV
/nak'.da/	'bark'	<u>CVC</u> .CV

1.3.2. Reduplication in Trumai

Reduplication in Trumai is used to express actions performed with intensity or actions repeated several times (cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.1 for details). There are not many attested cases of reduplication in the language, and these cases can be grouped in two main types: total or partial reduplication. The cases of **total** reduplication are the following:

/lan/	'cut' (with knife, glass, light sharp objects)'
/lan lan/	'scratch' (like cats do)
/eni/	'dirty'
/eni eni/	'very dirty'
/taxa/	'strong/hard'
/taxa taxa/	'very hard'
/tore/	'white'
/tore tore/	'striped in white'
/miro/	'cut small pieces of wood'
/miro miro/	'chop wood (for fire)'

/make/	'bite'
/make make/	'chew'
/faʃa/	'bored'
/faʃa faʃa/	'very bored'
/pet'ek/	'sticky'
/pet'ek pet'ek/	'very sticky'
/homte/	'shine'
/homte homte/	'shine strongly'
/fiṭ'ke/	'scratch'
/fiṭ'ke fiṭ'ke/	'scratch a lot'
/xuʔta/	'make shaman work'
/xuʔta xuʔta/	'make shaman work a lot'
/ato maksɪ/	'arm vein'
/ato maksɪ maksɪ/	'arm vein' (another possible way of saying)

The cases of **partial** reduplication involve the copying of one or more light syllables (that is, only syllables with one mora are allowed in the reduplication). The number of light syllables copied depends on the size of the root: a 1 syllable root has 1 light syllable copied; a root with 2 or more syllables has 2 light syllables copied. The copy of 2 light syllables is the maximum allowed. The cases of partial reduplication are the following:

a) 1 syllable:

/lat'/	'lie'
/lalat'/	'lie very much'
/pen/	'vomit'
/pepen/	'vomit several times'

b) 2 syllables:

/uyar/	‘stick’
/uyauyar/	‘stick a lot’
/paraw/	‘mixed’
/paraparaw/	‘very mixed’
/kɪ̃tɪ̃w/	‘grate’
/kɪ̃tɪ̃kɪ̃tɪ̃w/	‘rub (with intensity)’
/amef/	‘lighning’
/ameamef/	‘fast lightning’
/karain/	‘make marks’
/karakarain/	‘scratch (like cats do)’

We could say that some of the cases of total reduplication - such as /miro miro/ - could also be seen as examples of partial reduplication, with copy of light syllables. We would have the impression that the whole root would be reduplicated because it happens that the root is composed only of one or two light syllables. For the other cases of total reduplication, we could speculate that the configuration of the root would be the element that does not allow the partial reduplication. For example, in /paraw/, which undergoes partial reduplication, the heavy syllable is the last one of the root, while in /homte/, which undergoes total reduplication, the heavy syllable is the first one of the root. In other words, when a root’s first syllable is heavy, partial reduplication would not be possible. That would be a possible account, but unfortunately it still does not cover all the cases; for example, it does not explain why two words with similar configuration in terms of syllable weight - /lan/ and /pen/ - undergo different kinds of reduplication. For this

reason, in the current analysis we have chosen to list the cases of reduplication according to the type, total or partial.

1.4. Phonetic aspects of Trumai

1.4.1. Facts observed in the limits of morphemes

Within the limits of morphemes, some morphophonemic alternations can be observed:

- In careful speech, sometimes the glottal stop occurs when one word ends with a vowel and the next word has a vowel in the beginning. This occurrence of the glottal stop is merely phonetic, presumably occurring to create the preferred syllable structure CV.

Examples:

	CV.CV.CV	
(3) /hi ami/	[hi. ʔa. mi]	‘You speak.’

Note the following contrast: when the word before /ami/ ends in consonant, there is no glottal stop. Rather, the first vowel of /ami/ resyllabifies with the last consonant of the previous word:

	CV.CV.CV CV	
(4) /hi wan ami/	[hi. wa.na. mi]	‘You (PL) speak’

- There is loss of consonant after an identical consonant, that is, geminate consonants are not allowed in Trumai. This fact is observed mainly with the stops /k/ and /t̪/⁶ and involves both bound and free morphemes:

- (5) a. {t'ak} + {-ki} > [t'a'ki] 'manioc. bread-Dat'
 b. {puk} and {kik} > [pu'kik] 'kurasaw's partner'
 c. {mut̪} and {tak} > [mu'tak] '(cloth-Neg) not having cloth.'

1.4.2. Morphophonemic alternations in fast speech

Several morphophonemic alternations can be observed in fast speech in Trumai.

Among these, we have:

- Consonant cluster simplification, where the the first element of the cluster is reduced: sometimes the stops /p/, /t̪/, and /k/ are replaced with the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the coda position of a syllable, when followed by the consonantal onset of another syllable (i.e. consonant cluster simplification). For example:

- (6) a. [kak'su] ~ [kaʔ'su] 'in.the.past'
 b. [hu'mak'tsu] ~ [hu'maʔ'tsu] 'bath + directional'
 c. [ʃu'muk'tsi] ~ [ʃu'muʔ'tsi] 'go.down.river+ directional'
 d. [ha't̪'ke] ~ [haʔ'ke] 'in.the future'

- In the speech of the young people (some teenagers and children), there is free alternation between ejective and plain stops. Examples:

⁶ Probably the same happens with the alveolar stop /t/, but in the Trumai corpus collected so far there are no examples, since the occurrence of /t/ in lexical items is much less frequent than /t̪/.

- (7) a. [k'a'tɛ] ~ [ka'tɛ] 'fish'
 b. [de't'a] ~ [de'ta] 'good/well'
 c. [pa't'ak] ~ [pa'tak] 'ray'
 d. [a'jets'] ~ [a'jets] 'old.woman'
 e. [t'ahmu'kat] ~ [tahmu'kat] 'high.place'

- In the speech of the young people, we can observe that the phoneme /h/ is disappearing at the beginning of words. This loss is noticeable in specific sets of words: the 1st. and 2nd. **pronouns** (ha ; hi), the **numerals** for 2 and 3 (huʃ 'two' ; huʃ tahme 'three'), some **interrogatives** (hanis 'what/which thing' ; hamata 'where' ; hele 'how/what'), the **adverb** huk'an 'still', some **adjectives** (homat' 'red' ; hats'ae 'sweet'), and several **nouns**, but not verbs.

The nouns that are losing initial /h/ in general refer to animals and material objects (hujat 'sea.gull' ; huruts 'jaboti (kind of turtle)' ; hura? i 'bird' ; hopep 'arrow for Javari, a kind of ceremony' ; hid 'ordinary.arrow'), but there are nouns that do not fit these two semantic groups (e.g. hulat 'sand/beach' ; hamu 'noise' ; Hiru 'proper name'). When we look at the nouns that are preserving /h/ in initial position, it seems that we have a more semantically coherent subclass of nouns: several of them refer to body parts or elements associated with them (hon 'eye' ; huksi 'eyelash' ; hud 'thigh' ; hokda 'forehead' ; homamak 'ring'). However, there are also elements that do not belong to this subclass (e.g. hotet 'corn' ; humau 'person.in.reclusion'), which results in the fact that the class of nouns preserving initial /h/ is not totally semantically homogeneous. Therefore,

the process of loss of /h/ at the beginning of words still needs to be better understood. For the moment, we can say that the groups of words that preserve /h/ (verbs and some terms for body parts) seems to be more homogeneous than the groups of words that exhibit its loss.

- Adults still retain the glottal fricative in initial position of words, in careful speech. However, in fast speech, /h/ is prone to disappear, especially if the word occurs in the middle of a clause, and this fact is observed both in the speech of young and adult people. The words that often lose /h/ in fast speech are the adverb *hen* ‘then’, and again, 1st and 2nd person pronouns. Examples:

- (8) *nɛ́fɛ́ts de ha huma-kma*
 now already 1Abs take.bath-Perf
 ‘I am already finishing my bath.’

slow speech: [nɛ́'fɛ́ts'de'hahu'mak'ma]
 fast speech: /de ha/ > [da] [nɛ́'fɛ́ts'dəhu'mak'ma]⁷

- (9) *ma nuk hen*
 eat so? then
 ‘Then, eat (it)!’

slow speech: [ma'nuk'hɛn]
 fast speech: /nuk hen/ > [nuken] [manu'kɛn]

* Finally, a speculation with regard to /h/: as mentioned before, /h/ is never attested word-finally. Could this absence be due to the complete loss of the phoneme in this position?

That is, perhaps the loss of /h/ word-initially that is currently taking place is a

⁷ In this example, not only /h/ is lost, but also the vowel of the adverb *de* ‘already’, probably in order to avoid VV sequence after the loss of /h/ (i.e. *de* > *da*).

continuation of a general process of /h/ loss, whose first step - the loss of /h/ word-finally - is already complete. However, it also might be that /h/ has never existed in the word-final position (typologically, final /h/ is rare).

CHAPTER 2

Nouns and Noun Phrases

One of the main characteristics of Trumai is that it is basically an isolating language. There are not many inflectional morphemes and in general words consist of a single morpheme. The Trumai word classes are: nouns (including pronouns and demonstratives), verbs, adjectives, adverbs, auxiliaries, postpositions, interrogative words, words of quantification (numerals and quantifiers), pluralizers (dual and plural), particles (such as negation, causation, imperative particles, etc.), subordinators and interjections. Nouns and verbs are the two main open classes and the distinction between them is clear. The case of adjectives is a little more complicated, because they share some of the characteristics of both nouns and verbs, but at the same time they present characteristics that are unique to them; section 2.2.4. of this chapter will explore the characteristics of adjectives. As we will see later, pronouns and demonstratives can be analyzed as a subclass of nouns, given the similarities in their behaviors.

This chapter is dedicated to the characteristics of the Noun Phrase in Trumai (section 2.1) and its components (section 2.2. and subdivisions); that is, nouns, pronouns/demonstratives, adjectives, words of quantification, and pluralizers. It also presents the Trumai postpositions (section 2.3) , which can follow the NP; and a discussion of the differences/similarities between the postpositions and the case-marking enclitics is provided. Section 2.4. describes in more detail the NPs involving possession. The remaining word classes will be described in chapter 3 (verbs, adverbs, particles), chapter 4 (auxiliaries), 5 (interjections) and chapter 10 (subordinators).

2.1. The structure of a Noun Phrase

The general structure of a noun phrase is:

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
[Determiner	Possessor	Noun	Adjective	Pluralizer	iyi]

(a) Determiners: in general, the modifiers that precede the head noun are the words of quantification, that is, numerals (e.g. *huch* ‘two’) or quantifiers (e.g. *a’di* ‘many’).

According to some speakers, the demonstrative forms *ni’de* ‘this (masc)’, *ni’datl* ‘this (fem)’, *ka’ne* ‘that (masc)’, *ka’natl* ‘that (fem)’ can also be used as modifiers preceding the head noun (cf. section 2.2.2 on demonstratives). Finally, another possible determiner is the word *amonke* ‘another’ (perhaps a subtype of words of quantification);

(b) Possessor: with **alienable** possession, the possessor bears the genitive marker *-k(a)te* (e.g. *Wari-kte tahu* ‘Wari’s knife’). In **inalienable** possession, the possessor presents no special morphology (e.g. *Yakairu adifle* ‘Yakairu’s sister’; *Yakairu kuch* ‘Yakairu’s hair’). There are also third person anaphoric inalienable possessors, which are of two kinds: anaphoric possessors for **kinship** terms and anaphoric possessors for **body part** terms. The one for kinship terms is *tsi-/t-* ‘3Poss’ (*tsi-/__+C*, *t-/__+V*), affixed to the head of the NP: *tsi-pine* ‘his/her cousin’; *t-adifle* ‘his/her sister’; *huchtahme t-adifle wan yi* (3-Poss-sister-PL-YI) ‘his three sisters’. The anaphoric possessor for body parts is a phrasal enclitic, *-ake* for absolutive NPs, *-ea* preceding a postposition, subordinator or a Dative mark: *kuch-ake* ‘his/her hair’; *kuch-ea letsi* ‘with his/her hair’; *kuch dat’-ea letsi* ‘with his black hair’ (cf. section 2.4. for more details);

(c) Head noun. Besides nouns, pronouns or demonstratives can also be the head of an NP, although they cannot be modified by words of quantification or adjectives;

(d) Adjective: the head noun can be modified by adjectives. In general, only one adjective follows the head noun, that is, speakers usually do not use chains of adjectives. However, although not usual, it is not impossible to have more than one adjective in an NP. For example: [*iawn*¹ *daɬ* *ive herohen yi*] ‘black big beautiful cat’.

The head noun cannot be modified directly by another noun, such as in a [N N_{mod}] construction. Rather, what we have in Trumai is an NP NP_{mod}, used for designating ‘hybrid’ entities, such as *lofef kutum’i* ‘ducky vulture’ (i.e. a vulture (*lofef*) that lives among ducks (*kutum’i*)), or for elaborating the identification of an individual: *adis kamayura* ‘Kamayura Indian’ (an Indian (*adis*), member of the *Kamayura* people). The use of pluralizers and the morpheme *iyi* in this construction shows that its configuration is NP NP_{mod} rather than [N N_{mod}] (cf. sections 2.2.6 and 2.2.7):

- (1) [*huch adis a yi*] [*kamayura a yi*]
 two Indian Dual YI Kamayura Dual YI
 ‘two Kamayura Indians’

(e) Pluralizers: either *a* ‘Dual’ or *wan* ‘Plural’. They modify a head noun that refers to an animate entity (cf. section 2.2.6). When the head noun of an absolutive NP is omitted, the pluralizer stands by itself in the NP;²

¹ The term *iawn* is actually an onomatopoeia, imitating the sound made by cats (phonetically [iãw̃], according to Trumai speakers).

² In this case, the verb has a pronominal mark referring to the Absolutive NP, the enclitic *-n/-e* (cf. chapter 3, section 3.1.3).

(f) The morpheme (*iyi*): this morpheme, whose function is still not clear, can sometimes occur at the end of any third person NP (cf. section 2.2.7). Therefore, its presence can be used as a signal for the boundary of an NP. It also signals that the preceding constituent is an NP. When the head is present in the NP, in general we have the reduced form *yi*; when there is no head or other elements on the NP, we have the full form *iyi* (e.g. [*inatl yi*] *ma ka_in*. ‘She ate’ ; [*iyi*] *ma-n ka_in*. ‘She/he ate’).

The examples below are instances of noun phrases in Trumai:

(2) (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f)
 [*huchtahme ha adifle heroehen wan yi*]
 three 1 sister beautiful PL YI
 ‘my three beautiful sisters’

(3) (a) (b) (c) (d) (f)
 [*huchtahme hi-kte tahu daɣ’ yi*]
 three 2-Gen knife black YI
 ‘your three black knives’

A noun phrase can be followed by phrasal enclitics or postpositions that indicate its grammatical case. These are: *-ek/-k* ‘Ergative’ ; *-etl / -tl, -ki, -es/-s* ‘Dative’ ; *(h)i’ta* ‘Allative’ ; *lots’* ‘Ablative’ ; *letsu* ‘Instrumental’ ; *tam* ‘Comitative’ ; *-n/-en* ‘Locative’. These elements will be discussed in section 2.3.

Noun phrases can be coordinated. One of the strategies of coordination is juxtaposition and the use of ‘coma intonation’ (i.e., the pause between/among the NPs is non-final)³. For example:

³ The term ‘coma intonation’ is used by Mithun (1988).

- (4) *[[tsi-u], [t-adif], [yupun t-adif wan] hu'tsa.*
 3Poss-father 3 Poss-brother all 3Poss-brother PL see
 'Her father, her brother and all her brothers saw (it).'
- (5) *ha wan ma [monoto]-s, [mot'e]-s, [karuwaru]-s, [yayanke]-s.*
 1 PL ear tapir-Dat jacu-Dat paca-Dat deer-Dat
 'We eat tapirs, (and) jacus, (and) pacas, (and) deer.'

However, there are other ways of indicating coordination of NPs in this language.

The ways vary depending on the characteristics of the major NP (i.e. if it is S, O, A, or DAT). For S, O, and A noun phrases, a pluralizer morpheme (the Dual or Plural mark) may occur after the juxtaposed internal NPs, indicating the number of individuals that compose the major NP:

- (6) *[[Taina] [Tawalu] a yi] ka_in pech ke.*
 Taina Tawalu Dual YI Foc/Tens run KE
 'Taina and Tawalu run.'
- (7) a. *[[Karu], [Kumaru], [Atawaka]] hai-ts amidoxos ke.*
 Karu Kumaru Atawaka 1-Erg call KE
 'I called Karu, Kumaru and Atawaka.'
- b. *[[Karu], [Kumaru], [Atawaka] wan yi] hai-ts amidoxos ke.*
 Karu Kumaru Atawaka PL YI 1-Erg call KE
 'I called Karu, Kumaru and Atawaka.'
- (8) *[[Tawalu], [Mawa], [Karu] wan]-ek atlat yi mapa.*
 Tawalu Mawa Karu PL-Erg clay.pan YI break
 'Tawalu, Mawa and Karu broke the clay pan.'

For DAT noun phrases, a way of indicating coordination is to have one of the NPs modified by the 'Comitative' postposition *tam*⁴ (example 9), or to have a Dative NP with

⁴ Actually, the Comitative postposition can also be used with the other kinds of NP:

- (i) *Atawaka Tarukuy tam hu'tsa hai-tl.*
 Atawaka Tarukuy Com see 1-Dat

a term that refers to a category or group of entities, followed by a list of the members of the category (example 10):

- (9) *ha hu'tsa chi(_in) [huksitukuk yi]-ki [yayanke tam].*
 1 see Foc/Tens capivara YI-Dat deer Com
 'I saw a capivara and a deer.' (lit: I saw a capivara with a deer.)
- (10) *ha wan ma kodetl-es: monoto, piñik, karuwaru, yayanke...*
 1 PL eat animal-Dat tapir monkey paca deer
 'We eat animals: tapir, (and) monkey, (and) paca, (and) deer...'

2.2. Word classes that occur in the Noun Phrase

2.2.1. Nouns

Nominal words in Trumai contrast with verbal words, since their morphology and syntactic behaviors are clearly different. However, the assignment of a root to the class of Nouns or Verbs is not always easy. This is because in some environments **verbal** roots can function in the nominal pattern, even though they are not modified by a Nominalizer (cf. chapter 3). Similarly, **nominal** roots in Trumai can be not only nominal words, but verbal words as well, without any extra morphology, such as a Verbalizer. It is only through the differences in the morphosyntactic characteristics, plus the difference in meaning that we can identify the category of the word in question: e.g., a nominal root that is behaving as nominal word refers to an entity ('an X'); a nominal root that is behaving as a verbal word refers to the possession of an entity ('to have an X'). A nominal root behaves as verbal word in the inalienable possessive predicate (cf. chapter 5, section 5.2.6).

'Atawaka and Tarukuy saw me.' (lit: Atawaka with Tarukuy saw me)

First, the main characteristics of nouns in Trumai will be presented, in contrast with the characteristics of verbs (table 2.1 summarizes the contrasts; verbs will be discussed in chapter 3). Some examples will illustrate the characteristics of nouns. After that, we will have examples of a nominal root functioning as a nominal word, and the same root functioning as a verbal word, illustrating the interesting interplay between nominal words and roots found in this language.⁵

Table 2.1. The characteristics of nouns and verbs

NOUN	VERB
a. can be head of an NP, where: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. can be modified by Num-Quant or Dem ii. can be modified by another N: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> N_{poss} N (possessive construction) iii. can be modified by Adj iv. can be modified by Pluralizers b. receive anaphoric possessive marks c. receive case markers d. can occur in a nominal predicate, with the semantics of identification. A nominal predicate has the features: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. word order: Pred Subj (Cop); ii. if 3p: clitic on the copula (Pred Cop-n) or on the morpheme <i>iyi</i> (Pred <i>iyi-n</i>); iii. modified by particle of negation <i>anuk</i>. e. when in a nominal predicate, it occurs with the Imperative particle <i>wanach</i> , which follows the predicate (Pred <i>wanach</i>)	a. can be the head of a VP, where: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. can receive the 3Abs enclitic ii. can be modified by particle of Negation <i>tak</i> iii. can be modified by Auxiliaries iv. occurs with the Imperative particles <i>wa</i>, <i>wana</i>, <i>waki</i>, which precede V (<i>wana</i> V) vi. occurs with the Imperative particle <i>wanach</i> <u>only</u> when already modified by Negation particle <i>tak</i> b. can be modified by the morpheme <i>ke</i> (which signals changes in the basic word order) c. some verbs can receive the prefix <i>wa-</i> (which seems to be linked to the semantics of middle voice) d. can be nominalized by <i>-k(e)</i> 'the one who V'

Next, we have examples of nouns (the underlined words in the Trumai data are

⁵ For this and the next chapters, the following set of labels will be used:

- Subj - for the subject of non-verbal predicates
 S - for the single argument of prototypical Intransitive clauses
 A - for the agent-like argument of prototypical Transitive clauses;
 O - for the patient-like argument of prototypical Transitive and ditransitive clauses;
 DAT - for the recipient-like argument of prototypical Ditransitive clauses.

Notice that some verbs in Trumai - such as *chuda* 'make' - require two arguments - one agent, one patient-like - which in terms of morphosyntax do not align with A and O, but rather with S and Dat, respectively. For the discussion of these verbs, as well as the labels listed above, cf. chapter 7.

head nouns; the double underlined words are the noun modifiers being illustrated)

Head of NP

- (11) a. [kiki atuk wan yi] ka_in hai-ts umu-ktsi ke.
man tall PL YI Foc/Tens 1-Erg bring-Dir KE
'I brought tall men.'
- b. [kiki yi] ka_in hai-ts umu-ktsi ke.
man YI Foc/Tens 1-Erg bring-Dir KE
'I brought a man.'

Modifiers in an NP

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| NUM | (12) | [<u>huch tahu</u>]
two knife | 'two knives' |
| QUANT | (13) | [<u>a'di yaw</u> wan yi]
many human.being PL YI | 'many people' |
| DEM | (14) | [<u>ka'natl dinoxo</u> yi]
that girl YI | 'that girl' |
| NOUN (N _{poss} N) | (15) | [<u>axos atle</u>]
child mother | 'the child's mother' |
| ADJ | (16) | [<u>huch kasoro dat a</u> yi]
two dog black Dual YI | 'two black dogs' |
| NUM | (17) | [<u>huchtahme ha amipine</u> wan yi]
three 1 cousin PL YI | 'my three cousins' |
| PLURALIZER | (18) a. | [<u>kiki a</u>]
b. [<u>kiki wan</u>] | 'two men'
'men' |

With anaphoric possessive markers

- (19) a. tsi-doxo
3Poss-grandchild
'his/her grandchild'
- b. t-eche
3Poss-husband
'her husband'
- c. xop-ake
mouth-3Poss
'his/her/its mouth'

- d. *xop-ea-n* 'in his/her/its mouth'
mouth-3Poss-Loc

With the Genitive marker

- (20) a. *[[kiki]-kte tahu]* 'the man's knife'
man-Gen knife
- b. *[[axos]-kate tahu]* 'the child's knife'
child Gen knife

With the Ergative, Absolutive and Dative markers

- (21) A O V DAT
kiki-k atlat-∅ kiŋi hai-tl.
man-Erg pan-Abs give 1-Dat
'The man gave the pan to me.'

- (22) A O V DAT
kiki-k atlat-∅ kiŋi ha wan-ki.
man-Erg pan-Abs give 1-Dat
'The man gave it to us.'

- (23) A O V DAT
hai-ts aros-∅ kiŋi kasoro-ɛ
1-Erg rice-Abs give dog-Dat
'I gave rice to the dogs.'

In a nominal predicate

- (24) a. *kiki (ka_in) ha chi.*
man Foc/Tens 1 Cop
'I am a man.'
- b. *kiki (ka_in) chi-n.*
man Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
'He is a man.'
- c. *kiki (ka_in) iyi-n.*
man Foc/Tens YI-3Abs
'He is a man.'

Modified by *anuk* (when the noun is in a nominal predicate)

- (25) *kiki anuk ha chi.*
man Neg 1 Cop
'I am not a man.'

Modified by *wanach* (when the noun is in a nominal predicate)

- (26) *kiki wanach*
 man Imp
 'Be a man (behave like a man).'

Now, let us see an example of the interplay between nominal roots and nominal or verbal words in Trumai. In the data below, we can see that in (27-31) the nominal root *di* 'woman' functions as a nominal word, with the semantics of identification and behavior typical of nouns. However, in the examples (32-36) the nominal root *di* appears in a verbal word [*di*]_v 'to have a woman', behaving then as any verb. It can be the head of a VP, receiving the enclitic of 3rd. person Absolutive *-n/-e*, being modified by auxiliaries, being modified by the imperative and causative particles.

N_{root} -----> N_{word}

- Case marking: (27) *ha hu'tsa chi(_in) di-tl.*
 I see Foc/Tens woman-Dat
 'I saw the woman.'
- In a nominal predicate: (28) *di ha chi.*
 woman 1 Cop
 'I am a woman'
- Negated by *anuk*: (29) *di anuk ha chi.*
 woman Neg 1 Cop
 'I am not a woman.'
- Possessed: (30) *tsi-di ha chi.*
 3Poss-woman 1 Cop
 'I am his woman/wife.'
- Imperative: (31) *di wanach*
 woman Imp
 'Be a woman (behave like a woman)'

N_{root} -----> V_{word} (with the sense of 'to have X')

- Head of VP: (32) *ha di ka_in*
 1 have.woman Foc/Tens
 'I am married.' (lit: I have a woman.)
- Enclitic: (33) *iyi di-n ka_in.*
 YI have.woman-3Abs Foc/Tens
 'He is married.' (lit: 'He has a woman.')
- Auxiliary: (34) *ha di-tke.*
 1 have.woman-Desid
 'I want to marry.' (lit: I want to have a woman.)
- Imperative: (35) *wana di*
 Imp have.woman
 'Marry!' (Lit: Have a woman!)
- Causative: (36) *hai-ts Mayahiri di ka.*
 1-Erg Mayahiri have.woman Caus
 'I made Mayahiri marry'. (lit: I made him have a woman.)

A final remark on nouns: they can be modified by the Nominalizer *-t'(a)*, a morpheme that in general terms can be translated as 'ex' or 'former'. However, *-t'(a)* has slightly different meanings, depending on the word it modifies. The combination of *-t'(a)* with adjectives and verbs will be explored in the section on these word classes (2.2.4 and 3.2). With respect to nouns, we observe that the morpheme *-t'(a)* gives to the noun the status of being an ex-entity:

- (37) a. *yaw*
 'human.being'
- b. *yaw-t'a*
 'one that was human.being' (an ex-human.being)
- (38) a. *t-eche' ka_in ha chi.*
 3Poss-husband Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I am her husband.'

- b. *t-eche-t'* *ka_in* *ha chi*.
 3Poss-husband-NzrEx Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I am her ex-husband.'

2.2.2. Personal and demonstrative pronouns

Personal pronouns in Trumai can be considered a subclass of nouns, since they receive nominal morphology - e.g. the genitive morpheme and other case markers - and they have almost the same syntactic behavior (with the exception of the possibility of being modified by adjectives and words of quantification); that is, they also can be the head of the NP.

The pronominal set distinguishes person (1st, 2nd, 3rd), number (singular, dual, plural), gender (masculine, feminine - only for 3rd person Sg.) and inclusion/exclusion of listener in the plural forms of first person (1st Pl inclusive/ exclusive).

Table 2.2. Personal pronouns in Absolutive NPs

	SG	DUAL	PL
1	<i>ha</i>	<i>ka a</i> (Incl) <i>ha a</i> (Excl)	<i>ka wan</i> (Incl) <i>ha wan</i> (Excl)
2	<i>hi</i>	<i>hi a</i>	<i>hi wan</i>
3	<i>ine</i> (Masc) <i>inatl</i> (Fem)	<i>inak a</i>	<i>inak wan</i>

Table 2.3. Personal pronouns in Ergative NPs

	SG	DUAL	PL
1	<i>hai-ts</i> or <i>hai-k</i> ⁶	<i>ka ana-k</i> (Incl) <i>ha ana-k</i> (Excl)	<i>ka wan-ek</i> (Incl) <i>ha wan-ek</i> (Excl)
2	<i>hi-k</i> or <i>ha-k</i>	<i>hi ana-k</i>	<i>hi wan-ek</i>
3	<i>ine-k</i> (Masc) <i>inatl-ek</i> (Fem)	<i>inak ana-k</i>	<i>inak wan-ek</i>

⁶ According to the consultant, there is no difference between *hai-ts* and *hai-k*. These forms can be exchanged freely. The same is true for *hi-k* and *ha-k*.

Table 2.4. Personal pronouns in Dative NPs

	SG	DUAL	PL
1	<i>hai-tl</i>	<i>ka ana-ki</i> <i>ha ana-ki</i>	<i>ka wan-ki</i> (Incl) <i>ha wan-ki</i> (Excl)
2	<i>hi-tl</i>	<i>hi ana-ki</i>	<i>hi wan-ki</i>
3	<i>ine-tl</i> (Masc) <i>inatl-etl</i> (Fem)	<i>inak ana-ki</i>	<i>inak wan-ki</i>

As we can see in the chart above, the 1st person singular pronoun can have two allomorphs: one for NPs in the Absolutive case (*ha*), another one for NPs in the Ergative and Dative cases (*hai*). The third person pronouns present an interesting allomorphy when combined with the pluralizers: instead of *ine* + pluralizer or *inatl* + pluralizer, as we would expect (since that is what happens for the 1st. and 2nd. persons), we have the use of the allomorph *inak*, which is never attested in other environments (that is, without the presence of the pluralizers). The use of *inak* in some sense neutralizes the gender distinction made for the 3rd person singular. Finally, the dual presents an interesting allomorph when combined with case markers (*ana*).⁷

Like the personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns in Trumai can be considered a subclass of nouns, since they also can receive case markers, and they can be the head of the NP. Besides gender and number, the Trumai demonstrative pronouns distinguish the distance of the referred entity: proximal or distal.

Table 2.5. Demonstrative pronouns in Absolutive NPs

	SG	DUAL	PL
Close	<i>ni'de</i> (Masc) <i>ni'datl</i> (Fem)	<i>ni'dak a</i>	<i>ni'dak wan</i>
Distant	<i>ka'ne</i> (Masc) <i>ka'natl</i> (Fem)	<i>ka'nak a</i>	<i>ka'nak wan</i>

⁷ Speakers sometimes prefer to use the morpheme *yi* at the end of the NP with the pronoun: [*inak a yi*]-*k*. In this case, the use of the special allomorph [*ana*] for the dual is avoided.

Table 2.6. Demonstrative pronouns in Ergative NPs

	SG	DUAL	PL
Close	<i>ni'de-k</i> (Masc)	<i>ni'dak ana-k</i>	<i>ni'dak wan-ek</i>
	<i>ni'datl-ek</i> (Fem)		
Distant	<i>ka'ne-k</i> (Masc)	<i>ka'nak ana-k</i>	<i>ka'nak wan-ek</i>
	<i>ka'natl-ek</i> (Fem)		

Table 2.7. Demonstrative pronouns in Dative NPs

	SG	DUAL	PL
Close	<i>ni'de-tl</i> (Masc)	<i>ni'dak ana-ki</i>	<i>ni'dak wan-ki</i>
	<i>ni'datl-etl</i> (Fem)		
Distant	<i>ka'ne-tl</i> (Masc)	<i>ka'nak ana-ki</i>	<i>ka'nak wan-ki</i>
	<i>ka'natl-etl</i> (Fem)		

As already mentioned in section 2.1, some speakers provide data where the Trumai demonstratives are used as modifiers of the head noun of the NP. However, not all speakers seem to like this use; some prefer to use the demonstratives as pronominal forms (i.e. instead of saying 'that X', some speakers prefer to say just 'that (one)'). Examples (39) and (40a) are instances of the occurrence of demonstratives as pronominal elements; in examples (40b-41), the demonstrative is being used as a modifier of the head noun of the NP:

(39) *ka'natl-ek ha midoxos.*

that(Fem)-Erg 1 call
'That one called me.'

(40) a. [*ka'natl yi*]-*ki chi(_in) ha fa.*

that(Fem) YI-Dat Foc/Tens 1 beat

'I beat that one.' (answer to the question: Whom did you beat?)

b. [*ka'natl dinoxo yi*]-*ki chi(_in) ha fa.*

that(Fem) girl YI-Dat Foc/Tens 1 beat

'I beat that girl.'

[different speech situation: a girl is passing, and the speaker wants to point out to the listener that the girl is the one whom s/he was previously talking about]

- (41) *[ni'de esak] chi_in kach hai-ts kiŋi ke.*
 this(Masc) hammock Foc/Tens later? 1-Erg give KE
 'I will give (you) this hammock.'
 [somebody asked for a specific hammock. Speaker decides to give another one.]

When demonstratives are used as modifiers, it seems that the masculine and feminine forms can freely substitute for each other, although the masculine form is more often used. In other words, the fact that the noun refers to a female or a male entity seems to have no influence in the choice of the demonstrative when it is used as a modifier.

Examples:

- (42) a. *[ni'datl dinoxoyi]-ki chi(_in) ha fa.*
 this(Fem) girl YI-Dat Foc/Tens 1 beat
 'I beat this girl.'
- b. *[ni'de dinoxoyi]-ki chi(_in) ha fa.*
 this(Masc) girl YI-Dat Foc/Tens 1 beat
 'I beat this girl.'
- (43) *ka'ne chay*
 that(Masc) afternoon
 'yesterday'

Besides *ka'ne* and *ka'natl*, other possible forms for the distal demonstrative are *kande* and *kandatl*, which are the ones used by older people. Therefore, there is dialectal variation among the speakers with respect to the use of the distal demonstrative, and the difference is a matter of generation.

Comparing the two dialectal forms *ka'ne* and *kande*, it is possible to speculate about historical changes. Probably *kande* was the original form for 'that', but it changed to *ka'ne* perhaps by analogy to *ni'de* 'this'. This is suggested by the adverbs used to

express the ideas of close place and distant place; *ni* is the adverb used for ‘here’, while the adverb for ‘there’ is *kaina*. It might be that the forms of the adverbs have contributed to the change of *kande* to *ka’ne*; that is, speakers associated the sequence ni with the notion of ‘closeness’, and ka with the notion of ‘distance’ (i.e. **ni-’de* ‘this’ (proximal) versus **ka-nde* > **ka-’nde* > **ka-’de* ‘that’ (distal)).

A problem regarding the pronominal set in Trumai involves two forms observed in the corpus that seem to be also pronominal: *in* and *ni*. These two forms can be found behaving as pronouns, that is, acting as the head of an NP and receiving nominal morphology:

- (44) *in yi-ki* ‘at it (it = the event of a woman going to work)’
it YI-Dat
- (45) *in-is* ‘at it (it = the event of a friend making a question)’
it-Dat
- (46) *in lots’* ‘from it (it= the event of some men making houses)’
it Allat
- (47) *ni-ki* ‘in this.one (one= place, the village), here’
this.one-Dat
- (48) *ni lots’* ‘from this.one (one=place, the village), from here’
this Allat

However, there are no examples of *in* referring to a physical object rather than to an event. Perhaps this is just a matter of a gap in the corpus. More complicated is the case of *ni*, which sometimes behaves as an adverb:

- (49) *ni-a* *hi chi?*
here-Quest 2 Cop
‘Are you here?’⁸

⁸ Observe that the adverbs *nina* ‘here’ and *ina* ‘there’ do not receive case marking:

- (50) *ni!*
 here
 'Here!' (answer to the question: Where is the coffee?)

Could we say that *ni* is a pronoun that sometimes can behave as an adverb? Or is the adverbial occurrence of *ni* actually a reduction of the adverb *nina* 'here'? At the moment, there are no definitive answers for these questions. The only thing we could say is that it would be possible to align *in* and *ni* with the attested Trumai pronouns:

<u>Masc</u>	<u>Fem</u>	<u>Neuter</u>	
<i>ine</i>	<i>inatl</i>	<i>in</i>	'he - she -it'
<i>ni'de</i>	<i>ni'datl</i>	<i>ni</i>	'this.one (M) - this.one (F) - this.one (N)'

However, there are further questions: (1) it is necessary to check if both *in* and *ni* can be pluralized. This capacity would make more clear their pronominal status; (2) there is no neutral form for 'that one'. In one text, the form *inde* was found, but it seems to be an adverb rather than a demonstrative pronoun (i.e. 'there (not so far from speaker or listener)' rather than 'that one'). This third form needs to be investigated further, and the other ones - *in* and *ni* - need extra checking, with special attention to the interplay between *ni* and *nina*.

As a final remark, we observe that the set of adverbs for place have an intermediate stage between proximal and distal: *ina* 'more or less close'. The whole set is

(i) *wana aha'tsi nina*
 Imp sit here
 'Sit here!'

nina - *ina* - *kaina* ‘here’ - ‘there’ - ‘yonder’.⁹ We do not have a parallel for the demonstratives, that is, there is a gap in set:

Table 2.8. Adverbs and Demonstrative Pronouns

	Proximal	Medial	Distal
Deitic Adverbs	<i>nina</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>kaina</i>
Demonst. Pron.	<i>ni'de</i> ¹⁰	-----	<i>ka'ne/kande</i>

We could speculate that the “missing” form in the chart would be the personal pronoun *ine*, which originally could have been a demonstrative pronoun rather than a personal one. Interestingly, some consultants say that in general they do not use the personal pronoun in conversation, but rather they use the 3rd Absolute enclitic in the verb (i.e. *ma-n* rather than *ine ma* for ‘He eats.’). The personal pronoun *ine* is used when one wants to point to the referred entity, instead of merely mentioning it.

However, if *ine* was originally a demonstrative pronoun, now it seems to be only a personal one, because its use as modifier of a head noun in an NP seems not to be possible, or at least it is controversial. According to one consultant, this example would be acceptable:

- (51) [*ine axos yi*]-ki *chi_in ha fa*.
 that child YI-Dat Foc/Tens 1 beat
 ‘I beat that child.’

⁹ There is one example that suggests that the difference between *nina* and *ina* is not only one of distance, but also proximity in relation to locutor or interlocutor: in a letter to a friend, a Trumai used *nina* (here) when referring to her own village and *ina* (there) when referring to the friend’s village.

¹⁰ *ni'de* can also be used to contrast situations:

- (i) *fa maxke-s de aloke ha a hat'ke*.
 kill/hit ?-S already fast 1 Dual in.future
 ‘If we kill (fish) a lot, soon we will be back.’

ni'de , *ofa tak de ha a hat'ke, aleitak de ha a hat'ke*
 this.one kill/hit Neg already 1 Dual in.future long already 1 Dual in.future
 ‘In contrast (in this other situation), if we do not kill anything, we will take time.’

The example above was not spontaneously given by a speaker, but it was rather constructed on the basis of patterns observed in the language and presented to the consultant for an opinion. So, even though the consultant accepted the example, the question remains whether she really says it. A similar example was presented to another consultant, who refused the use of *ine* as modifier, saying that it did not make sense:

- (52) a. *ni'de misu* 'this mirror'
 this(masc) water/mirror
- b. *ka'ne misu* 'that mirror'
 that(masc) water/mirror
- c. **ine misu* ?'he mirror' (strange, nonsense)

Therefore, it seems that *ine* is a personal pronoun indeed. The question is to know if it was originally the medial demonstrative pronoun (with the full demonstrative set being: *ni'de - ine - ka'ne* 'this' - 'that' - 'yon') or if Trumai has another form for the medial demonstrative pronoun.

2.2.3. Interrogative pronouns or interrogative words?

Like nouns, some Trumai interrogatives - such as *te* 'who', *tsifan* 'what (which thing)' - can receive case marking and be the head of an NP, and because of that we could classify these words as interrogative pronouns. However, the same is not true for all interrogative words; some of which do not seem to be pronominal forms. For this reason, it seems more adequate to treat the Trumai interrogatives as a separate class, constituted by a closed set of members, which are:

<i>te</i>	‘who’
<i>han</i>	‘what/which’
<i>tsifan</i>	‘what (in the sense of ‘which thing’)
<i>hamuna</i> or <i>ham</i>	‘where’ (in which place)
<i>tuk</i>	‘how many’
<i>hele</i>	‘how/what’
<i>heletsis</i>	‘when’

In terms of behavior, the forms listed above appear in interrogative clauses, occurring always in first position and many times followed by *in* ‘focus’ (or by the morpheme *iyi*, then *in*). The information required by these forms also comes in sentence-initial position, occurring in the beginning of the answer (that is, new information in Trumai is clause initial; cf. chapter 5 for further details). As examples of interrogatives in clauses, we have:

- (53) *te yi in ka'chī pata ke?*
 who YI focus walk arrive KE
 ‘Who arrived?’
- (54) *han iyi-ki in hi hup?*
 what IYI-Dat focus 2 know
 ‘What do you know?’
- (55) *han k'ate yi-ki in hi pudits?*
 what fish YI-Dat focus 2 like
 ‘Which (kind of) fish do you like?’
- (56) *tsifan-is chī_in axos ma?*
 what-Dat Foc/Tens child eat
 ‘What (which thing) did the child eat?’
- (57) *ham de k'ate yi?*
 where already fish YI
 ‘Where there are fish?’

- (58) *ham ata in hi dat yi?*
 where Allat focus 2 home YI
 ‘Where (in which direction) is your house?’
 [in relation to the place where the person is now: is your house downriver, upriver, etc.?
- (59) *hamuna in hi dat yi?*
 where focus 2 home YI
 ‘Where (in which place) is your house?’
 [in relation to a geographic area: is your house in village X, Y, etc.?
- (60) *tuk in hi ma k’ate-s?*
 how.many focus 2 eat fish-Dat
 ‘How many fishes did you eat?’
- (61) *hele in hi tak?*
 how focus 2 name
 ‘What is your name?’ (lit: How is your name?)
- (62) *hele in hi ka’chi pata?*
 how focus 2 walk arrive
 ‘How did you arrive?’
- (63) *heletsis in Matawai wa-ka’chi?*
 when focus Matawai WA-walk
 ‘When did Matawai go away?’

As a final remark, we observe that the interrogative *hele* can combine with *tsi-(i)ets’*, a morpheme used in subordinate clauses that express events that are the reason/cause or the consequence of a main event (cf. chapter 10, sections 10.1.3 and 10.3.3). Even though the combination can be broken into parts, it seems to work as a whole, that is, as a fixed expression meaning ‘why, for which reason’:

- (64) *hele in tsi-(i)ets’ yaw hilaka iye?*
 how Focus reason human.being village big
 ‘Why is (our) village big?’
- (65) *hele in tsi-(i)ets’ Matawai wa-ka’chi?*
 how Focus reason Matawai WA-walk
 ‘Why did Matawai go away?’

2.2.4. Adjectives

The characterization of adjectives as an independent class in Trumai is not so easy, since they share behaviors with both nouns and verbs, but it is still justifiable given that some characteristics are unique to them. The table below presents the behavior shared with nouns and verbs:

Table 2.9. Adjective characteristics shared with nouns and verbs

WITH NOUNS	WITH VERBS
It can occur in a predicate with nominal-predicate configuration, i.e. [Pred Subj (Cop)]. In this case: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. it indicates a temporary characteristic; ii. it indicates a permanent characteristic if relativized by <i>ke</i> iii. it can be negated by <i>anuk</i>, indicating only a permanent characteristic. iv. it occurs with the Imperative particle <i>wanach</i>. 	It can occur in a predicate with verbal-predicate configuration, e. [Subj Pred] ¹¹ . In this case: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. it indicates a temporary characteristic; ii. it receives the 3Abs enclitic iii. it can be modified by auxiliaries iv. it occurs with the Imperative particle <i>wana</i>.

As examples, we have (the underlined words in the Trumai data are adjectives):

Occurs in a predicate with nominal-predicate configuration

- **it indicates a temporary characteristic:**

(66) *eni eni* *ka_in* *iyi-n*.
 dirty Foc/Tens IYI-3Abs
 'He is dirty.' (temporary)

(67) *xerere* *ka_in* *ha mut yi*.
 wet Foc/Tens I dress YI
 'My dress is wet.' (temporary)

- **it indicates a permanent characteristic with the Relativizer *ke*:**¹²

(68) *eni eni* *ke ka_in* *iyi-n*.
 dirty RlZR Foc/Tens IYI-3Abs
 'He is dirty.' (permanent).

¹¹ The order [S Pred] is based on clauses with Intransitive verbs. The case of clauses with Transitive verbs is a little more complex, because the verb has two arguments and there is the question of determining which element is the subject; cf. chapter 7 for the discussion of grammatical relations in Trumai.

¹² There are in Trumai three morphemes *ke*: a Nominalizer, a Relativizer, and another one whose function is still obscure. Despite the similarity in form, there are reasons to analyze them as not being the same morpheme. See chapter 5, section 5.1.2. for discussion.

- (69) *tsi-xerere ke ka_in iyi-n.*
 TSI-wet RlZr Foc/Tens IYI-3Abs
 ‘He/it is always wet.’ (e.g. the tongue of the cat)

- it can be negated by *anuk* (indicating a permanent characteristic). The Relativizer *ke* sometimes is not used, but the sense of permanency is maintained:

- (70) *eni eni (ke) anuk iyi-n.*
 dirty RlZr Neg IYI-3Abs
 ‘He is not dirty.’ (permanent)

- it occurs with the Imperative particle *wanach*:

- (71) *taxa wanach*
 hard Imp
 ‘Become hard’

Occurs in a predicate with verbal-predicate configuration

- it indicates temporary characteristics; it can receive 3Abs enclitic:

- (72) *iyi eni eni-n ka_in.*
 IYI dirty-3Abs Foc/Tens
 ‘He is dirty.’ (temporary).¹³

- (73) *iyi xerere-n ka_in.*
 IYI wet-3Abs Foc/Tens
 ‘He is wet.’ (temporary)

- it can be modified by auxiliaries:

- (74) *ha xerere-tke ka_in.*
 1 wet-Desid Foc/Tens
 ‘I want to become wet.’

- (75) *iyi mox kuma-n ka_in.*
 IYI swollen Perf-3Abs Foc/Tens
 ‘He is all/completely swollen.’

- it can be modified by the causative morpheme:

- (76) *Tata yi-k ka_in ha mut xerere ka.*
 Tata YI-Erg Foc/Tens 1 dress wet Caus
 ‘Tata made my dress to get wet.’

¹³ The difference between [*eni eni ka_in iyi-n*] and [*iyi eni eni-n ka_in*] is still not clear, but there is some discussion of this issue in chapter 5, section on attributive predicates.

- it occurs with the Imperative particle *wana*:

(77) *wana taxa*
 Imp hard
 ‘Become hard!’¹⁴

Now let us examine the behaviors that are observed only with adjectives:

- a. an adjective can directly modify the head noun in an NP, following it:**

(78) *[mihin karakarako tore yi]*
 N Adj
 one chicken white YI
 ‘one white chicken’

- b. an adjective cannot be the head of an NP by itself. It always needs extra morphology:**

(79) a. [*tore ke-s*] *ka_in ha pudits.*
 white RlZr-Dat Foc/Tens I like
 ‘I like things that are white.’

b. [*tore yi*]-*ake*
 white YI-AKE
 ‘the white one’

The morpheme *-ake* found in the example (79b) is not the ‘Possessive’ morpheme that occurs with nouns. Rather, the *-ake* here seems to be an indicator that the adjective is now behaving as a noun, being the head of the NP. In this sense, we could consider *-ake* a kind of Nominalizer. The problem is that *-ake* does not occur with the adjective, but rather at the end of the NP (the morpheme *yi* occurs before *-ake*, not after it. If *-ake* was a mere Nominalizer, we would have [*tore-ake yi*], which is not what we observe in the

¹⁴ Perhaps the difference between this example and the previous one with *wanach* is that here a change of state might be involved (become hard), while in the other only the state itself matters (be hard, behave in a hard way).

data). The behavior of the morpheme *-ake*, as well as its function, needs further investigation.

- (80) a. [xerere ke]
 wet- RlZr
 ‘one that is wet’ [answer to the question: what did you throw away?]
- b. [xerere yi]-ake
 wet YI-AKE
 ‘the wet one.’ [answer to the question: which one did you throw away?]

In the examples above, we can see that the [N Adj] construction is different from [NP NP_{mod}]. As already seen in section 2.1., the [NP NP_{mod}] construction can have pluralizers both in the NP modifier and the NP being modified. The same is not true for the [N Adj] construction, where only one pluralizer can be used, modifying the head of the NP (the Adj cannot be modified by another pluralizer, otherwise it would need to be the head of another NP, which is not possible without extra morphology):

- (81) a. [huch kasoro daṭ a yi]
 two dog black Dual YI
 ‘two black dogs’
- b. *[huch kasoro a] [daṭ a yi]
 two dog Dual black Dual YI
 ‘two black dogs’

c. in a predicate with nominal-predicate configuration, an adjective can receive the prefix *tsi-*, which is not a possessive mark, but rather seems to be linked to the fact that the adjective is a predicate rather a nominal modifier. Verbs cannot receive *tsi-*, and nouns receive another *tsi-*, the possessive mark:

- (82) tsi-tore ka_in iyi-n.
 TSI-white Foc/Tens IYI-3Abs
 ‘He is white.’ (temporary)
- (83) a. xu'tsa tak ka_in misu yi.
 cold Neg Foc/Tens water YI
 ‘The water is not cold.’ [answer to the question: Is the water cold?]

- b. *tsi-xu'tsa tak ka_in misu yi.*
 TSI-cold Neg Foc/Tens water YI
 'The water is not cold.' (comment)

The function of *tsi-* is still not clear. Possibly it could be linked to mirativity, that is, the grammatical marking of unexpected information. In mirative constructions, the speaker signals that the fact being reported was not expected or is a surprise to him/her, because he/she was not aware of it (or, as Delancey (1997:36) says: “..the proposition is one which is new to the speaker, not yet integrated into his overall picture of the world”). The analysis of the use of *tsi-* as linked to mirativity is reasonable on the basis of examples such as the following one:

- (84) *tsi-xerere ka_in ha mut yi.*
 TSI-wet Foc/Tens 1 dress YI
 'My dress is wet.' (speaker is just telling a person)

- (85) *xerere ka_in ha mut yi.*
 wet Foc/Tens 1 dress YI
 'My dress is wet.' (surprised, the speaker realized that her dress is wet).

The problem of the mirative analysis for the Trumai data is: (i) the mirative here would be morphologically zero, while the ordinary comment would require the special mark, *tsi-*. We would expect the mirative category to be the morphologically marked one; (ii) we would expect mirativity to be expressed with events too, not only with attributes/states (Delancey 1997 presents data from several languages which have a mirative construction. The examples in Delancey involve events as well as states). However, the use of *tsi-* in Trumai is not allowed with verbs. It might be that verbs require another form for expressing mirativity. That point needs further research.

Another remark regarding the use of *tsi-*: it is not clear if *tsi-* can occur with adjectives when they are in a predicate with verbal-predicate configuration. On the one hand, we have examples that do not allow the presence of *tsi-*:

- (86) a. *ha xerere ka_in.*
 1 wet Foc/Tens
 'I am wet (temporary).'
- b. **ha tsi-xerere ka_in.*
- (87) a. *ha xerere anuk.*
 1 wet Neg
 'I am not wet.' (temporary)
- b. **ha tsi-xerere anuk.*

On the other hand, we have examples such as the one below:

- (88) a. *limawn chichi*
 lime sour
 'sour lime' [adjective as a noun modifier]
- b. *limawn tsi-chichi yumane.*
 lime TSI-sour Intens
 'The lime is very sour/spicy.' [here, adjective is a predicate]

It might be that such variations are due to dialectal differences (the last example was provided by an older consultant).

d. in a predicate with verbal-predicate configuration, adjectives cannot be negated by *tak*, only by *anuk*, indicating a temporary characteristic. Verbs are negated by *tak*, not by *anuk*:

- (89) a. *ha eni eni anuk.*
 1 dirty Neg
 'I am not dirty.' (temporary)
- b. **ha eni eni tak.*

- (90) a. *ha xerere anuk.*
 1 wet Neg
 'I am not wet. (temporary)
- b. * *ha xerere tak.*
- (91) a. *iyi tore anuk.*
 IYI white Neg
 'It's not white.' (temporary)
- b. * *iyi tore tak.*

e. adjectives can be negated by *tak* only if the word order is the one of nominal predicate, that is, Pred Subj (Cop). In this case, the adjective indicates a temporary characteristic and can receive *tsi-*. Nouns are not negated by *tak*, only by *anuk*:

- (92) *eni eni tak iyi-n.*
 dirty Neg IYI-Abs
 'He is not dirty.' (temporary)
- (93) *tore tak ka_in iyi-n.*
 white Neg Foc/Tens IYI-3Abs
 'He is not white.' (temporary)¹⁵

f. adjectives allow the combination [*tsi-Adj-tke ka_in Subj Cop*], with the sense of 'Desiderative', not 'Privative'. Verbs are also modified by the 'Desiderative' and the 'Privative' morphemes (cf. chapter 4 for details), but in specific word orders:

'Desiderative' > [S V-tke ka_in]
 'Privative' > [V-tke ke ka_in Subj Copula]

- (94) a. *tsi-xerere-tke ka-in ha chi.*
 TSI-wet-Desid Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I want to become wet.'
- b. **xerere-tke ka_in ha chi.*
 (I want to become wet)

see the contrast with verbs:

- (95) a. *ha sone-tke ka_in.*
 1 drink-Desid Foc/Tens
 'I want to drink.'

¹⁵ The difference between [*iyi tore anuk*] and [*tore tak ka_in iyin*] is not clear, but it will be explored in chapter 5, in the section on attributive predicates.

b. **sone-tke ka_in ha chi.*

(I want to drink)

c. *sone-tke ke ka_in ha chi.*

drink-Priv KE Foc/Tens 1 Cop

'I am a person that is not a drinker.'

[not 'Desiderative', but 'Privative' sense]

As examples of adjectives that exhibit the characteristics described above, we can mention adjectives for colors (*tore* 'white', *naxu* 'yellow', *homaŋ* 'red', *ayu* 'blue', *daŋ* 'black') and adjectives related to physical attributes of entities (*xerere* 'wet', *atuk* 'tall/long', *nacha* 'curved', *supi* 'bitter', *xe'ne* 'rotten', *chichi* 'sour', *mo* 'stinky', *xu'tsa* 'cold', etc.). The class of adjectives in Trumai seems to be an open class, with many members.

Adjectives can also be modified by the Relativizer *ke* and *-t'(a)*. The combination adjective + *ke* refers to an entity who is always in the state X (i.e. one who has the characteristic of being in the state X), while adjective + *-t'(a)* refers to the causer of entering in the state of X:

(96) *daŋ -ke*
 wet-RIzr
 'a black one'

(97) *ha wakadima-t'*
 1 happy-Nzr
 'the one that make me happy' (lit: my cause of happiness, my "happy-maker")

In attributive predicates, we find the combination adjective + *ke* expressing the idea of the subject being 'one who has the characteristic/attribute of X', and the

combination adjective + t'(a) + ke, expressing the idea of the subject being ‘one who had the characteristic/attribute of X’ (or, in other words, one who has [the ex-attribute of X]). In the last case, the presence of *-ke* is always attested after *-t'(a)*, which makes us think that in attributive predicates, the contrast between ‘current characteristic /attribute’ and ‘past or ex-characteristic /attribute’ involves not the use of *-t'(a)*, but rather *-t'(a)ke*.¹⁶ In this sense, adjectives are different from nouns, which distinguish ‘noun’ and ‘past or ex-noun’ on the basis of the presence of only *-t'(a)*.

(98) *nacha ke ka_in ha chi.*
 curved RlZR Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am curved (permanently)’. (lit: I am a curved one.)

(99) a. *nacha-t'ke ka_in ha chi.*
 curved-Nrz+RlZR Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I was curved.’ (I am a ex-curved one.)

b. **nacha-t' ka_in ha chi.*

One remark about the Relativizer is that when we observe *ke* modifying adjectives in predicates, we can see that the element modified by *ke* can present internal variations, such as the ones in the example below (although is not clear yet what the semantic difference between (a) and (b) would be):

¹⁶ That is actually for permanent past characteristic/attribute. For a temporary one, the use of the Focus/Tense particle *chi_in* indicates the idea of past:

(i) *ha nacha ka_in*
 1 curved. Foc/Tens
 ‘I am curved’ (temporarily - e.g. sitting in a boat, in a bad posture)

(ii) *ha nacha chi(_in).*
 1 curved Foc/Tens
 ‘I was curved’ (temporarily)

- (100) a. *[eni eni] ke ka_in misu chi.*
 dirty RlZR Foc/Tens water Cop
 ‘The water is always dirty (at a specific place).’
- b. *[eni eni ka_in] ke misu chi.*
 dirty Foc/Tens RlZR water Cop
 ‘The water is always dirty (at a specific place).’
 [here *ke* modifies an adjective that is being highlighted by *ka_in*]

Finally, with regard to temporary characteristics expressed by adjectives, the difference between being in a state and entering into a state is signaled not through special morphology on the adjective, but through the use of the Focus/Tense particle in combination with the adverb *de* ‘already’:

- (101) *ha mut xerere ka in.*
 1 dress wet Foc/Tens
 ‘My dress is wet.’
- (102) *ha mut xerere ka de in.*
 1 dress wet Foc/Tens-already
 ‘My dress is becoming wet.’ or ‘My dress became wet.’

2.2.5. Words of quantification: numerals and quantifiers

As already mentioned, numerals and quantifiers come before the noun they modify. Both sets are closed and can be grouped together in the same category, that will be called here ‘words of quantification’, since that is their function. The sets are the following:

- **Numerals:** Although speakers offer numerals from 1 to 10, they usually use only the numerals from 1 to 5.

(1884) presents a list with numbers from 10 to 20, where the word for ‘foot’ (*pits*) is involved. Some speakers nowadays are trying to recover these higher numerals through reconstruction, that is, they combine the already known terms in order to form a specific high numeral; for example:

(103) *huch k'ad kel wanle kan , mihin pa wakpechkun*
 two hand finger finish ? one finger cross
 ‘eleven (lit: 2 hands, one finger crosses (to the foot))¹⁸

• **Quantifiers:**

Table 2.10. Quantifiers used by some speakers

	Countable Entites	NonCountable Entites
many/a lot	<i>a'di</i>	<i>pix</i>
few/a little	<i>a'di tak</i> (many-Neg)	<i>pix tak</i> (a lot-Neg)

Table 2.11. Quantifiers used by most speakers

	Countable Entites	NonCountable Entites
many/a lot	<i>a'di</i>	<i>pix</i>
few/a little	<i>pix tak</i> (a lot-Neg)	

Table 2.12. Other quantifiers

All	<i>yupun</i>
Some	<i>mihimihin</i> (‘one’ reduplicated) or <i>yupun tak</i> (all-Neg), in few instances
None	-----

In relation to the quantifiers, we observe that there is variation among the speakers about the words for ‘few’ and ‘a little’: some speakers still preserve the count/noncount

¹⁸ According to Steinen (1884:182), the term for ‘eleven’ was: *mihin pitsa* ‘one-foot (or finger of foot?)’. As we can see, here the word for ‘hands’ would be implicit (or perhaps the term presented by Steinen is just a short version of the term for ‘eleven’).

distinction for small quantities (*a'di tak* versus *pix tak* - cf. table 2.10), but the majority of the speakers have lost the distinction, preserving it only for high quantities (cf. table

2.11). Examples:

- (104) *a'di ka_in k'ate yi.*
 many Foc/Tens fish YI
 'There are many fish.' (or: The fish are many/big in quantity.)
- (105) *pix ka_in misu yi.*
 a.lot Foc/Tens water YI
 'There is a lot of water' (or: The water is big in quantity).
- (106) a. *a'di tak ka_in k'ate yi.*
 many Neg Foc/Tens fish YI
 'There are few fish.' (or: The fish are not many.) [some speakers]
- b. *pix tak ka_in k'ate yi.*
 a.lot Neg Foc/Tens fish YI
 'There are few fish.' (or: The fish are not many.) [most speakers]
- (107) *pix tak ka_in misu yi.*
 a.lot Neg Foc/Tens water YI
 'There is little water.' (or: The water is not big in quantity/not much)

There is also an alternative form for the expression of small quantities, the word *paɕ* 'few', which actually implies that the portion of something is very small. This word probably was originally an adjective that was Extended to express quantification, too:
 'The thing is small.' > 'The quantity is small.' > 'There are few instances of the thing.'

The word *paɕ* can be used instead of *pix tak*.¹⁹ Examples:

- (108) *atlat paɕ*
 clay.pan small
 'small clay.pan'

¹⁹ Conversely, sometimes *pix tak* is used to express small size:

- (i) *ni'de tlep yi ka_in pix tak.*
 this feather YI Foc/Tens a.lot not
 'This feather is small.'

- (109) a. *a'di ka_in t'ak yi.*
 many Foc/Tens manioc.bread YI
 'There are many rounds of manioc bread.'
- b. *pix tak ka_in t'ak yi.*
 a.lot Neg Foc/Tens manioc.bread YI
 'There are few (not many) rounds of manioc bread.'
- c. *pat ka_in t'ak yi*
 small Foc/Tens manioc.bread YI
 'There are very few manioc breads (only pieces of bread).'

Finally, there is no specific word for the expression of 'none'. In order to express that, it is necessary to negate the verb:

- (110) a. *[yupun kiki wan] katnon take.*
 all man PL work Desid
 'All men want to work.'
- b. *[mihimihin kiki wan] katnon take.*
 some man PL work Desid
 'Some men want to work.'
- c. *katnon take tak [kiki wan yi].*
 work Desid Neg man PL YI
 'No man wants to work.' (lit: The men do not want to work.)
- (111) a. *ha hu'tsa chi_in [yupun adis taxer]-as.*
 I see Foc/Tens all Indian wild-Dat
 'I saw all the Indians.'
- b. *hu'tsa tak chi_in ha chi [adis taxer]-as*
 see Neg Foc/Tens I Cop Indian wild-Dat
 'I saw no Indian.' (lit: I did not see Indians)

Besides modifying a head noun inside an NP, words of quantification can also be found as the predicate of a clause (cf. chapter 5 on non-verbal predicates) or as a focused unit, in the beginning of the sentence, followed by one of the Focus/Tense particles (*ka_in*

or *chĩ_in*). In this last case, the word of quantification appears by itself in the constituent, while the noun that it quantifies is in another constituent, which can follow *ka_in* / *chĩ_in* or not. Examples:

Word of quantification in an NP, directly modifying the noun:

- (112) *ha elka ka_in [huch tahu]-s.*
 1 buy Foc/Tens two knife-Dat
 ‘I bought two knives.’
- (113) *ha hu'tsa ka_in [a'di fe'de]-s.*
 1 see Foc/Tens many jaguar-Dat
 ‘I saw many jaguars.’
- (114) a. *ha hu'tsa chĩ_in [yupun adis taxer]-as.*
 1 see Foc/Tens all Indian wild-Dat
 ‘I saw all the Indians.’
- b. *[yupun di wan] sa-tke.*
 all woman PL dance-Desid
 ‘All the women want to dance.’
- (115) *[mihimihin di wan] sa-tke.*
 some woman PL dance-Desid
 ‘Some women want to dance.’

Word of quantification in first position:

- (116) *[huch] ka_in ha elka [tahu]-s*
 two Foc/Tens 1 buy knife-Dat
 ‘I bought two knives.’ (lit: Two knives I bought.)
- (117) a. *[a'di] ka_in ha hu'tsa [fe'de]-s.*
 many Foc/Tens 1 see jaguar-Dat
 ‘I saw many jaguars.’ (lit: Many jaguars I saw.)
- b. *[a'di] ka_in [fe'de]-s ha hu'tsa.*
 many Foc/Tens jaguar-Dat 1 see
 ‘I saw many jaguars.’ (lit: Many jaguars I saw.)
- (118) a. *[yupun] chĩ_in [adis taxer]-as ha hu'tsa.*
 all Foc/Tens Indian wild-Dat 1 see
 ‘I saw all the Indians.’ (lit: All Indians I saw.)

b. [yupun] ka_in [di wan] sa-tke.
 all Foc/Tens woman PL dance-Desid
 'All women want to dance.'

(119) a. [mihimihin] ka_in [di wan] sa-tke.
 some Foc/Tens woman PL dance-Desid
 'Some women want to dance.'

b. [yupun tak] ka_in [di wan] sa-tke.
 all Neg Foc/Tens woman PL dance-Desid
 'Some women want to dance.' (lit: Not all the women want to dance)

In the examples (116-119) above, there is no problem of ambiguity in relation to which element is being quantified by the focused word of quantification: the quantifier is modifying a noun (i.e. 'knife', 'jaguar', etc.) and not the action itself (i.e. 'buy', 'see'), since verbs have a special modifier on their own, *yumane* 'a.lot/very much'. In fact, if we try to modify a verb with *a'di* 'many', speakers do not accept it (example below).²⁰

(120) **ha* [hu'tsa a'di] ka_in fe'de-s.
 I see many Foc/Tens jaguar-Dat
 'I saw jaguars a lot.'

The NPs in the instances above do not offer problems with respect to which one is being quantified, because they involve 1st versus 3rd person (113-114a) or because there is only one NP in the clause (114b-115).

The problem exists when we have two 3rd person NPs, given that both can be the target of the quantification. In order to identify which NP is being quantified, we have to

²⁰ Actually, the quantifier *pix* can modify a verb if the verb is Intransitive (or if it is Extended Intransitive without DAT). It seems that there are semantic differences between the use of the quantifier *pix* and the use of the intensifier *yumane* (e.g. *pix chi_in ha sone*. 'I drank a lot.' versus *ha sone yumane chi_in*. 'I drank very much.'). See chapter 3, section 3.3.1 for more details.

observe two main facts: the kind of NPs involved in the clause and if they are modified by pluralizers or not.

(i) In Transitive clauses: the focused quantifier always refers to A, even when it is not pluralized (however, speakers prefer to use the pluralizer for it), but the quantifier will not refer to O, because it seems that it is not possible to focus a quantifier that modifies O:

(121) **Many** **A-plur** **O-non.pl** **V**
a'di chi(_in) [kiki wan yi]-k [di yi] amidoxos.
 many Foc/Tens man PL YI-Erg woman YI call
 'Many men called the woman.'

(122) **Many** **A-plur** **O-plur** **V**
a'di chi(_in) [kiki wan yi]-k [di wan yi] amidoxos.
 many Foc/Tens man PL YI-Erg woman PL YI call
 'Many men called the women.'

(123) **Many** **A-non.pl** **O-non.pl** **V**
a'di chi(_in) [kiki yi]-k [di yi] amidoxos.
 many Foc/Tens man YI-Erg woman YI call
 'Many men called the woman.'
 [speakers do not like this kind of clause; they prefer to use the pluralizer]

(124) a. **Many** **A-non.pl** **O-pl** **V**
**a'di chi(_in) [kiki yi]-k [di wan yi] amidoxos.*
 many Foc/Tens man YI-Erg woman PL YI call

b. **A** **O** **V**
[kiki yi]-k [a'di di wan yi] amidoxos.
 man YI-Erg many woman PL YI call
 'The man called many women.'

(ii) In Extended Intransitive clauses: if S is modified by a pluralizer, the word of quantification refers to it, otherwise it refers to DAT, unless both NPs are pluralized (in this case, the word of quantification applies to both S and DAT):

- (125) **Many** **S-plur** **DAT-non.pl**
a'di chĩ(_in) [kiki wan yi] chafa [di yi]-ki.
 many Foc/Tens man PL YI call woman YI-Dat
 'Many men called the woman.'

- (126) **Two** **S-dual** **DAT-non.pl**
huch ka_in [kiki a yi] chafa [di yi]-ki.
 two Foc/Tens man Dual YI call woman YI-Dat
 'Two men called the woman.'

- (127) **Many** **S-non.pl** **DAT-non-pl**
a'di ka(_in) [kiki yi] chafa [di yi]-ki.
 many Foc/Tens man YI call woman YI-Dat
 'The man called many women.'

[actually, this example is a little "artificial" (i.e. prepared for elicitation). A more natural one would have the pluralizer in the dative NP: *di wan yi-ki*]

- (128) **Two** **S-non.pl** **DAT-non.pl**
huch ka_in [kiki yi] chafa [di yi]-ki.
 two Foc/Tens man YI call woman YI-Dat
 'The man called two women.'

[actually, this example is also a little "artificial". A more natural one is: *kiki yi chafa ka_in di a yi-ki.*]

If both S and DAT are both pluralized:

- (129) **Many** **S-plur** **DAT-plur**
a'di ka(_in) [kiki wan yi] chafa [di wan yi]-ki.
 many Foc/Tens man PL YI call woman PL YI-Dat
 'Many men called many women.'

Two final remarks with regard to the words of quantification: sometimes it is possible to find the word of quantification not in the first position, but at the end; in this case, it is separated from the rest of the clause by a pause (130-132 below). Also, quantifiers can be modified by the intensity particle *yumane*, which modifies various kinds of elements (cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.1); see example (132):

- (130) *ha elka ka_in tahu-s, huch.*
 1 buy Foc/Tens knife-Dat two
 ‘I bought knives, two.’
- (131) *ha hu'tsa ka_in fe'de-s, a'di.*
 1 see Foc/Tens jaguar-Dat many
 ‘I saw jaguars, many.’
- (132) *pix tak yumane ka_in k'ate yi.*
 a.lot Neg intens Foc/Tens fish YI
 ‘There are very few fishes.’

2.2.6. Pluralizers

The Trumai pluralizers are words used for identifying an NP as non-singular, that is, an NP which refers to more than one entity. The two pluralizers are *a* ‘Dual’ and *wan* ‘Plural’. Contrary to what was said in previous studies on Trumai (Guirardello 1992), where these morphemes were treated as clitics, the pluralizers can be considered independent words, since they can stand by themselves phonologically. As already mentioned in section 2.1., the pluralizers occur in an NP after the element they modify (noun, pronoun) but if there is no head noun, the pluralizer then stands by itself in the NP.

When there is a NP-possessor in the major NP, the pluralizer can modify the NP-possessor (133a), or the possessed head noun (134), or both, depending on the meaning to be expressed (135):

- (133) a. [[kiki a] adifle hero^hen yi]
 man Dual sister beautiful YI
 'the beautiful sister of the two men'
- b. *[[huch kiki a] adifle hero^hen yi]
- (134) [huch [kiki] adifle hero^hen a yi]
 two man sister beautiful Dual YI
 'the two beautiful sisters of the man'
- (135) [[kiki wan] adifle hero^hen a yi]
 man PL sister beautiful Dual YI
 'the two beautiful sisters of the men'

Another possible word for indication the notion of 'non-singularity' is the noun *paine* 'collective'. It seems that this word is on its way to becoming a grammatical morpheme, because very often its form is reduced to *pa*, almost forming a phonological unit with the element it modifies:

- (136) a. *axos paine*
 'collective of children (i.e. all the children in the village)'
- b. *axos pa*
 'collective of children'.

The pluralizers modify only nouns that refer to animate beings. Their use is not allowed with nouns referring to inanimate entities.

In the case of **animate** nouns, the role of the NP in the clause has an influence on the presence or absence of the pluralizer. S, A and O require the use of the pluralizer, and that is true for both NPs with nouns referring to **human** entities and NPs with nouns referring to **animate, non-humans**. For example:

A:

- (137) A O V
 [karaiw wan]-ek pike kapan.
 non.Indian PL-Erg house make
 'The non Indians made houses.'

- (138) A O V
 [kiki a yi]-k atlat yi mapa.
 man Dual YI-Erg clay.pan YI break
 'The two men broke the pan.'

- (139) A O V
 [kasoro daɣ' wan yi]-k ka_in ha tako.
 dog black PL YI-Erg Foc/Tens 1 bite
 'The black dogs bit me.'

S:

- (140) S V
 [di wan] sa kawa.
 woman PL dance go
 'The women go to dance.'

- (141) S V
 [huch kiki a yi] chetsi.
 two man Dual YI fall
 'Two men fell.'

- (142) S V
 [huch kasoro daɣ' a yi] yaro.
 two dog black Dual YI bark
 'Two black dogs barked.'

O:

- (143) O A V
 [di herohen wan yi] ka_in hai-ts umu-ktsi ke.
 woman beautiful PL YI Foc/Tens 1-Erg bring-Direc KE
 'I brought beautiful women.'

- (144) O V A
 [huch karakarako a yi] disi hai-ts.
 two chicken Dual YI kill 1-Erg
 'I killed two chickens.'

- S V DAT
 (150) *ha fa fa chĩ_in [a'di kasoro]-s.*
 1 hit hit Foc/Tens many dog-Dat
 'I hit/beat many dogs.' [quant., no pluralizer/collect.]

- S V DAT
 (151) *ha fa ka_in [huch karakarako]-s.*
 1 hit/kil I Foc/Tens two chicken-Dat
 'I killed two chickens.' [num., no pluralizer/collect]

However, sometimes there is no pluralizer, numeral or quantifier in the Dative NP, and yet the NP have a 'plural' sense. That occurs when the Dative marker *-(V)s* is used:

- S V DAT
 (152) *ha hu'tsa chĩ_in [kasoro]-tl.*
 1 see Foc/Tens dog-Dat
 'I saw the dog.' [no pluralizer; marker *-tl*=Sg]

- S V DAT
 (153) *ha hu'tsa chĩ_in [kasoro]-s.*
 1 see Foc/Tens dog-Dat
 'I saw dogs' [no pluralizer, marker *-(V)s*=Pl]

The difference between the Dative markers *-tl* and *-(V)s* will be explored in chapter 7. The important point here is that the absence of a pluralizer in a Dative NP with an animate non-human noun does not necessarily mean 'singular' (as can be seen in example (153)).

In the case of **inanimate** nouns, the use of the pluralizer is not possible. It seems that the kind of NP where the noun occurs does not matter for licensing the use of the pluralizer or not; it is really the semantic characteristic of the noun (inanimate) that is the

important factor here. The exception seems to be S, which would allow the optional use of pluralizers with inanimate beings, like in example (154b);²¹ but even in this case the consultants were not completely sure of the use of the Dual.

S:

(154) a. *[huch karaiw mut yi] chetsi.*
 two non.Indian dress YI fall
 ‘Two dresses fell.’

b. *[huch karaiw mut a yi] chetsi.*
 two non.Indian dress Dual YI fall
 ‘Two dresses fell.’

[the consultant thinks this is possible, but prefers to use example (a)]

O:

(155) a. *[karaiw mut herohen yi] ka_in hai-ts umu-ktsi ke.*
 non.Indian dress beautiful YI Foc/Tens 1-Erg bring-Direc KE
 ‘I brought beautiful dresses.’ (lit: I brought beautiful dress.)
 [it can be one or more dresses. Dress here functions as a kind of mass noun].

b. **[karaiw mut herohen wan yi] ka_in hai-ts umu-ktsi ke.*
 (I brought beautiful dresses.)

(156) a. *[huch karaiw mut yi] kuhmu hai-ts.*
 two non.Indian dress YI throw 1-Erg
 ‘I threw away two dresses.’

²¹ Unfortunately, in the corpus there are few instances with inanimate A (the example (i) is an instance of inanimate A). The other examples obtained are actually causative constructions, and the inanimate agent is always in the singular (or it is ambiguous with regard to number).

(i) *fade-k ka_in ha xol.*
 flu-Erg Foc/Tens 1 get
 ‘The flu got me.’

(ii) *lemxo-k ka_in ha lax mox ka.*
 wound-Erg Foc/Tens 1 nose swell Caus
 ‘The wound made my nose swell.’

(iii) *kawixu-k ka_de_in miso ka.*
 rain-Erg Foc/Tens-already river.full Caus
 ‘The rain (actually, a series of rains) made the river full.’

(several rounds)'. However, the other roles do not have several options for marker - there being only one marker for each kind: *-ek/-k* 'Ergative'; *-∅* 'Absolutive. Probably the non-use of pluralizers with nouns referring to inanimate entities has to do with the fact that inanimates do not have the same saliency and topicality as human animate nouns; since they are not so salient, there is less motivation for expressing refined information (such as number) about them. Besides that, the presence of numbers and quantifiers can already do the job of indicating difference in number. Actually, these facts are also true for animate noun-human nouns that are DAT (examples (150-151) above). Event participants codified as DAT in general have low topicality, especially the animate non-human or the inanimate ones. Thus, they are less likely to take pluralizer information.

However, we have also to consider that the use of pluralizers in Trumai cannot be accounted only in terms of semantic and topicality factors, after all, some languages of the world do mark plural on NPs with inanimate nouns. Therefore, we must also recognize the conventionalized modes of expression found in each language; that is, while some languages "choose" to present refined information even with inanimate NPs, other languages, like Trumai, do not.

2.2.7. The noun phrase final morpheme *iyi*

There is in Trumai a morpheme *iyi/yi* whose function is difficult to understand.²²

This morpheme is exceptionally frequent, especially in the speech of younger Trumai.

²² In Guirardello (1992) the analysis proposed for this morpheme is a little different from that proposed here: the basic phonological form of morpheme would be *̣i*, and *ịi* would be its form after reduplication (*iyi* would be the phonetic form, with insertion of *y* between the vowels, in order to avoid the sequence of vowels). However, it seems to be more plausible to think that *iyi* is the full form - which becomes *yi* after reduction - than to think that *̣i* is the basic form, with reduplication and insertion of the glide, because we can think of an explanation for the reduction (with the presence of a lexical item in the NP, we do not need

Syntactically, it always occurs as the rightmost element of an 3rd person NP.

When there is a lexical item, pronoun or pluralizer in the NP, we have the reduced form *yi*, even though sometimes it is also possible to have the full form *iyi* (the use seems to vary from speaker to speaker). Examples:

- (159) [*di herohen yi*] *pech ka_in*.
 woman beautiful run Foc/Tens
 ‘The beautiful girl is running. [N ADJ YI]
- (160) [*inatl yi*] *pech ka_in*.
 3Pr(Fem) run Foc/Tens
 ‘She is running.’ [PRONOUN YI]
- (161) [*ka'natl yi*] *pech ka_in*.
 that.one(Fem) run Foc/Tens
 ‘She (that one) is running. [PRONOUN YI]
- (162) *etsi-n ale hen [inak a yi]-k*.
 carry-3Abs hearsay then 3 Dual -Erg
 ‘Then, they two carried him.’ [PRONOUN DUAL YI]²³
- (163) [*wan yi*] *pech-e ka_in*.
 PL run-3Abs Foc/Tens
 ‘They are running.’ [PLURAL YI]
- (164) [*axos iyi*] *u ka_in*.
 child born Foc/Tens
 ‘The child is born.’ [FULL FORM W/ LEXICAL ITEM]

When there is no lexical item, pronoun, or pluralizer in the NP, we always have the full form:

a full form of the morpheme), but it is more complicated to think of an explanation for the reduplication, since the phenomenon of reduplication in Trumai has specific motivations that do not match the scenario we have here (cf. chapter 1.3.2).

²³The occurrence of *yi* with the pluralizer *wan* ‘Plural’ is often attested, but its occurrence with *a* ‘Dual’ seems to be even more frequent.

- (165) [*iyi*] *pech-e ka_in.*
 run-3Abs Foc/Tens
 ‘She/he is running.’ [ONLY IYI]

This morpheme can occur in an NP in any morphological case. In the case of Ergative and Dative, the case marker attaches to it:

- (166) a. *hai-ts [pola yi] kuhmu.*
 1-Erg ball throw
 ‘I kicked (lit: threw) the ball.’ [ABSOLUTIVE]
- b. [*ni’dak wan yi*]-*k chi_in ha disi.*
 that.one PL -Erg Foc/Tens 1 beat
 ‘They (these ones) beat me.’ [ERGATIVE]
- c. *ha hu’tsa [fe’de faxlo yi]-ki.*
 I see jaguar son -Dat
 ‘I saw a young jaguar.’ (lit: son/child of jaguar) [DATIVE]

In texts, we observe that *yi* often occurs in NPs with a head noun (occurring with both indefinite and definite nouns), and much less often with NPs with a head-pronoun. The full form *iyi* is also quite frequent, occurring in cases when the noun is not mentioned due to discourse continuity (i.e. zero anaphora). The morpheme is also often found in NPs in which the head noun is modified by an adjective.

- (167) *iwir fap̄i-s ka_in ma ke [huruts yi].*
 wood ear-Dat Foc/Tens eat KE river.turtle
 ‘The river turtle eats wood ears.’ [text about the river.turtle]

- (168) a. *ina hen [puk yi] homne hai-ts.*
 there then curassow find/meet 1-Erg
 ‘There I found a curassow (kind of bird).’
- b. *in-is hen [iyi] ki-n hai-ts.*
 it-Dat then kill-3Abs 1-Erg
 ‘Then (lit: in it (it=event of meeting the bird)) I killed it.’

- (169) *ha hu'tsa chi(_in) [adis kek herohen _yi]-ki.*
 1 see Foc/Tens Indian individual beautiful -Dat
 'I saw the beautiful Indian.'

It is difficult to determine the semantic contribution of this morpheme to the NP where it occurs. The morpheme (*i*)*yi* is reminiscent of many things, but is not consistently any of them:

(1) not a pronoun: the allomorph *iyi* occurs by itself in the NP; therefore, it might be considered pronominal. The allomorph *yi* can occur in an NP that has a 3rd person pronoun, that is, [Pro *yi*]. If we say that *yi* is also pronominal, then we would have two pronouns in the same NP, a fact not otherwise attested in Trumai. Therefore, we have to conclude that *yi* is not pronominal. But then, can a morpheme have an allomorph that is pronominal (*iyi*) and another one (*yi*) that is not? And if the allomorph *iyi* is really pronominal, why can it not receive case marking by itself? We cannot have [*iyi*]-*ki* (Dative) nor [*iyi*]-*k* (Ergative), only [noun *yi*]-*ki* or [noun *iyi*]-*k*, as in the example (166) above. As we can see, there are problems in considering the morpheme (*i*)*yi* a pronoun.

(2) not an indicator of definiteness: at first sight, we could imagine that (*i*)*yi* is a definite article, given its frequency of use, its occurrence in 3rd person noun phrases, and its position in the NP (i.e., the rightmost element). The problem is that this morpheme also occurs with indefinite NPs, as we can see in the example (168a) above, and it co-occurs with pronouns (examples 160-161). Therefore, we cannot call it a definite article. On the other hand, it is noticeable that the use of (*i*)*yi* is more frequent among the young speakers, who are all bilingual in Portuguese (our unquantified impression is that older

people use *(i)yi* much less frequently than younger speakers). It might be that the high use of definite articles in Portuguese - which are employed even with proper names - is influencing the younger speakers of Trumai, and perhaps because of such influence, these speakers are attributing new functions to *(i)yi*. However, this is just a hypothesis that needs to be explored.

(3) not an indicator of referentiality: we could say that the morpheme *(i)yi* is linked to the expression of referentiality, because many of the NPs where *(i)yi* occurs have a referent (if it is identifiable or not to the listener is another question). The problem is to deal with examples such as (170):

- (170) *[yaw-t'a yi] ka_in [piɽik yi].*
 human.being-NzrEx Foc/Tens monkey
 ‘The monkey was a human being.’ (lit: the monkey is an ex-human being)

In (170), the NP *[yaw-t'a yi]* is the **predicate** of the clause; so, what is being made here is a predication, rather than a simple reference. It is true that the predicate in (170) is nominal, and nominal predicates can be referential. The question is to explain the occurrence of *yi* both in the subject and the predicate. If the function of the morpheme *(i)yi* is merely to indicate referentiality, why do we have the “overuse” observed in the example above? What is the motivation for that?

There are cases in which the occurrence of the morpheme *(i)yi* is even harder to understand: sometimes *(i)yi* can alternate with the Copula *chi*, such as in the example below:

(171) *t-eche ka_in chi-n.*
 3Poss-husband Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 ‘He is her husband.’

(172) *t-eche ka_in iyi-n.*
 3-Poss-husband Foc/Tens IYI-3Abs
 ‘He is her husband’

This occurrence of *(i)yi* is more complex than the other ones, because in examples (159-164), *(i)yi* is clearly NP-final, while here the structure of the clause is obscure.

We have two possible ways of approaching this case: (i) to say that the morpheme *(i)yi* here is still NP-final; (ii) to say that *(i)yi* here is a different morpheme. Let start our discussion with the second possibility.

Since *(i)yi* alternates with the Copula *chi*, we could call it a “Copula” as well. In this case, example (172) is not problematic. What if the clause has *chi* as Copula, and there is a morpheme *yi* in the nominal predicate, like in (173-174) below? In this case, we could say that *yi* in (173-174) is not a “Copula”, since the clause already has one, but rather the NP-final morpheme.

	Pred		Subj	Cop
(173)	<i>[Aria che yi]</i>	<i>ka_in</i>	<i>Tawapi</i>	<i>chi.</i>
	Aria husband	Foc/Tens	Tawapi	Cop
	‘Tawapi is Aria’s husband (new info).’			

	Subj	Cop		Pred
(174)	<i>Tawapi</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>ka_in</i>	<i>[Aria che yi].</i>
	Tawapi	Cop	Foc/Tens	Aria husband
	‘Tawapi (new info) is Aria’s husband.’			

The question is how to deal with examples in which the clause does not have the Copula *chi*, and there is a morpheme *yi*. Is this *yi* the “Copula” or the NP-final morpheme? For instance:

- (175) *atsiwe tak yi ka_in Maria.*
 mother(voc) name Foc/Tens Mary
 ‘The name of my mother is Mary.’

Example (173) above suggests the analysis in (176a) below. However, it would not be unreasonable to propose the analysis in (176b), since: (a) the order [S Cop Pred] is attested with the Copula *chi*; (b) *(i)yi* can be parallel to the Copula *chi*, as in example (172); (c) the nominal predicate does not always need to have the NP-final morpheme *yi*²⁴).

- (176) a.

P		Subj
a. [<i>atsiwe tak</i>	<u><i>yi</i></u>	<i>ka_in Maria.</i>

- b.

Subj	“Cop”	P
b. <i>atsiwe tak</i>	<u><i>yi</i></u>	<i>ka_in [Maria].</i>

The same would be true for examples in which two morphemes *yi* occur, such as (177) below. Should we analyze this example as (177a) or (177b)? Should we also consider the alternatives (177c) and (177d)?

- (177) *tupe yar pi'tsi wan yi ka_in Kayapi wan yi.*
 fan owner true PL Foc/Tens Kayabi PL
 ‘The Kayabis are the true owners (i.e. the inventors) of the fan made of straw.’

²⁴ Actually, not even the Copula is always necessarily present in an equative predicate:

- (i) *atsiwe tak Maria.*
 mother(voc) name Mary
 ‘The name of my mother is Mary.’

possible analysis of example (177):

- (177) a. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Pred} & & \text{Subj} \quad \text{“Cop”} \\ [tupe \text{ yar } pi'tsi \text{ wan } \underline{yi}] & ka_in & Kayapi \text{ wan } \underline{yi}. \end{array}$
- b. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Subj} & \text{“Cop”} & \text{Pred} \\ tupe \text{ yar } pi'tsi \text{ wan } \underline{yi} & & ka_in \text{ [} Kayapi \text{ wan } \underline{yi} \text{]}. \end{array}$
- c. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Pred} & & \text{Subj} \quad \text{Cop} \\ [tupe \text{ yar } pi'tsi \text{ wan } \underline{yi}] & ka_in & \text{[} Kayapi \text{ wan } \underline{yi} \text{]} \emptyset. \end{array}$
- d. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Subj} & \text{Cop} & \text{Pred} \\ [tupe \text{ yar } pi'tsi \text{ wan } \underline{yi}] \emptyset & ka_in & \text{[} Kayapi \text{ wan } \underline{yi} \text{]} \end{array}$

As we can see, to say that the morpheme (*i*)*yi* in some environments is a “Copula” is not helpful; on the contrary, it makes the general scenario even more complicated, as in examples (176-177) above. Therefore, it still seems better to say that the morpheme *yi* in such examples is also NP-final, with the difference that the Copula *chi* does not occur there. Then, in the example (172), we probably would have this structure:

Pred Foc/Tens [*iyi*]_{NP} \emptyset -enclitic
| _____ copula

Since the enclitic always occur at the last element of the VP, and since the Copula is missing, the enclitic would then occur on the last element of the subject NP. A parallel example can be seen in which the enclitic occurs on the pluralizer *wan*, which seems even less amenable to a Copula analysis:

- (178) *falti* *tak* *wan-e*
be.ashamed Neg PL-3Abs
'They are not ashamed.'
- V Neg [*wan*]_{NP} \emptyset -3Abs
| _____ copula

2.3. Postpositions and case markers

As already mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, a noun phrase in Trumai can be followed by phrasal enclitics that indicate its grammatical case (these enclitics will be called ‘case markers’) or postpositions. Let us analyze these elements in more detail.

The **case markers** are *-ak /-ek /-k* ‘Ergative’, *-atl /-etl /-tl* ‘Dative’, *-ki* ‘Dative’, *-as /-es /-s* ‘Dative’, *-an/-en/-n* ‘Locative’²⁵, and *-kate/-kte* ‘Genitive’. The allomorphs with vowels attach to words ending in consonants, while the other one attaches to words ending in vowels. The variation between the allomorphs with the vowel /e/ (the ‘Ergative’ enclitic *-ek* and the Dative enclitics *-etl* and *-es*) and the allomorphs with the vowel /a/ (*-ak* ‘Ergative’, *-atl* ‘Dative’, *-as* ‘Dative’) seems to be lexically rather than semantically or phonologically conditioned, since:

- it is not the semantics of the head noun that matters, because two NPs can have the same head and still receive different markers (e.g. [*karaiw*]-*ak* ‘non.Indian-Erg’ ; [*karaiw wan*]-*ek* ‘non.Indian-PL-Erg’);
- it seems that it is not phonological conditioned either, because there are no strict rules that govern the selection of an allomorph with the vowel /e/ or /a/. Rather, there is this tendency: if the last word of the NP ends in stop, nasal, or lateral fricative,²⁶ it receives an allomorph with the vowel /e/ (180), and if it ends in an approximant, tap, fricative, or lateral, it receives an allomorph with the vowel /a/ (181). However, it is

²⁵ Even though the ‘Locative’ *-n* is similar in form to the 3Abs enclitic *-n*, they are not the same, since the ‘Locative’ has the allomorphs *-en* and *-an* for nouns ending in a consonant, while *-e* is the allomorph of the 3Abs enclitic for verbs ending in a consonant.

²⁶ Just a reminder: in the Trumai orthography, ɬ represents the lateral fricative and ç represents the palatal fricative.

possible to find specific words ending in a stop or nasal that receive /a/ (182a), as well as specific words ending in fricative or lateral that receive /e/ (182b). And, although a word consistently receives a case marker with /a/ or /e/, there are some cases where either is possible (183).

- (180) *fad-ek* ‘flu-Erg’; *dejwan-ek* ‘old.person-Erg’; *inatl-ek* ‘3Fem-Erg’ ;
inatl-etl ‘3Fem-Dat’ ; *hotet-es* ‘corn-Dat’; *tsinon-es* ‘fruit-Dat’; *kode~~tl~~-es*
‘animal-Dat’; *torek-es* ‘flour-Dat’; *puk-es* ‘kind of bird-Dat’); *esak-en*
‘hammock-Loc’; *anew~~ɬ~~-en*. ‘woods-Loc.’
- (181) *yaw-ak* ‘human.being-Erg’ ; *karaiw-ak* ‘non.Indian-Erg’ ; *ayey-atl*
‘grandfather-Dat’ ; *yar-atl* ‘owner-Dat’ ; *adif-atl* ‘brother-Dat’ ;
axos-atl ‘child-Dat’ ; *kodechich-atl* ‘snake-Dat’ ; *yakir-as* ‘salt-Dat’ ;
yaw-as ‘human.being-Dat’ ; *tsul-as* ‘river.turtle-Dat’ ; *taxer-as* ‘wild-Dat’;
mal-an ‘edge-Loc’.
- (182) a. *mut-as* ‘cloth-Dat’ ; *i’an-as* ‘simulacrum-Dat’; *yudu~~ɬ~~-an* ‘bench-Loc’;
b. *wirix-es* ‘manioc.porridge-Dat’ ; *wal-es* ‘music-Dat’).
- (183) a. *fe’de disi kodechich-ak*
jaguar kill snake-Erg
‘The snake killed the jaguar.’
- b. *fe’de disi kodechich-ek*
jaguar kill snake-Erg
‘The snake killed the jaguar.’

Therefore, it seems that the selection of a case marker with vowel /a/ or /e/ depends on the last word of the NP itself , and for some words there is flexibility of choice.

In the case of the Dative markers, besides *-as /-es /-s*, which are often attested in the Trumai data, it is possible to find three others, attested so far with a limited number of words:

- *-is*, attested with the interrogatives *han* ‘what’ and *tsifan* ‘which thing’, the pronoun *in* ‘it’, and with the noun *kuyan* ‘grass’ (example 184). Except for *kuyan*, the others are all pronominal forms.

(184) *kuyan-is ka_in ma ke yayanke yi.*
 grass-Dat Foc/Tens eat KE deer YI
 ‘The deer eats grass.’

- *-os*, attested with the words *koyoch* ‘bat’, *piké t’ox* ‘house without owner’, and *owow* ‘hole in the ground’;
- *-us*, attested with the words *taf* ‘egg’ and *deat* ‘fruit’; the last is also found with the marker *-as* (i.e. *deat-us; deat-as*).

These markers are also lexically conditioned and, in the case of *-os* and *-us*, it might be that they actually represent dialectal variation, corresponding to *-es* or *-as* in the speech of other Trumai speakers (the use of *-is* seems to be more consistent among the consultants). This point will be better investigated in the future.

What about the difference among *-(V)tl* ‘Dative’, *-ki* ‘Dative’ and *-(V)s* ‘Dative’? As already seen in the examples (21-23), these 3 enclitics modify dative NPs. The choice of the dative markers depends on the semantic characteristics of the NP: person (1, 2, 3); number (singular, dual, plural), animacy (human, non-human animate, inanimate); whether the head is a possessed or unpossessed noun. Some kinds of NPs

have one possible choice (e.g. 1st and 2nd person pronouns), while others have two (e.g. 3rd SG pronouns; human SG nouns). For the cases where two choices are available, pragmatic factors (such as the degree of identification of the entity) play a role. Tables 2.13, 2.14, and 2.15 give an overview of how the system is organized:

Table 2.13. NPs and their respective case marking - Pronouns

1/2 SG	3 SG Dem	1/2/3/Dem Dual/PL
<i>-(V)tl</i>	<i>-(V)tl</i> or <i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>

Table 2.14. NPs and their respective case marking - Unpossessed Nouns

Proper Nouns Human SG Anim Non-Human SG	Human Dual Inanim SG	Human PL Anim Non-Human Dual Inanim Dual	Anim Non-Human PL Inanim PL
<i>-(V)tl</i> or <i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i> or <i>-(V)s</i>	<i>-(V)s</i>

Table 2.15. NPs and their respective case marking - Possessed Nouns²⁷

	Human SG	Human PL	Inanim SG	Inanim PL
Non-Anaphoric Possessor	<i>-(V)tl</i> or <i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-(V)s</i>
Anaphoric Possessor	<i>-(V)tl</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-(V)tl</i>	<i>-(V)s</i>

We will return to the difference between the dative markers in chapter 7, when we analyze the Extended Intransitive verbs, that is, a subclass of verbs in Trumai that can be classified as Intransitive due to a series of factors, but that also present a dative complement. The selection of dative marker for the complements of Extended Intransitive verbs is also based on both the semantic and pragmatic characteristics of the NPs.

²⁷ This chart is not complete. There is no information on animate non-human possessed nouns, due to a gap in the corpus.

The Trumai **postpositions** are presented below. Contrary to what was said in previous work (Guirardello 1992), postpositions in Trumai have independent stress.

<i>lots'</i>	'Ablative'
<i>letsi</i>	'Instrumental'
<i>tam</i>	'Comitative'
<i>nik</i>	'Without'
<i>(h)ita</i>	'Allative' ²⁸

What are the differences and similarities between the case markers and the postpositions? The difference is that the case markers are phonologically bound forms, while postpositions are free. The similarity is that both occur at the end of the NP, not on its head, as we would expect for the case markers if they were suffixes instead of enclitics. This fact could lead us then to the question: are the Trumai case markers merely cliticized postpositions? We could say yes, because of the similarity in the site of location

²⁸ The Allative postposition is represented with the initial sound h in parentheses because we are not sure about its occurrence (some few consultants claim that there is an initial h, but not the other consultants).

The Allative seems to have another allomorph, *ata*, attested in only 2 cases:

- (i) *ham ata* 'to where' (*ham* 'where, which place')
- (ii) *in ata* 'to it (it=meeting)' (*in* 'it')

Since *ham* and *in* seem to be pronominal forms, we could say that *ata* is the Allative allomorph used with pronouns. However, it is not so clear that this is the best analysis, because: (a) *(h)ita* is also attested with pronouns (example (iii) below); (b) the other postpositions do not have special allomorphs for pronominal forms (example (iv) below). It might be that the allomorph *ata* is simply morphologically conditioned, occurring only with *ham* and *in*.

- (iii) *inak a (h)ita*
3 Dual Allat
'towards they two'

- (iv) a. *ine lots'*
3 Ablat
'from him'

- b. *in lots'*
it Ablat
'from it (it=event of reaching a place)'

A final remark with regard to the postposition *(h)ita*: sometimes it can alternate with the Dative marker *-ki*, which can also mark 'location' if motion is involved. The difference between *(h)ita* and *-ki* is that with *-ki*, the entity performing the motion reaches its target (cf. chapter 7)

(following the NP) and because the case markers probably were originally postpositions that now are on their way to becoming affixes. However, this does not mean that NPs modified by postpositions and case markers all have the same status. As we will see in chapter 7, there are motivations for treating the NPs marked as ‘Ergative and ‘Dative’ as distinct from the NPs modified by the other case markers and from the NPs modified by postpositions.

2.4. Nominal Possessive constructions in Trumai

This section is dedicated to nominal possessive constructions found in Trumai, focusing on the attributive possession construction (‘my X’). Predicative possession (‘I have an X’) is treated in chapter 5.

In regard to attributive possession, we observe that Trumai distinguishes between alienable and inalienable possession, and with respect to this last kind, between the possession of kinship terms and body part terms.

2.4.1. Alienable Possession

For alienable possession, there is the genitive marker *-k(a)te*. The allomorph *-kte* occurs with nouns ending in vowels, and *-kate* with nouns ending in consonants. This morpheme modifies the possessor, which immediately precedes the possessed noun. For example:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|------------------|
| (185) | <i>hai-kte tahu</i> | ‘my knife’ |
| | <i>hi-kte tahu</i> | ‘your knife’ |
| | <i>ine-kte tahu</i> | ‘his knife’ |
| | <i>inak wan-kate tahu</i> | ‘their knife’ |
| | <i>hakew-kate tahu</i> | ‘Raquel’s knife’ |

The construction with *-kte/-kate* is used for the possession of nouns referring to material objects in general, to plantations, and to animals, if the animal is being referred to as a kind of food rather than a pet (if the animal is a pet, then the possessive construction requires the use of the word *aton* ‘pet’, which itself is inalienably possessed in the same way as body parts; cf. section 2.4.2.2).

- (186) *hai-kte ole wa* ‘my manioc plantation’
 1-Gen manioc plantation
- (187) a. *hai-kte piʔik* ‘my monkey (food)’
 1-Gen monkey
- b. *ine-kte piʔik* ‘his monkey (food)’
 3Masc-Gen monkey
- (188) a. *ha aton piʔik* ‘my pet-monkey’
 1 pet monkey
- b. *aton-ake piʔik* ‘his pet-monkey’
 pet-3Poss monkey

The marker *-k(a)te* can also be used for indicating ‘kind of thing’ rather than the possession of a thing. Examples:

- (189) *karaiw-kate kuman*
 non.Indian-Gen bean
 ‘non-Indian bean (lit: beans of non-Indian people)’

2.4.2. Inalienable Possession

2.4.2.1. Kinship terms

The inalienable possessive construction has no special morphology for the possessor. Basically, the possessor precedes the possessed entity, as we can see in the examples below:

(190)	<i>ha atle</i>	‘my mother’
	<i>hi atle</i>	‘your mother’
	<i>ine atle</i>	‘his mother’
	<i>ka’ne atle</i>	‘that one’s mother’ ²⁹
	<i>axos atle</i>	‘child’s mother’

Another possibility for the possession of kinship terms involving third person pronominal possessors is to use the anaphoric possessive prefix *tsi-/t-*, which attaches to the possessed noun (*tsi-* for nouns that have a consonant in initial position and *t-* for the ones that have a vowel at the beginning):

(191)	<i>t-adif</i>	‘his brother’
	<i>tsi-di</i>	‘his wife’
	<i>tsi-doxo</i>	‘his grandchild’

However, when the possessor is plural, we do not find *tsi-/t-*, but rather *-ake*, the same morpheme used for body parts (cf. section 2.4.2.2):

- (192) a. *tsi-tle*
 3Poss-mother
 ‘his mother’
- b. *wan atle-ake*
 PL mother-3Poss
 ‘their mother’
- c. **wan tsi-tle*
 (their mother)

There are three kinship terms that present a special pattern: *ao* ‘father’, *onta* ‘uncle (brother of father)’, and *awe* ‘uncle (brother of mother)’ receive *tsi-* rather than *t-*

²⁹ Out of context, this construction can be ambiguous between ‘that one’s mother’ and ‘that mother’.

for the 3rd anaphoric possessor. What is interesting about these three terms is that when the prefix *tsi-* attaches to the noun, their initial vowel changes to /u/ and the vowel /i/ of the prefix sometimes disappears:

- (193) a. {tsi-} + {ao} > [tsi'u] 'his father'
 b. {tsi-} + {onta} > [tsun'ta] 'his uncle (brother of father)'
 c. {tsi-} + {awe} > [tsu'we] 'his uncle (brother of mother)'

The control of the anaphoric prefix *tsi-/t-* is pragmatic rather than syntactic. That is, this prefix is not controlled by S or A, but by the NP that refers to the participant who is the topic of the conversation or the most logical possessor, due to the development of the event. Extralinguistic information, such as cultural factors, also count for identifying which NP is the controller of *tsi-/t-*. Examples:

Topic of the conversation:

- (194) [*ine*]-k [*Atawaka*] etsi tsi-tle-tl.
 3Masc-Erg Atawaka carry 3Poss-mother-Dat
 'He took Atawaka to his mother.'
 [here, the agent is the controller. Speaker is talking about a man; Atawaka is a woman]³⁰
- (195) [*Yakairu*]-k [*Atawaka*] etsi tsi-tle-tl.
 Yakairu-Erg Atawaka carry 3Poss-mother-Dat
 'Yakairu took Atawaka to her (Atawaka's) mother.'
 [here, O is the controller]

The next pair of examples is an interesting instance: first, the consultant gave us the following data:

³⁰ As a consultant tried to explain: "It depends on who you are talking about. Here I know that is X's mother because you were talking about X first. When it becomes confusing, we repeat the name of the person: X's mother."

- (196) A O V S V
 [Makarea yi]-k ka_in [Yakairu] tsinu [tsi-tle hu'tsa hak].
 Makarea YI-Erg Foc/Tens Yakairu hold 3Poss-mother see Purp
 'Makarea; held Yakairu; for his; mother to see (her;).'

Then the consultant was asked: what about if we want to say that **Yakairu's** mother sees her? The response given was:

- (197) O V A S V
 [Yakairu yi] ka_in tsinu ke [Makarea]-k [tsi-tle hu'tsa hak].
 Yakairu YI Foc/Tens hold KE Makarea-Erg 3Poss-mother see Purp
 'Makarea; held Yakairu; for her; mother to see (her;).'

Observe that now [Yakairu] is in the first position, being highlighted by *ka_in* (so, it is the focus of our attention now). The case-marking of the NPs did not change, only the word order (plus the use of the morpheme *yi*). Here, we can see that the control of *tsi-* is made by the NP that is more topical, not by the S or A argument of the clause.

In the next examples, we can see that the antecedent of *tsi-/t-* is the participant that is the most logical possessor in the context of the development of the event.

Logical antecedent:

- (198) [Atawaka]_i chetsi iwir lots'. in-is hen [Kawra]_j pumaṭ.
 Atawaka fall tree Abl it-Dat then Kawra scream
 'Atawaka fell from the tree. Then Kawra screamed.'

in-is hen, tsi- tle hu'tsa kawa-ktsi.
 it-Dat then 3Poss-mother see go-Dir
 'Then her (Atawaka's) mother went to see (what happened).'
 [it is Atawaka's mother, because she was the one who had an accident]

- (199) [Atawaka]_i-k [Kawra]_j kuhmu. in-is hen [Kawra]_j pumaṭ.
 Atawaka-Erg Kawra throw it-Dat then Kawra scream
 'Atawaka shoved Kawra. Then Kawra screamed.'

in-is hen, tsi_j-tle hu'tsa kawa-ktsi.
 it-Dat then 3Poss-mother see go-Dir
 'Then her (Kawra's) mother went to see (what happened).'
[here it is Kawra's mother, because it was she who was hurt and screamed when she was shoved].

Extralinguistic information:

(200) [*kiki yi*] *hen lax pumu ke.*
 man YI then hunt enter KE
 'The man entered to have a date.'

in-is hen, tsi-tle chi(_in) hen hu'tsa tsula ke hen.
 it-Dat then 3Poss-mother Foc/Tens then see lie KE then
 'Then her mother, who was lying (in the hammock) saw (him).'
[even though it is not mentioned, we know that the man entered in the house of the woman, because that is what happens in general in this culture. It is her mother who saw him, not his mother, since the event is happening in the woman's house]

It is interesting to observe that the controller/antecedent of *tsi-/t-* does not obligatorily need to be present in a previous clause. It can be inferred by context, as in example (200) above, which gives the first two clauses of a text. The word 'woman' was not mentioned in the first clause at all, but is still identified as the controller of *tsi-* by the listeners. Nor does the controller necessarily need to occur before *tsi-/t-* when they are both in the same clause: the example below was presented to several consultants, who always identified [*Titiko*] as the "antecedent" of *tsi-*.

(201) *tsi-tle-k Titiko midoxos.*
 3Poss-mother-Erg Titiko call
 'Titiko's mother called him.' (lit: His_i mother called Titiko_i.)

2.4.2.2. Body parts:

For the possession of terms of body parts and intimate objects or entities (such as clothing, adornments, hammocks, shadows, homes, villages, names, pets, etc), we have something similar to the possession of kinship terms: if the possessive construction involves first and second person pronouns, lexical items, or demonstrative and third person pronouns as the possessor, no special morphology is required. Again, the possessor precedes the possessed entity:

(202)	<i>ha kuch</i>	'my hair'
	<i>hi kuch</i>	'your hair'
	<i>ine kuch</i>	'his hair'
	<i>inak wan kuch</i>	'their hair'
	<i>ka'ne kuch</i>	'that one's hair'
	<i>axos kuch</i>	'child's hair'

In addition, the possession of body part terms involving third person possessors can be made using the anaphoric phrasal enclitics *-ake* or *-ea/-a*, which are selected depending on the case of the NP: *-ake* for NPs in the absolutive case, *-ea/-a* for NPs in the remaining cases or followed by a subordinator (*-ea* if the final word of the NP ends in a consonant, *-a* if it ends in a vowel). In some examples, the presence of the morpheme *(i)yi* shows that *-ake/-(e)a* does not come at the last position of the NP, but rather it follows the NP (examples 204 and 208).

(203)	<i>kuch-ake</i> hair-3Poss	'his hair'
(204)	<i>kuch yi-ake</i> hair YI-3Poss	'his hair'
(205)	<i>wan kuch-ake</i> PL hair-3Poss	'their hair'

- (206) *xop-ea-tl* 'his mouth (Dat)
mouth-3Poss-Dat
- (207) *ali-a-tl* 'her vagina (Dat)
vagina-3Poss-Dat
- (208) *tlep yi-a-tl* 'its feather (Dat)
feather YI-3Poss-Dat
- (209) *kuch-ea letsi* 'with his hair'
hair-3Poss Instr
- (210) *aton-ea hak.* 'with the purpose of (being) his pet'
pet-3Poss Purp

Like *tsi/-t-*, the control of the anaphoric phrasal enclitic *-ake/-ea/-a* is also pragmatic. At first sight, it seems that the S or A argument controls this anaphoric morpheme (examples (211) and (212)), but looking at the data more carefully, we can see that other kinds of NP can also control it, if they are the topic of the conversation or the logical possessor (example 213).

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| | A | O | V | |
| (211) | <i>[Yakairu]_i -k</i> | <i>[Atawaka]_j</i> | <i>etsi dat- ea_i -tl.</i> | |
| | Yakairu-Erg | Atawaka | carry home-3Poss-Dat | |
| | 'Yakairu took Atawaka to her (Yakairu's) house.' | | | |

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| | S | V | DAT | |
| (212) | <i>[Yakairu yi]_i ch_i_in</i> | <i>chafa ke [Atawaka]_j -tl</i> | <i>dat- ea_i -tl.</i> | |
| | Yakairu YI | Foc/Tens | invite KE Atawaka-Dat | home-3Poss-Dat |
| | 'Yakairu invited Atawaka to her (Yakairu's) house.' | | | |

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| | V | S | DAT | |
| (213) | <i>pudits ke ka_in</i> | <i>[adis pa wan yi]_i</i> | <i>[kurapuu]_j -s</i> | <i>[wan aton -ea_i hak].</i> |
| | like KE | Foc/Tens | Indian collect PL | YI hawk-Dat PL pet-3Poss Purp |
| | 'Indians _i like hawks _j for their _i pets.' | | | |

dat- ea_j-s hen [wan yi]_i chuda-n.
 home-3Poss-Dat then PL YI make-3Abs
 ‘They_i make their_j houses.’

[-ea in the first clause is controlled by *adis* ‘Indians’, since they are humans and the most likely to be owners of pets. -ea in the second clause is controlled by *kurapuu* ‘hawks’, due to the logic of the events (after a hawk is caught, it needs to be put in a cage/house) and topic of the conversation (the text is about hawks, not about how the Indians live)]

As already mentioned, nouns for animals are not directly possessed, if the animals are pets. They need the word *aton* ‘pet’, which is possessed like body parts:

(214)	<i>ha aton kasoro</i>	‘my dog’
	<i>hi aton kasoro</i>	‘your dog’
	<i>aton-ake kasoro</i>	‘his dog’

The word *aton* is an ordinary noun that can be used by itself, without specifying the animal: *ha aton* ‘my pet’. It cannot be called a genitive classifier since it would be the only one observed in the language. The occurrence of *aton* in the example above is simply an instance of the NP NP_{mod} construction, already attested in Trumai (cf. section 2.1). The use of the morpheme *yi* and the Dual help to make this point more clear:

(215)	a.	<i>[ha aton] [kasoro]</i>
		1 pet dog
		‘my pet dog’
	b.	<i>[ha aton a yi] [kasoro]</i>
		1 pet Dual YI dog
		‘my two pet dogs (lit: my two pets, dog)’

A final remark is that, similar to the alienable possession construction, the possessive construction involving body parts can also be used to indicate ‘kind of thing’

rather than possession of the thing and to express a ‘part-whole’ relationship, but not ‘substance’, which is expressed in different ways (last example below):

kind of thing:

(216) *pīṭik asix* ‘monkey tail’ (it could be too: ‘the monkey’s tail’)
 monkey tail

part-whole:

(217) *misu mal* ‘edge of the river’
 river edge

(218) *pits’ fax* ‘sole of the foot’
 foot bottom

(219) *mesa natu* ‘top of the table’ (lit: back of the table)
 table back

substance: different construction

(220) a. [*iwir len-ke*] [*tahu*]
 wood ?-Nzr knife
 ‘knife of wood’ (lit: ‘the one made of wood, knife’)

b. [*hai*]-*ts chī_in* [*hai-kte tahu yi*] *kīṭi* , [*iwir len-ke*].
 1-Erg Foc/Tens 1-Gen knife YI give , wood ?-Nzr?
 ‘I gave my knife, the one made of wood.’

CHAPTER 3

Verbs and Verb Phrase

In this chapter, we describe the structure of the verb phrase in Trumai and the word classes that occur in it: verbs, auxiliaries, particles, and adverbs. In section 3.3, we describe the intensity, causation, negation, and imperative particles. There is a special section on adverbs, given that they can occur not only inside the VP, but also outside, modifying the whole clause. The final section of this chapter is dedicated to the Copula, which does not occur in a VP (the Copula occurs in non-verbal predicates), but which is treated in this chapter in order to be contrasted with verbs.

3.1. The structure of a Verb Phrase

In the next three sections, we will see how a Trumai verb phrase is organized internally, which elements occur inside of it and in which order.

3.1.1. Nominal arguments inside the VP

The purpose of the section is to argue that the verb phrase in Trumai contains the argument S or O of a clause, but excludes A, DAT, and NPs modified by postpositons. The inclusion of S in the verb phrase and the exclusion of DAT are surprising, but there is evidence for both. The evidence comes from the interaction of word order and morphology, in which:

- (i) a pronominal clitic (the 3rd Abs enclitic *-n/-e*) is in complementary distribution with the absolutive head noun;
- (ii) a special morpheme, *ke*, occurs whenever the absolutive NP is not immediately preverbal;
- (iii) the two second position Focus/Tense particles, *ka in* and *chi in*, give special status to the combinations [SV] and [OV];
- (iv) it is not possible to insert adverbs between S and V, or O and V, without triggering extra morphology.

As illustration of how the third person enclitic *-n/-e* occurs in complementary distribution with the head noun of S or O, consider (cf. also section 3.1.3):

- (1) a. *piñik ora.*
 monkey cry/scream
 'The monkey is screaming.'
- b. *ora-n.*
 cry/scream-3Abs
 'It is screaming.'
- (2) a. *hai-ts ha atle padi huk'an.*
 1-Erg 1 mother wait still
 'I am going to wait for my mother.'
- b. *hai-ts padi-n huk'an.*
 1-Erg wait-3Abs still
 'I am going to wait for her.'

S and O also behave similarly with regard to the morpheme *ke* and word order: both S and O have to come **right before** the verb when they are lexically realized. If for any reason they are not in their expected position, the morpheme *ke* appears after the verb.

Any additional function of *ke* is still not clear (see discussion in chapter 5, section 5.1.3), but its occurrence is always attested when the order [SV] or [OV] is changed. Examples:

- (3)
$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & & & \text{V} & \text{KE} & \text{S} \\ \text{(3)} & \text{ni'de} & \text{pak-(k)i} & \text{ka_in} & \text{fa} & \underline{\text{ke}} & \text{[kiki wan]} & \text{pelasawak-es.} \\ & \text{this} & \text{month-Dat} & \text{Foc/Tens} & \text{kill} & \text{KE} & \text{man PL} & \text{tapir-Dat} \\ & & & & & & & \text{'In this month, men kill tapirs.'}\end{array}$$

- (4)
$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & & & \text{V} & \text{KE} & \\ \text{(4)} & \text{[axos_yi]} & \text{ka_in} & \text{wapta} & \underline{\text{ke}} & & \\ & \text{child} & \text{YI} & \text{Foc/Tens} & \text{fall} & \text{KE} & \\ & & & & & & & \text{'The child fell.'}\end{array}$$

- (5)
$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & & & \text{V} & \text{KE} & \\ \text{(5)} & \text{[kodechich]} & \text{ka_in} & \text{hai-ts} & \text{disi} & \underline{\text{ke}} & \\ & \text{snake} & \text{Foc/Tens} & \text{1-Erg} & \text{kill} & \text{KE} & \\ & & & & & & & \text{'I killed the snake.'}\end{array}$$

The Focus/Tense particles, *ka_in* and *chi_in*, also show that [SV] and [OV] form constituents. The Focus/Tense particles follow elements that are being highlighted in sentence initial position, and these elements are constituents (cf. chapter 5, section 5.1.1). The combinations [S V] and [O V] are often attested being followed by *ka_in* or *chi_in*.

For instance:

• [SV] *ka_in/chi_in*

- (6)
$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & \text{S} & \text{V} & & & \text{DAT} & \\ \text{(6)} & \text{[ha] sone} & \text{ka_in} & & \text{[kafe]-ki.} & & \\ & \text{I} & \text{drink} & \text{Foc/Tens} & \text{coffee-Dat} & & \\ & & & & & & & \text{'I am drinking coffee.'}\end{array}$$

- (7)
$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & \text{S} & \text{V} & & & \text{Loc} & \\ \text{(7)} & \text{[Yaka] chumuchu} & \text{ka_in} & & \text{tehnene-n.} & & \\ & \text{Yaka} & \text{lie.down} & \text{Foc/Tens} & \text{floor-Loc} & & \\ & & & & & & & \text{'Yaka lay.down on the floor.'}\end{array}$$

- [O V] *ka_in/chī_in*

- (8) O V A DAT
 (8) [[oke yi] kiṭi] *ka_in* [Yakuta]-k [Kumaru]-tl.
 medicine YI give Foc/Tens Yakuta-Erg Kumaru-Dat
 ‘Yakuta gave medicine (emphasis) to Kumaru.’

It is true that S or O can occur in first position individually, but in this case extra morphology is necessary, the morpheme *ke* (cf. examples (03-05) above).

Observe that A, DAT, and NPs modified by postpositions can occur in different positions, without any extra morphology, even if they are not close to the verb anymore:

- (9) a. [hai]-ts [oke yi] kiṭi [ha ayen]-atl.
 1-Erg medicine YI give 1 grandfather-Dat
 ‘I gave medicine to my grandfather.’
 simple clause: [A O V DAT] word order
- b. [hai]-ts *chī_in* [oke yi] kiṭi [ha ayen]-atl.
 1-Erg Foc/Tens medicine YI give 1 grandfather-Dat
 ‘I (emphasis) gave medicine to my grandfather.’
 A in first position
- c. [ha ayen]-atl *chī_in* [hai]-ts [oke yi] kiṭi.
 1 grandfather-Dat Foc/Tens 1-Erg medicine YI give
 ‘I gave medicine to my grandfather (emphasis).’
 DAT in first position
- (10) São Paulo *lots'* *ka_in* [ha wa-pata].
 São Paulo Ablat Foc/Tens 1 WA-arrive
 ‘I arrived from São Paulo.’
 Ablative in first position

Finally, we observe that it is possible to insert adverbs between A and the sequence [O V], or between the sequence [S V] and DAT/other cases, again without any special morphology.

- (11) A O V
 (11) *[Sapuya]-k hen [[Makarea] pit'a].*
 Sapuya-Erg then Makarea call
 'Sapuya then called Makarea.'
- S V DAT
 (12) *[[wan] sone]-n hen [wirix]-es.*
 PL drink-3Abs then manioc.porridge-Dat
 'Then they drink manioc porridge.'

In contrast, the insertion of adverbs between O and V or S and V necessarily requires the presence of the morpheme *ke*. This fact indicates that [SV] and [OV] behave as units (when the unit is broken, this is indicated by extra morphology), but not the sequences [AV], [V DAT] or [V Loc/Instr/Ablat/etc.].

- O V A
 (13) *[k'ate yi] hen naha naha ke [inak wan]-ek.*
 fish YI then cut cut KE 3 PL-Erg
 'Then they cut the fish (in pieces).'
- S V DAT
 (14) *[Sapuya] hen api ke [tsikawn axos]-atl.*
 Sapuya then take KE Txikão child-Dat
 'The Sapuya caught the Txikão girl.'

On the basis of these patterns, we conclude that S and O are constituents of the verb phrase in Trumai, and that the other kinds of NPs do not belong to the VP. Someone could wonder if it would be possible to say that [NP_{s/o} V] do not form a VP, but only a simple constituent such as \bar{v} , and the combination [NP_{s/o} V] plus DAT would actually form a VP, that is, [[NP V]_{v̄} DAT]_{VP}. However, we have found no evidence to support this idea. A clause of the kind:

[[NP V] DAT] Foc-Tens /Adv Loc/Instr/Ablat/etc.

is not attested, only

[NP V] Foc-Tens /Adv DAT/Loc/Instr/Ablat/etc.

is possible (example 15 below).

- (15) S V DAT Loc
 [[ha] hu'tsa] kaksu [hu'ra]-s [misu mala]-n.
 1 see in.past bird-Dat water/river edge-Loc
 'I saw birds on the edges of the river.'

And a clause of the type:

[NP V DAT] Foc-Tens

is possible, not because [[NP V] DAT] forms a constituent, but rather because the clause as a whole can be followed by the Focus/Tense particle *ka_in* (examples 16-17); and although possible, this kind of clause is very unusual, while clauses of the type:

[NP V] Foc-Tens DAT

are very often attested.

- (16) S V DAT
 [[[ha] fa]_{VP} [kodechich]-atl]_S ka_in.
 1 kill snake-Dat Foc/Tens
 'I killed the snake.'

- (17) A O V
 [[hai]-ts [[kodechich] disi]_{VP}]_S ka_in.
 1-Erg snake kill Foc/Tens
 'I killed the snake.'

Therefore, the main conclusion is that only S and O can be considered internal to the VP. Given that A, DAT and other kinds of NPs are outside elements, they can have

3.1.2. Inside the VP: word order of the elements

Besides the NP that is S (or O) and the verb, a VP can contain verbal modifiers, all of which follow the verb. These elements are the auxiliaries of aspect-mood, direction, and body posture (cf. chapter 4), the particles of Intensity (*yumane*), Causation (*ka*) and Negation (*tak*), and adverbs. All these elements occur inside the VP, following the verb (only adverbs also have the possibility of occurring outside; cf. section 3.4). Adverbs or the Negation particle occur in the final position of the VP, preceded by the verb or verb + auxiliaries and/or other particles. The final element of the VP receives the 3Abs enclitic, helping distinguish between adverbs which are inside versus those which are outside the VP. Apparently there is an incompatibility between the enclitic and the Negation particle, since they never co-occur (cf. 3.1.3).

With regard to order among auxiliaries, the Intensity particle and the Causation particle, we observe that they can combine in several ways:

- **V Aux Caus**

- (21) *hai-ts ka_men_in xodaka-ki chikida-tke ka-n.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens-frustrative morning-Dat(=tomorrow) travel-Des Caus-3Abs
 ‘I want him to travel tomorrow.’ (lit: I will make him want to travel.)

- **V Caus Aux**

- (22) *hai-ts ka_in iyi otl ka-tke-n.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens IYI sleep Caus-Des-3Abs
 ‘I want him to sleep.’ (lit: I want to make him sleep.)

- **V Aux Intens**

- (23) *ha yotl take yumane ka_in.*
 1 sleep Des Intens Foc/Tens
 ‘I want to sleep very much.’

- **V Intens Aux (never attested)**

- (27) *sone tak wanach* 'Do not drink!'
 drink Neg Imp

3.1.3. The 3Absolutive enclitic *-n/-e*

The enclitic *-n/-e* occurs on the last element of the VP, usually the verb. If the verb is modified by an auxiliary, the Causative or Intensity particle, or an adverb, the enclitic attaches to the verb modifier (cf. chapter 4; cf. sections 3.3 and 3.4).

As already seen in examples (1-2), this enclitic is in complementary distribution with the head noun of the NP that is S or O. More examples:

- (28) a. *axos yi waḡkan.*
 child YI cry
 'The child cried.'
- b. *iyi waḡkan-e.*
 IYI cry-3Abs
 'S/he cried.'
- (29) a. *hai-ts ka_in kiki yi midoxos.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens man YI call
 'I called the man.'
- b. *hai-ts ka_in iyi midoxos-e.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens IYI call-3Abs
 'I called him.'

The choice between the allomorphs *-n* and *-e* is conditioned by the last sound of the verb: *-n* with verbs ending in a vowel, *-e* with verbs ending in a consonant:

- (30) *iyi pita-n hen.*
 IYI go.out-3Abs then
 'She went out.'
- (31) *iyi ain-e ka_in.*
 IYI play-3Abs Foc/Tens
 'He is playing.'

In other words, the enclitic *-n/-e* is a pronominal morpheme for the Absolutive case and is in complementary distribution with the head noun of the Absolutive NP, but not necessarily with the whole NP, because certain parts of the NP can be present and the enclitic is still used. That is what occurs when there is a pluralizer in the NP:

- (32) a. *[kiki wan yi] fa ka_in fe'de-s.*
 man PL YI kill Foc/Tens jaguar-Dat
 'Men kill jaguars.'
- b. *[wan yi] fa-n ka_in fe'de-s.*
 PL YI kill-3Abs Foc/Tens jaguar-Dat
 'They kill jaguars.'

The exception to this pattern is the occurrence of the enclitic when the Absolutive NP involves possession of body parts or related items, and only the N-possessed entity is present in the Absolutive NP (the N-possessor is omitted). In this case, the enclitic is in complementary distribution not with the head noun of the Absolutive NP, but with the noun-possessor:

- (33) a. *ha lax mox.*
 I nose swollen
 'My nose is swollen.'
- b. *lax yi mox-e.*
 nose YI swollen
 'His nose is swollen.'
- (34) a. *hai-ts ka_in Maka mut tuxa'tsi.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens Maka dress pull
 'I pulled Maka's shirt.'
- b. *hai-ts ka_in mut tuxa'tsi-n.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens dress pull-3Abs
 'I pulled his shirt.'²

² Observe that here, the possessor here is being marked as O. This could be considered a case of external possession (not 'I pulled his shirt, but rather 'I pulled him (by) the shirt.'). The question is to determine

The non-presence of the 3Abs enclitic in a clause has some semantic effects. If the clause has an Intransitive verb, the non-presence of the enclitic coding the Absolutive argument gives to the clause a generic sense with regard to the initiator of the event (i.e. an event is happening, but we do not know who exactly is performing it). If the clause has a Transitive verb, the omission of the enclitic can signal that O has little discursive importance, that is, it produces an antipassive sense. This point will be discussed in more detail in chapter 9 (section 9.1.1).

There is one case in which the absence of *-n/-e* is not linked to semantic/pragmatic questions: it is when the negator *tak* occurs in the verb phrase. As mentioned before, the 3Abs enclitic occurs attached to the verb or to one of its modifiers (i.e., an auxiliary, the Causative or Intensity particle, or an adverb). However, if the verb is modified by the Negation particle *tak*, the enclitic is completely omitted, without necessarily creating a generic or antipassive sense. The absence of the enclitic here apparently has to do with morphological incompatibility between *-n/-e* and the negator *tak* rather than with semantic or pragmatic factors. For instance:

- (35) a. *hai-ts ka_in onibus pap hat'ke.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens bus pay in.future
 'I will pay the bus.'
- b. *hai-ts ka_in pap tak hat'ke.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens bus Neg in.future
 'I will not pay it.'
- [no enclitic in the verb, although the Absolutive head noun is not present]

what would be the status of the possessed noun *mut* 'dress/shirt', since the possessor "ascended" to the status of O (or S, in the case of example (33b): 'He is swollen (at) the nose', rather than "his nose is swollen.'). There is another possible analysis, presented in chapter 9 (section 9.1.2.2).

- (36) a. *iyi hup-e ha wan-ki.*
 IYI know-3Abs 1 PL-Dat
 ‘He knew/recognized us.’
- b. *iyi hup tak ha wan-ki.*
 IYI know Neg 1 PL-Dat
 ‘He did not know/recognize us.’
- (37) a. *iyi ma-n ka_in.*
 IYI eat-3Abs Foc/Tens
 ‘He is eating (it).’
- b. **iyi ma-n tak ka_in.*
 IYI eat-3Abs Neg Foc/Tens
 (He is not eating (it).) [incompatibility]

Now, let us examine in detail the word classes that can occur inside a VP, that is, verbs, auxiliaries, particles, and adverbs.

3.2. Verbs

There is little verbal morphology in Trumai: the verb frequently bears the enclitic *-n/-e* ‘3Abs’, but as already said before this enclitic can also occur with other elements (cf. section 3.1.3). Some verbs may bear the prefix *wa-*, which seems to be a mark of middle voice (cf. chapter 9 for details). There are no tense-aspect-mood affixes. Tense is expressed through the use of adverbs or the two Focus/Tense particles *ka in* and *chĩ in*, whose primary function is to highlight important information: *ka in* highlights information in events happening now or in the recent past, *chĩ in* in events that happened in the past (cf. chapter 5). When a clause has neither adverbs nor the Focus/Tense particles, tense is understood from context. Aspect and mood are expressed via auxiliaries

(cf. chapter 4). Finally, postverbal particles indicate negation, intensity, and causation (cf. section 3.3).

Case-marking patterns divide Trumai verbs into four categories: Intransitive, Transitive, Extended Intransitive and Extended Transitive. Intransitives require a single Absolutive argument; Transitives an Ergative and an Absolutive argument. Extended Intransitives and Extended Transitives additionally require a Dative argument, usually patient-like in Extended Intransitives and a recipient in Extended Transitives (cf. chapter 7 for a more precise characterization). The characteristics of a Trumai verb are:

- **it is the head of a VP:**

(38) *hai-ts [ha atle pit'a].*
 1-Erg 1 mother call
 'I am calling my mother.'

- **as the head of the VP, a verb can receive the 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e* or it can be modified by auxiliaries (cf. chapter 4), by particles (cf. section 3.3) and by adverbs (cf. section 3.4);**
- **as the head of the VP, a verb can be modified by *ke*, when the Absolutive NP is not adjacent to it (cf. section 3.1.1);**

- **some verbs can receive the prefix *wa-*, perhaps a middle voice marker:**

(39) a. *ha pita ka_in.*
 1 go.out Foc/Tens
 'I went out.' (just went out from the house)

b. *ha wa-pita ka_in.*
 1 WA-go.out Foc/Tens
 'I went out.' (went out, leaving to another place)

- **a verb can receive the nominalizers *-k(e)* and *-t'(a)*, functioning then as the head of a NP³:**

³ Notice that there are environments where verbal roots can function as nominal words without receiving any Nominalizer (cf. chapter 10 on subordinate clauses):

(i) *ha hu'tsa chi_in wal-qa-tl.*
 1 see Foc/Tens sing-3Poss-Dat
 'I saw her singing.'

- (40) a. *chuda* 'make'
 b. *chuda-k* 'maker'
 c. *pike-s chuda-k wan yi* 'maker of houses'
 house-Dat make-Nzr PL YI
- (41) a. *alax* 'hunt'
 b. *alax-ke* 'hunter'
 c. *kodetl-es alax-ke wan yi* 'hunters of animals'
 animal-Dat hunt-Nzr PL YI
- (42) a. *mapa* 'to break'
 b. *mapa-t' yi-ki* 'broken.one-Dat'
 break-NzrEx YI-Dat
- (43) *ha hu'tsa chi(_in) [xoxan-t'a-a]-tl.*
 I see Foc/Tens wash-NzrEx-3Poss-Dat
 'I saw the thing she washed.' (lit: I saw her washed thing).'
- (44) *ha hu'tsa chi(_in) [atlat mapa-t' yi]-ki.*
 I see Foc/Tens pan break-NzrEx YI-Dat
 'I saw the broken pan.' (lit: I saw the broken (state) of the pan.)

The combination verb + *t'(a)* refers to an ex-“participant” of the event described by the verb. Depending on the characteristics of the verb, V-t'(a) will be a ‘patient of V’ or a ‘location of V’:

- Transitive or Extended Intransitive verb: V-t'(a) refers to the patient or the result of the event (depends on the semantics of the verb).

- (45) *mapa-t'* 'broken (one)'
 (46) *pudits-t'a* 'liked (one)'
 (47) *chuda-t'* 'made (one)'

-
- (ii) *sa-a tam iyi wal-e.*
 dance-3Poss Com IYI sing-3Abs
 'She sings dancing.'

However, it is important to say too that verbal roots cannot occur in all environments that nominal roots occur (for example, in a simple nominal predicate), unless they are nominalized.

- Intransitive verb: location where the event happened:

(48)	puma-t'	'place of hiding'
(49)	pita-t'	'place of exiting'

As we can see, the use of *-t'(a)* with verbs is slightly different from its use with nouns and adjectives. With the latter, *-t'(a)* seems to be associated with an idea of 'past', in the sense of "no longer X". The combination of a noun or adjective + *-t'(a)* implies that in the past the entity was a member of the category defined by the noun or adjective, but the entity no longer belongs to this category (e.g. the noun *yaw* 'human being' + *-t'(a)* refers to an entity that was a member of the category 'Human Being' in the past, but now the membership is over; the entity now is an 'ex-human being'). In the case of verbs, the scenario is a little different. However, the combination verb + *-t'(a)* can also evoke the idea of 'past', in a different way: since the NP-patient is in a state that is after the end of the action (that is, the action is over, is already past), we could say that the sense of past is also in it. Anyway, it seems that all the uses of *-t'(a)* modifying words - that is, *-t'(a)* plus nouns, adjectives, or verbs - can be unified by the more generic semantics of 'ex-entity'. The kind of entity (ex-member of a category; ex-"participant" of an event) will vary depending on the class of the word modified by *-t'(a)* and its internal semantic characteristics.

3.3. Particles

The elements that we call particles in Trumai do not form an internally coherent class, being rather defined by exclusion from the other internally coherent categories.

Particles are words that modify verbs and are classified as neither adverbs nor auxiliaries, due to the differences in their characteristics. Adverbs can occur in several positions, while particles have very specific scope, occurring only after the verb (+ auxiliaries) they modify. In the case of Imperative particles, they occur before the verb. Auxiliaries modify only verbs (actually, predicates), while the Intensity and Negation particles can modify also adverbs and quantifiers. The imperative particles modify only verbs (or predicates), but precede them, while auxiliaries only follow the verb. The causative particle is the most complex of the Trumai particles, and perhaps could be analyzed as an auxiliary, but given that it has specific behaviors not exhibited by auxiliaries, it is more adequate to treat it as a particle too.

3.3.1. Intensity Particle

The Particle for intensification⁴ *yumane* is similar to adverbs in the sense that either can occur inside a VP:

- (50) *iyi katnon yumane-n.*
 IYI work Intens-3Abs
 ‘He works a lot.’

However, the particle *yumane* does not show flexibility of position, unlike adverbs. The scope of *yumane* is restricted, occurring right after the element it modifies (51). It cannot occur at the first position of the clause, followed by the Focus/Tense particles *ka_in* and *chi_in* (52b).

⁴ Actually, the meaning of *yumane* can vary slightly between intensity and quantity, depending on the root it modifies.

- (51) a. *axos ma yumane ka_in.*
 child eat Intens Foc/Tens
 ‘The child is eating a lot.’
- b. **axos ma ka_in yumane.*
 [this example would be possible with an adverb in the place of *yumane*]
- (52) a. *ha yotl take yumane ka_in.*
 1 sleep Des Intens Foc/Tens
 ‘I want to sleep a lot.’
- b. **yumane ka_in ha yotl take.*
 Intens Foc/Tens 1 sleep Des

Similar to auxiliaries, *yumane* can modify verbs (plus auxiliary) and adjectives that are the predicate of a clause. However, *yumane* is not an auxiliary because its domain is broader: it also modifies quantifiers and adverbs.

- (53) *tsi-xu'tsa yumane ka_in misu yi.*
 TSI-cold Intens Foc/Tens water YI
 ‘The water is very cold.’
- (54) *a'di yumane ka_in k'ate yi.*
 many Intens Foc/Tens fish YI
 ‘There are many fish.’ or ‘The fish are many.’
- (55) *kometani yumane ka_in ha ma.*
 slowly Intens Foc/Tens 1 eat
 ‘I am eating very slowly.’

As we can see, *yumane* cannot be considered an adverb or an auxiliary. For this reason, we choose to treat it as a particle.

Since this section is dedicated to the presentation of a particle that indicates intensity, it is worth talking about alternative ways of expressing the same idea. An alternative way of modifying the verb is to use the word *pix*. This word is used in general

as a quantifier (see chapter 2, section 2.2.5), but it also can be used as kind of adverb, modifying a clause whose verb is Intransitive (56), Extended Intransitive without its complement (57) or with a complement that cannot be quantified (58). The word *pix* can appear at the beginning or the end of the clause (58, 59a). It seems that *pix* can indicate not only intensity (i.e. action performed intensely), but also quantity (i.e., the action was performed several times); it is sometimes hard to differentiate one sense from the other. The negative counterpart, *pix tak* can equally be used (59b).

- (56) *ni'de pak-(k)i ka_in k'awixu yi xuxla pix.*
 this month-Dat Foc/Tens rain YI to.rain much
 'In this month, it rains a lot (frequently).'
- (57) *ha hoḡ apud ma'tsi ka_in, pix ha ma iets'.*
 1 stomach hurt Foc/Tens much 1 eat Reas
 'My stomach hurts, because I eat a lot (big quantities of food).'
- (58) *ha wan falapita hi-tl pix.*
 1 PL miss 2-Dat much
 'We missed you a lot.'
- (59) a. *pix chi_in ha pech.*
 much Foc/Tens 1 run
 'I ran a lot.'
- b. *pix tak chi_in ha pech.*
 much Neg Foc/Tens 1 run
 'I ran little.' (lit: I ran not a lot.)

Another way of expressing intensity is via reduplication. Actually, reduplication in Trumai can be used to express several things: actions performed with intensity, with extra energy or extra speed, and actions performed several times. It also can be used for emphatic speech. The Trumai reduplication confirms a tendency already observed in

other languages, in which reduplication is used for similar reasons (Kemmer 1993 describes some of the functions of reduplication observed in languages of the world). Below, we have some Trumai data where the idea of intensity or repeated action is involved:

a. intensity:

- (60) a. *ʔaxa* 'hard'
 b. *ʔaxaʔaxa* 'very hard'

b. extra speed:

- (61) a. *amech* 'lightning'
 b. *ameamech* 'fast lightning'

c. action performed several times:

- (62) a. *pen* 'to vomit'
 b. *pepen* 'to vomit several times'

- (63) a. *make* 'to bite'
 b. *makemake* 'to chew'

d. emphatic:

- (64) a. *huk'an* 'still'
 b. *huk'an huk'an* 'still - emphatic speech'

3.3.2. Negation Particle

Like the Intensity particle, the negator *tak* can be considered a particle because its position of occurrence is restricted (therefore, it is not an adverb) and it can modify several kinds of elements: verbs (plus auxiliary or intensity/causative particle), adjectival predicates, adverbs and quantifiers. Unlike auxiliaries, the Negation particle does not receive the 3Abs enclitic, as already pointed in the section on this enclitic. Its counterpart for nominal predicates is *anuk*, already presented in chapter 2.

- (65) *ha sa tak ka_in.*
 1 dance Neg Foc/Tens
 'I am not dancing.' [modifies verb]

- (66) *in-is hen Yakairu fa'tsa-tke tak wan waxudi yi-a-tl.*
 it-Dat then Yakairu hear-Des Neg PL fight YI-3Poss-Dat
 'Then, Yakairu did not want to hear their fight.' [modifies verb + aux]
- (67) *ha yotl yumane tak ka_in.*
 I sleep Intens Neg Foc/Tens
 'I did not sleep very much.' [modifies verb + Intens part.]
- (68) *hai-ts chii(_in) inatl-ek atlat mapa ka tak.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens 3-Erg pan break Caus Neg
 'I did not make her break the pan.' [modifies verb + Caus part.]
- (69) *kometani tak ka_in ha sa hat'ke.*
 slowly Neg Foc/Tens I dance in.future
 'I will dance fast.' (lit: I will dance not slowly) [modifies adverb]
- (70) *a'di tak ka_in k'ate yi.*
 many Neg Foc/Tens fish YI
 'There are few fish.' or 'The fish are few.' [modifies quantifier]

In the case of the negation of quantifiers - *pix tak* 'not much' , *a'di tak* 'not many' - it seems that *tak* already forms a compound with the quantifier, because when we have the Intensity particle modifying the quantifier in first position, the Intensity particle comes after [quantifier + *tak*], while with verbs the order is V + Intens + Neg. For example:

- (71) a. *ma yumane tak ka_in ha chi.* [V + Intens + Neg]
 eat Intens Neg Foc/Tens I Cop
 'I do not eat very much.'
- b. [*a'di tak*] *yumane ka_in k'ate yi.* [Q + Intens]
 many Neg Intens Foc/Tens fish YI
 'There are very few fish.' or 'The fish are very few.'

The Negation particle will be discussed again in chapter 5, section 5.2.1.

3.3.3. Causative Particle

The causative construction, which will be discussed in depth in chapter 8 (section 8.1), involves the use of the morpheme *ka*, which occurs after the verb or predicate.

- (72) *hai-ts Yakair sa ka.*
 1-Erg Yakairu dance Caus
 ‘I made Yakairu dance.’
- (73) *hai-ts ka_in misu yi otae ka.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens water YI hot Caus
 ‘I am making the water hot.’

This morpheme is best analyzed as a particle because it cannot be considered a main verb, and auxiliary, or an adverb. *Ka* cannot be classified as a verb meaning ‘to.make’ or ‘to.cause’, because it is never found as the main verb of a clause. The Trumai verbs meaning ‘to.make’ are the Extended Intransitive *chuda* and the Transitive *kapan*. We can speculate that *ka* is historically a reduced form of *kapan*, but even if this is really the case, we must observe that there are differences between them, besides the difference in form: (i) as already mentioned, *ka* is not found as the main verb of a clause, while *kapan* is; (ii) *kapan* is used to express ‘to make’ in the sense of producing a material object, not in the causative sense; on the other hand, *ka* is specialized in the more abstract sense of ‘Causation’:

- (74) *hai-ts ka_in pike tox kapan.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens house ? make
 ‘I made the house.’
- (75) a. *hai-ts chi_in Yaka-k so (o)pi ka.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens Yaka-Erg fire extinguish Caus
 ‘I made Yaka extinguish the fire.’
- b. **hais chi_in Yaka-k so (o)pi kapan.*

Therefore, if *ka* really came historically from *kapan*, its status is already different from the source, both in terms of semantic and formal properties, which is exactly the scenario observed in the development of auxiliaries described by Heine (1993). Then the question is: could we say that *ka* is now an auxiliary for the expression of causation? It is similar to auxiliaries in that it is not possible to have the morpheme (*i*)*yi* between the verb and *ka* (cf. chapter 4, section 4.2.1.1):

- (76) **hai-ts ka_in Atawaka pa yi ka.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens Atawaka marry YI Caus
 (I made Atawaka marry.)

Also, *ka* can alternate word order with auxiliaries (V Aux Caus or V Caus Aux), a fact not observed with the Negation and Intensity particles (cf. examples in section 3.1.2., and in chapter 4, section 4.2.1.3). However, *ka* can alternate position with the Intensity particle too, while the auxiliaries have not been observed doing this.⁵ Besides this fact, there are other important differences between *ka* and auxiliaries:

(i) the configuration of the causative construction with Transitive verbs is different from the configuration of clauses with Transitive verbs + auxiliaries. To consider the morpheme *ka* an auxiliary is not advantageous (cf. chapter 4, section 4.1. for discussion of this issue);

⁵ The alternations of *ka* with auxiliaries and the Intensity particle probably has to do with its origins from the main verb, *kapan* 'make':

Present Construction	Possible Origin
V Aux Caus	[V Aux] _{NP} make
V Caus Aux	[V] _{NP} make Aux
V Intens Caus	[V Intens] _{NP} make
V Caus Intens	[V] _{NP} make Intens

(ii) the cleft construction with verbs modified by *ka* has particular characteristics. The cleft construction in Trumai is used to indicate contrastive focus (cf. chapter 5, section 5.1.2. for discussion of focus constructions). In the cleft, the Copula and the Focus/Tense particle are present, and the verb is modified by the relativizer *ke*, which follows the verb.

For instance:

- (77) *kiki ch̃i ka_in wal ke.*
 man Cop Foc/Tens sing RlZR
 ‘It is the man who is singing.’ [cleft]

A cleft construction with a verb modified by *ka* has a slightly different configuration: there is no Copula and the relativizer *ke* occurs not after the verb, but in a different position, after the Focus/Tense particle:

- (78) a. *hai-ts ma ka-n.*
 1-Erg eat Caus-3Abs
 ‘I made him eat.’ [simple causative]
- b. *hai-ts ka_in ke ma ka-n.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens eat Caus-3Abs
 ‘It was me who made him eat.’ [caus & cleft]
- (79) a. *kumaru-k hai-ts atlat mapa ka.*
 Kumaru-Erg 1-Erg pan break Caus
 ‘Kumaru made me break the pan.’ [simple causative]
- b. *kumaru-k ka_de_(in) ke hai-ts atlat mapa ka.*
 Kumaru-Erg Foc/Tens-already 1-Erg pan break Caus
 ‘It was Kumaru who already made me break the pan.’ [caus & cleft]

Notice that this special kind of cleft construction was never attested with simple clauses where the A argument (i.e. the NP marked as Ergative) is in focus: for focus on

the A argument, only the use of the Focus/Tense particle is necessary, either for simple/completive focus or for contrastive focus (cf. chapter 5, section 5.1.3):

- (80) *hai-ts ka_in atlat mapa.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens pan break
 ‘I (emphasis) broke the pan.’ or
 ‘It was me who broke the pan.’

Unless future research proves that our analysis is mistaken, it seems that the “cleft” construction observed in examples (78b-79b) is not linked to the fact that an ordinary Ergative NP is in contrastive focus, but rather that an Ergative NP in a causative construction - the causer - is in contrastive focus.⁶ This special kind of cleft construction is found only with verbs modified by *ka*. Clefts with verbs modified by auxiliaries present the usual configuration, with the relativizer *ke* after the verb:

- (81) *ha chi_in ma-kma ke.*
 1 Cop Foc/Tens eat-Perf RlZR
 ‘It was me who finished eating.’ [V+Aux & cleft]

Observe that there are clauses with the verb modified by the Causative particle *ka*, where it is possible to have a morpheme *ke* after the verb + Caus particle:

- (82) [*aus kod yi*] *de karakatu ka ke ha wan-ek.*
 honey/bee wax YI already protected Caus KE 1 PL-Erg
 ‘We keep the bee wax (lit: we make the bee wax be protected/kept).’

⁶ For simple/completive focus on the causer, only the use of the Focus/Tense particle is necessary:

- (i) *hai-ts ka_in ma ka-n.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens eat Caus-3Abs
 ‘I (emphasis) made him eat.’
- (ii) *kumaru-k ka_in hai-ts atlat mapa ka.*
 Kumaru-Erg Foc/Tens 1-Erg pan break Caus
 ‘Kumaru (emphasis) made me break the pan.’

However, the morpheme *ke* in this case is not a relativizer, but rather the *ke* that occurs when the Absolutive NP is not adjacent to the verb (cf. section 3.1.1). Notice that in this example, there is neither a copula nor the Focus/Tense particles *ka_in* or *chi_in*, like we see in (78b) and (79b). The example above is not a cleft.

In sum, (78b-79b) above represent a special kind of cleft observed only with verbs modified by the Causative particle.⁷ Therefore, *ka* has a special status with regard to its syntactic behavior and combinations with other words. For this reason, it seems more adequate to analyze *ka* not as an auxiliary, but as a particle, like the other particles that modify verbs and predicates and that present unique behavior.

3.3.4. Imperative Particles

There are three particles in Trumai for the expression of the Imperative mood with verbal predicates: *wana*, which occurs with (Extended) Intransitive verbs; *waki*, which occurs with (Extended) Transitive verbs when O is inanimate; and *wa*, which occur with Transitive verbs when O is animate. When the verb is Transitive but O is coreferential with the executor of the event (i.e. reflexive), then the particle used is *wana*.

These particles precede the verb, and when a DAT argument is also included in the imperative construction, it has to either precede the particle or follow the verb, but it

⁷ It is interesting to observe that attributive predicates also allow the presence of the relativizer *ke* after the Focus/Tense particle *ka_in* (cf. chapter 2). However, the attributive predicate has the word order [Pred *ka_in ke* Subj Cop], while here the word order is [Causer *ka_in ke* Causee O V Particle]. In other words, there is a parallelism with regard to the placement of *ke*, but that is the only similarity between attributive predicates and the causative construction with constrative focus on the causer.

cannot occur between the particle and the verb. Below, we have some examples of the

Imperative particles:

- (83) wana *pita*
Imp go.out 'Go out!'
- (84) a. waki *kitikitiiw*
Imp scrub 'Scrub it (pan)!'
- b. wa *kitikitiiw*
Imp scrub 'Scrub him!'
- c. wana *kitikitiiw*
Imp scrub 'Scrub yourself!'
- (85) a. *ine-tl* waki *kiŋi*
3-Dat Imp give 'Give (it) to him.'
- b. *ine-tl* wa *kiŋi*
3-Dat Imp give 'Give (an animal) to him.'
- (86) a. wana *sonē*
Imp drink 'Drink (it).'
- b. *wirix-ki* wana *sonē*
manioc.porridge-Dat Imp drink 'Drink the manioc porridge!'
- c. wana *sonē* *wirix-ki*.
Imp drink manioc.porridge-Dat 'Drink the manioc porridge!'

It is also possible to have the Imperative construction with a verb modified by the Causative particle. Again, we will have *wa* or *waki*, depending on whether the entity affected by the event is animate or inanimate:

- (87) a. *wa* *wapta* ka.
Imp fall Caus 'Make him fall.'
- b. *waki* *wapta* ka.
Imp fall Caus 'Make it fall'

For the expression of the negative Imperative, there is the particle *wanach*. This particle follows the verb rather than preceding it, and it is found with (Extended) Intransitive verbs modified by *tak*. The use of *wana* preceding or following the verb is not possible:

- (88) a. *sone tak wanach.* 'Do not drink!'
 drink neg Imp
 b. * *wana sone tak.*
 c. * *sone tak wana.*

In the case of Transitive verbs, there is no parallel form to *wanach* (something like *wakich*). The only difference between negative and affirmative Imperative for Transitive verbs is that in the negative modality the particle *waki* follows the verb rather than precedes it:⁸

- (89) *mapa tak waki.*
 break Neg Imp
 'Do not break it!'
- (90) a. *kijī tak waki.*
 give Neg Imp
 'Do not give (it).'
- b. **kijī tak wakich.*

With regard to *wanach*, it is interesting to observe that this particle can also be found in an Imperative construction with a noun that is a predicate,⁹ but the construction

⁸ Unfortunately, there is no data with *wa*, the Imperative particle for animate O.

⁹ With regard to the Imperative construction with adjectives as predicate, it can use both *wana* and *wanach*, as already mentioned in chapter 2 (cf. section 2.2.4).

in this case is affirmative, not negative.¹⁰

- (91) *di wanach*
 woman Imp
 ‘Be a woman’ (behave like a woman) [di here is a nominal word]

If the same nominal root behaves as verbal word (as already described in chapter 2, section 2.2.1), it is then requires the particle *wana*:

- (92) *wana di*
 Imp have.woman
 ‘Marry!’ (lit: Have a woman) [di here is a verbal word]

As we can see in the examples above, the Imperative construction with a negated Intransitive verb (88) and the Imperative with a nominal predicate (91) pattern together with regard to their preferred Imperative particle (*wanach*). It is interesting to observe that such alignment is observed in other parts of Trumai grammar as well; for example, when the word order of a negative clause is “reversed” and the verb modified by the Negation particle appears in first position, the configuration of the clause is nominal rather than verbal: [V Neg ka_in Subj Cop]. The configuration of negative clauses is discussed

¹⁰ The consultants had difficulties in giving the negative version of example (91), i.e., ‘do not be a woman’. The example they offered is the same as the negative version of (92):

- (i) *di tak wanach*
 woman Neg Imp
 ‘Do not marry.’ or ‘Do not be a woman (do not behave as a woman).’

We expected the nominal predicate to be negated by *anuk*, but the consultants insisted on the data above. It might be that the use of *di* here is more adjective-like than noun-like, because negative Imperative constructions with adjectives are also negated by *tak*:

- (ii) *tsi-xerere tak wanach*
 TSI-wet Neg Imp
 ‘Do not become wet!’

This point needs to be rechecked with other consultants.

in chapters 5 (sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.3) and 6; the Imperative construction is analyzed in more detail in chapter 6, section 6.4.

3.4. Adverbs

A verb in the VP can be modified by adverbs of manner, such as *kometani* ‘slowly’. Some adjectival roots can also behave adverbially, modifying the verb with respect to manner (*ae* ‘well’¹¹) or intensity (*paŋ* ‘a.little’). The same happens for some nominal roots, which can be used adverbially to indicate the time of the event (*xodaka* ‘in.the.morning’). It is interesting to observe that when *xodaka* occurs out of the VP, it needs a Dative marker: *xodaka-ki* (example (98)).

These adverbial modifiers occur in the final position of the VP. However, true adverbs are actually found more often occurring outside the VP, modifying the whole clause, rather than inside the VP modifying the verb. Below, we have examples of adverbs inside and outside the VP, and adjectival/nominal roots behaving as adverbial modifiers.

- adverb

(93) [[*iyi*] *ka’chi* *kometani*]-n.
 IYI come slow-3Abs
 ‘He is coming slowly.’

(94) [[*iyi*] *ka’chi*]-n *kometani*.
 IYI come-3Abs slow
 ‘He is coming slowly.’

[adverb outside VP]

¹¹ *ae* can be found also as an adjective:

(i) *nanede* *ae* ‘beautiful sky’

- adjectival root

(95) *hay hen [hu'tsa ae]-n ale.*
 ? then see beautiful-3Abs hearsay
 'Then he saw well.'

(96) *nichits, [falʔi falʔi paʔ]-e.*
 now be.ashamed little-3Abs
 'Now, they are a little ashamed.'

- nominal root

(97) *ina hen [waʔkan tsula xodaka]-In ale.*
 there then cry lie morning-3Abs hearsay
 'Then people say that he lay crying during the night/early morning.'

(98) *xodaka-ki hen [takwara letsi] [[wan] sa]-n.*
 morning-Dat then Taquara Instr PL dance-3Abs
 'On the next day, they dance Taquara (a kind of dance).'
[here, xodaka is outside the VP. It has a Dative mark]

The words that can be considered adverbs in Trumai are the ones such as: *nichits* 'now', *kaksu* 'in past', *huk'an* 'still', *de* 'already', *huʔa* 'later', *hat'ke* 'in future' (certain), *ifke* 'in future' (not certain), *manlo* 'times ago', *hen* 'then', *ni* 'here', *ina* 'there', *kaale* 'there, far', *kaina* 'there, far.away', *kometani* 'slowly', *aloke* 'fast', *wits'in* 'fast or strong', etc. There is no special morphology for adverbs, a fact that makes them different from nouns, verbs and adjectives. Only the syntactic behaviors of adverbs help us in the task of identifying them. The main characteristics of Trumai adverbs are:

- a. they can occur inside a VP, modifying the verb (cf. example 93 above);
- b. more often, they are found outside the VP, modifying the whole clause (cf. examples (102-116) below);

c. they can modify or be modified by another adverb:

- (99) a. *manlo* ' (It was) sometime ago'
 b. *manlo de* ' (It was) already sometime ago'
- (100) a. *hahak* 'negation adverb'
 b. *hahak huk'an* 'not yet'
- (101) a. *huk'an* 'still'
 b. *huk'an ik* 'Wait!' (lit: still, first)

d. they can occupy different positions in a clause. Here, some examples are presented:

• at the beginning of the clause (being highlighted by *ka-in* / *chi-in* or not)

- (102) *kometani ka_in ha ma.*
 slowly Foc/Tens 1 eat
 'I eat slowly.'
- (103) *huk'an wan yi chuda-n tupe-s.*
 still PL YI make-3Abs fan-Dat
 'They still make fans.'
- (104) *manlo kalapalo wan wal.*
 times.ago Kalapalo PL sing
 'Long ago, the Kalapalo people sang.'

• at the end of the clause

- (105) *ha ma ka_in kometani.*
 1 eat Foc/Tens slowly
 'I eat slowly.'
- (106) *ha huma kaksu.*
 1 take.bath in.past
 'I took a bath (a while ago).'
- (107) *wan hod pumu-n de huk'an.*
 PL ask enter-3Abs already still
 'They still enter to ask (it).'

• in the second position

- (108) [*otl tak*] *hat'ke* *ha chi*.
 sleep Neg in.future 1 Cop
 'I will not sleep.'
- (109) [*hai*]-*ts* *huk'an* *Aria wa-padi*.
 1-Erg still Aria WA-wait
 'I still will wait for Aria.'
- (110) [*Pavuru*]-*n* *kaksu* [*fad yuraw yi fa*].
 Pavuru-Loc in.past flu imitator YI hit
 'In Pavuru there was hooping-cough taking/hitting (people).'
- (111) [*a'di*] *de* *icha wenke inak wan-ek*.
 many already tooth pull.out 3 PL-Erg
 'They already pulled/took.out many teeth.'

• between VP and DAT/Loc/Instr/etc. (special variation of the second position)

- (112) [[*ha*] *hu'tsa*] *kaksu* [*hura'i*]-*s* [*misu mala*]-*n*.
 1 see in.past bird-Dat river/water edge-Loc
 'I saw birds on the edges of the river.' (same example as 15)
- (113) [[*ha*] *son*e] *hen* [*oke*]-*s*.
 1 drink then medicine-Dat
 'Then I took medicine.'

• other positions inside the clause (less often attested)

- (114) [*pap tak*] *ka_in* *hat'ke* [*hai*-*ts*].
 pay Neg Foc/Tens in.future 1-Erg
 'I will not pay (it).'
- (115) [*nika*] [*de*] *tach* [[*iyi*] *pumu-n*]
 here already again IYI enter-3Abs
 'Here he already entered again.'
- (116) [*hai*]-*ts* *ka_in* *huk'an* [[*k'ate*] *huṭke*].
 1-Erg Foc/Tens still fish clean.fish
 'I am still going to clean the fish.'

It is interesting to observe that some adverbs behave similarly to the Focus/Tense particles *ka_in* and *chĩ_in*, which also can occur in the second position of a clause (the position between verb and I.O. observed in the examples above is also a second position, since [S V_{intr}] in Trumai forms a constituent, as already mentioned). The adverbs that very often are found at the second position are: *huk'an* 'still', *kaksu* 'in.past', *ifke/hat'ke* 'in.future', and *hen* 'then', all adverbs of time. The Focus/Tense particles also carry information about the time of the event described in the clause. Perhaps that fact favors the occurrence of adverbs of time at the second position.

The similarity of behavior between the Focus/Tense particles and the adverbs is also worthy of attention because adverbs are the only elements that can “break” these units, that is, they can occur between *ka / chĩ* and *in*, a fact that makes the units not completely lexicalized yet. However, not all adverbs are found “breaking” the Focus/Tense particles. The only ones to do so are: *de* 'already', *huk'an* 'still', *men* 'frustratively', and *nuk* 'then'. It is important to notice that although these adverbs can be found “inside” the Focus/Tense particles, they can also occur in other positions in the clause; therefore, they are not “part” of the units.

- (117) *di a yi wal napta chĩ de in.*
 woman Dual YI sing Incho already
 'The two women already began to sing.'
- (118) *lawka tak ka huk'an in apapa ni lots'.*
 move Neg still father(voc) here Abl
 'My dad did not move yet from here.'
- (119) *paye letsi ka men in ha tsika-tke in.*
 shaman Instr frustrative 1 to.turn.into-Des Foc
 'I want to be a shaman.'

- (120) *hulaṭ-en ka nuk in a'di huyaṭ iyi.*
 beach/sand-Loc then many sea.gull IYI
 'There are then many seagulls on the beach.'
- (121) a. *ha ma ka de in.*
 I eat already
 'I am already eating.'
- b. *ha ma ka huk'an in.*
 I eat still
 'I am still eating.'
- c. **ha ma ka huṭa in.*
 I eat after
 (Later I eat.) [not all adverbs are allowed here]
- d. **ha ma ka kometani in.*
 I eat slowly
 (I eat slowly.) [same case]

Do these adverbs have a special status? Or is it their combination with the Focus/Tense particles what makes them special? We observe that the choice between *ka_in* or *ka_de_in* does produce some semantic differences with predicates involving adjectival roots, as mentioned in chapter 2: the presence of *ka_de_in* indicates that the entity is undergoing (or has undergone) a change of state, while the use of *ka_in* seems to be more neutral, indicating only that the entity is in a state (cf. examples (94-95) in section 2.2.4).

It seems that the interaction between the Focus/Tense particles and the adverbs listed above needs to be better understood, but as of now there is no further available information for a more detailed analysis. This is one more point for future research.

Finally, two observations:

(i) two adverbs - *hen* 'then', and *nuk* 'then/so'¹² - can be used as a kind of discursive connector, helping to establish relationships among sentences.

(122) a. *manlo kaksu ha elka (h)iwda kawa kanarana (h)i'ta.*
 times.ago in.past 1 exchange Dir go Canarana Allat
 'Long ago, I went to Canarana to buy (things).'

b. *ha elka hen yaw pits' pīt-as.*
 1 exchange then human.being foot skin-Dat
 'Then I bought shoes.'

(123) a. *hamuna in hi (hi)laka?*
 where Foc 2 village
 'Where do you live?' (lit: Where is your village?)

b. *nina ka_in ha hilaka, Terra Preta-n. hamuna in hi (hi)laka yi nuk?*
 here Foc/Tens 1 village Terra Preta-Loc. where Foc 2 village YI then
 'I live here, in Terra Preta. So, where do you live?'

(ii) Apparently, Trumai does not have an Adversative Subordinate clause. In order to express an adversative sense, speakers use the adverb *men* 'frustratively' in one clause, which is followed by the clause that expresses the adversative condition (but this second clause has no special morphology). For example:

¹² Even though both adverbs *hen* and *nuk* can be translated as 'then', there are differences between them: *hen* is 'then' in the temporal sense (at that time), while *nuk* has the sense of 'in that case' or 'so'.

Examples:

(i) *ha tsula hen esak-en.*
 1 lie then hammock-Loc
 'Then, I lay on the hammock.'

(ii) *ham yi nuk kafe yi?*
 where YI then coffee YI
 'In that case/So, where is the coffee?'
 (somebody invited me to have coffee; I ask where the coffee is)

(iii) *ha padi ik nuk hi tam ha hak.*
 1 wait first then 2 Com 1 Purp
 'In that case, wait for me, so I (go) with you.'
 (a woman tells me that she is going to the river. I want her to wait for me).

- (124) *ha chī_in men tam xoxan katsu-tke ke,*
 1 Foc/Tens frustratively also wash Dir-Des KE
hai-kte sapaun yi wanle de.
 1-Gen soap YI be.done already
 'I also wanted to go washing (clothes), but my soap is used up.'
- (125) *ha ma-tke men , k'ate nik nuk iyi.*
 1 eat-Des frustrative fish without then IYI
 'I would like to eat, but there is no fish.'

3.5. Copula

The final section of this chapter is dedicated to a description of the Trumai Copula. As we will see, the Copula is different from verbs in many ways.

The main characteristics of the Copula are the following:

- a. it occurs optionally in non-verbal predicates, establishing the relationship between the subject and the predicate. In predicates of location, the copula in general does not occur. In nominal predicates, the presence of the copula is more frequent, especially with 1st. and 2nd. personal pronouns. Examples:

- (126) *pike-n ka_in ha chī.*
 house-Loc Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I am in the house.'
- (127) *misu-n ka_in itak yi.*
 river-Loc Foc/Tens stone YI
 'The stone is in the river.' [nominal predicate without copula]
- (128) *paye (ka_in) ha chī.*
 shaman Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I am a shaman.'
- (129) *t-eche (ka_in) ha chī.*
 3Poss-husband Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I am her husband.'

b. it occurs at the end of the clause, preceded by the subject (cf. examples above)

c. it can occur in different positions in equative predicates, but still preceded by the subject:

	Pred		Foc/Tens		Subj	Cop
(130)	<i>Aria che</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ka_in</i>		<i>Tawapī</i>	<i>chī.</i>
	Aria husband	YI	Foc/Tens		Tawapī	Cop
	'Tawapī is Aria's husband.'					

		Subj	Cop	Foc/Tens		Pred
(131)	<i>Tawapī</i>	<i>chī</i>		<i>ka_in</i>		<i>Aria che yi.</i>
	Tawapī	Cop		Foc/Tens		Aria husband YI
	'Aria's husband is Tawapī.' (lit: Tawapī (new info) is Aria's husband.)					

d. it cannot be modified by auxiliaries or verbal particles (such as the negator *tak*).

Therefore, it behaves differently from verbs:

(132)	<i>*paye</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>chī-tke.</i>
	shaman	1	Cop-Des
	(I want to be a shaman.)		

(133)	<i>*paye</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>chī-kma.</i>
	shman	1	Cop-Perf
	(I became completely a shaman.)		

(134)	<i>*paye</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>chī</i>	<i>napta.</i>
	shaman	1	Cop	Incho
	(I started becoming a shaman.)			

e. it can receive the enclitic *-n/-e* (in non-verbal predicates, *-n/-e* occurs at the end of the clause):

(135)	<i>trumai</i>	<i>ka_in</i>	<i>chī-n.</i>
	Trumai	Foc/Tens	Cop-3Abs
	'He is Trumai.'		

f. it presents an alternation with the morpheme (*i*)*yi*, but does not co-occur with it. The use of *chĩ* seems to imply a more formal speech. Examples:

(136) *kiki ka_in chĩ-n.*
man Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
'He is a man.'

(137) *kiki ka_in iyi-n.*
man Foc/Tens IYI-3Abs
'He is a man.'

(138) **kiki ka_in iyi chĩ-n.*
shaman Foc/Tens IYI Cop-3Abs
(He is a man.)

(139) *di ka_in chĩ-n.*
woman Foc/Tens Cop-Abs
'She is a woman.'
[according to the consultant, the speaker here expresses respect for the person who is the subject of the talk - perhaps a more formal speech]

(140) *di ka_in iyi-n.*
woman Foc/Tens IYI-3Abs
'She is a woman.'
[here, the speaker has less respect for the person who is the subject of the talk - perhaps a more casual speech]

In relation to the occurrence of the Copula in dialogues, some remarks need to be made: observing the Trumai discourse, we can see that the morpheme *chĩ* is very frequent in use. However, not all occurrences of the form *chĩ* represent the use of the Copula. We have to distinguish between the *chĩ* 'Copula' and the *chĩ* which is reduction of the Focus/Tense particle *chĩ_in*. Historically, the *chĩ* of the Focus/Tense particle came from the Copular use (cf. chapter 5 for details), but its modern function and meaning are now different. In order to determine whether an occurrence of *chĩ* is the Copula or a reduced form of [*chĩ_in*], we have to look at the distribution of the morpheme in question, since

chī ‘Copula’ and *chī* reduction of [*chī_in*] occur in environments that are similar, but not quite the same. Also, in elicitation the replacement of the occurrence of *chī* by the whole unit [*chī_in*] is a good strategy for the differentiation, since the replacement is allowed only when *chī* is the reduction of the Focus/Tense particle.¹³

Table 3.1. Distribution of *chī* ‘Copula’ and *chī* ‘reduction of the Focus/Tense particle’

	copula	chī_in
final position	after S	after the verb
second position	between a NP and one of the Focus/Tense particles	after any kind of element (not necessarily a NP)

Conjoining distribution plus replacement:

- **distribution of the Copula:**

1. final position, after S. This is the position often occupied by the Copula:

- (141) a. *trumai (ka_in) ha chī.*
 Trumai Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am Trumai.’

b. **trumai (ka_in) ha chī_in.*

2. second position, between a NP and the Focus/Tense particle [*ka_in*] or [*chī_in*]. This

¹³ There is also a morpheme *chī* that is a verb meaning ‘go’. This verb is different from the Copula with regard to semantics, syntactic behavior and morphology: it occurs in verbal predicates, i.e., [S V] word order. It receives the middle voice prefix *wa-*. It can be modified by the negator *tak*. It can be modified by auxiliaries. Examples:

- (i) *hi aton yi wa-chī de in.*
 2 pet YI WA-go already Foc
 ‘You pet already went away.’ [receives morpheme *wa-*; SV order]
- (ii) *kut’a-s chī tak de iyi-n.*
 plantation-Dat go Neg already IYI-3Abs
 ‘He does not go to the plantation.’ [modified by *tak* - [V *tak* S] order, like in the negation of verbal predicates]
- (iii) *ha chī kiwa de.*
 1 go Direc already
 ‘I am already going upriver.’ [modified by auxiliary of direction]

position is occupied by the Copula in equative clauses or in clefts:

- (142) a. *Kokoetsan chī ka_in Yakairu adifle yi.*
 Kokoetsan Cop Foc/Tens Yakairu sister YI
 ‘Kokoetsan (new info) is Yakairu’s sister.’ [equative]

b. **Kokoetsan chī in ka_in Yakairu adifle yi.*

- (143) a. *ha chī chī_in wal ke.*
 1 Cop Foc/Tens sing RlZR
 ‘It was me who was singing.’ [cleft]

b. **ha chī in chī_in wal ke.*

• **distribution of *chī* reduction of *chī in*:**

1. final position after the verb:

- (144) a. *ha ami chī.*
 1 speak Foc/Tens
 ‘I spoke.’

b. *ha ami chī in.*
 1 speak Foc/Tens
 ‘I spoke.’

2. second position, not necessarily after a NP (can be any constituent). That is the position where *chī in* most often occurs.

- (145) a. *kiki-k chī k’ate kiŋi ha wan-ki.*
 man-Erg Foc/Tens fish give 1 PL-Dat
 ‘The man gave fish to us.’

b. *kiki-k chī in k’ate kiŋi ha wan-ki.*
 man-Erg Foc/Tens fish give 1 PL-Dat
 ‘The man gave fish to us.’

- (146) a. *kuhmu tak chī hai-ts iyi.*
 throw Neg Foc/Tens 1-Erg IYI
 ‘I did not throw (it) away.’

b. *kuhmu tak chī in hai-ts iyi.*
 throw Neg Foc/Tens 1-Erg IYI
 ‘I did not throw (it) away.’

Therefore, although relatively similar in occurrence, the use of *chi* ‘Copula’ can be distinguished from *chi* ‘reduction of the Focus/Tense particle’.

A final remark on the Copula is that this morpheme is found very often in nominalizations, such as the examples below:

- (147) *esa-n* *chi-k*
 dance-Loc Cop-Nzr
 ‘dancer’ (lit: the one who is in the dance) - from *sa* ‘to.dance’
- (148) *Terra Preta-n* *chi-k*
 Terra Preta-Loc Cop-Nzr
 ‘people from Terra Preta (lit: the ones who are in Terra Preta Village)
- (149) *Diawarun-an* *chi-k*
 Diauarum-Loc Cop-Nzr
 ‘people from Diauarum (lit: the ones who are in Diauarum)

CHAPTER 4

Auxiliaries

In this chapter, Trumai auxiliaries are described. First, we discuss the problems concerning the definition of the term ‘auxiliary’, and the motivations that made us use this term for the forms treated in this chapter.

After this introductory discussion, we present the characteristics of Trumai auxiliaries: the general properties observed with all the forms (section 4.2.1) and other properties that are specific to individual auxiliaries (section 4.2.2). Next, we have sections dedicated to Aspect and Mood auxiliaries (4.3) and Body Posture (4.4). The final section (4.5) treats the Directional auxiliaries in detail.

4.1. Definition of the notion “Auxiliary” and the linguistic literature

As Heine (1993:4-5) points out, the term ‘auxiliary’ is not very well defined in the linguistic literature: “in many languages, experts will disagree with one another in defining the term *auxiliary*, or in determining the range of entities that should be subsumed under this label, or in deciding whether there is a need for such a label in the first place”. The relationship between auxiliaries and verbs is also a subject of intense discussion: some authors treat them as different categories; others refer to auxiliaries as subsets of verbs; there are authors that mention that some auxiliaries can have “main verb uses” too. Heine also observes that auxiliaries have an “amphibian nature”, being neither clearly lexical nor clearly grammatical entities.

For Heine, the use of the term ‘auxiliary’ is “...primarily associated with a limited range of notional domains, most of all with the domain of tense, aspect, and modality”, although he says that auxiliaries are not restricted only to these domains. Heine analyzes auxiliaries using a diachronic/grammaticalization perspective, and he describes the schematic concepts employed in the evolution of auxiliaries from verbs (the form in evolution from one kind of meaning, more concrete, to another one, more abstract). With this approach, the behaviors exhibited by auxiliaries and their relationship with verbs become more clear. The basic idea is that “..an auxiliary is no longer a full verb but not yet a grammatical inflection either...” (Heine: 86). That is, auxiliaries are a kind of intermediate form, which gives account in some degree for their behaviors.

Given the lack of historical information about Trumai and the impossibility of doing internal reconstruction for this description, we are not going to use a diachronic approach. However, we will take into consideration some of the ideas presented by Heine.

So, the forms that we calling auxiliaries in Trumai are verbal modifiers associated with the domain of aspect, mood, and spatial orientation (this last domain is subdivided into body posture of the entity performing the event and directionality of the event being performed). These forms present what Heine calls the “amphibian nature” of auxiliaries: they are neither clearly lexical nor clearly grammatical units. They are different from main verbs, from adverbs, and they cannot be treated together with verbal particles.

To distinguish them from verbs, the forms classified as auxiliaries in Trumai show several differences:

- (i) they do not have independent argument structure (cf. section 4.2.1.1);
- (ii) they lack lexical content: aspect/mood auxiliaries have very abstract meaning; body posture and directional auxiliaries have a semantic content that is also relatively abstract (cf. section 4.2.2.3);
- (iii) many of the forms exhibit phonological reduction (cf. section 4.2.2.1). Heine observes that forms that undergo grammaticalization lose formal characteristics of the full categories, and later they even undergo changes in phonological form;
- (iv) they form a closed class, i.e. only members of the auxiliary class are allowed to behave as one of them. Full verbs cannot behave like them;

To distinguish them from adverbs, the difference is that auxiliaries do not exhibit flexibility of position like adverbs do. The forms classified as auxiliaries can occur only inside the VP, following the verb (cf. section 4.2.1.2).

The distinction between the auxiliaries and the verbal particles (i.e. Imperative, Negation, Intensity, and Causation particles) is somewhat more complicated because they are very similar: both auxiliaries and the particles are postverbal, internal to the VP, and they have abstract content. Thus, we considered the possibility of eliminating the category of auxiliaries and treating them as being verbal particles too. We also considered the possibility of doing the reverse, that is, including the particles into the auxiliary category.

It seemed to us finally that it was more adequate to keep the two categories apart, because of certain facts: first, no particle exhibits phonological reduction, while some auxiliaries do. Each verbal particle exhibits particular behaviors that are not shared by the

forms classified as auxiliaries:

- the Imperative particles are preverbal, so they are clearly different. Only the particle *wanach* is postverbal, but it does not make sense to treat *wanach* differently from the other Imperative particles;
- the Negation particle *tak* does not receive the 3Abs enclitic (cf. chapter 3, section 3.1.3), while auxiliaries do. Also, the combinability of *tak* with auxiliaries is restricted, while auxiliaries present some variation in their combinations (cf. section 4.2.1.3);
- the intensity particle *yumane* modifies other word classes besides verbs (cf. 3.3.1);
- the Causation particle *ka* displays flexible combination with auxiliaries: V Aux Caus ; V Caus Aux. The problem with saying that *ka* is also an auxiliary is that the configuration of the causative construction in Trumai has a special characteristic: when the causativized verb is Transitive, the construction has two Ergative NPs, the causer and the causee. No clause with a Transitive verb modified by an auxiliary has a similar configuration. The causation particle behaves as if it were a Transitive main verb, presenting its own argument structure; however, *ka* cannot be called a verb for a series of reasons (cf. chapter 8, section 8.1). Auxiliaries do not have an influence on the argument structure of the clause where they occur. Therefore, if we include the Causation morpheme *ka* in the class of auxiliaries, it has to be treated as a very particular kind of auxiliary; but then, if *ka* is such a special form, is it really useful to include it in the class of auxiliaries? If *ka* has to be differentiated from the other

auxiliaries, then it is better to treat it as not being an auxiliary. That is the position we are assuming in our study.

Therefore, for the current analysis, we are treating auxiliaries as a category that is distinct from verbs, adverbs, and verbal particles. This analysis may be possibly changed if future investigation reveals facts that favor a single treatment for verbal particles and auxiliaries; but for the moment, that is the treatment we are offering in this description of Trumai.

4.2. The properties of Trumai auxiliaries

Now, let us examine the characteristics that the Trumai auxiliaries exhibit. First, we present the kinds of auxiliaries found in this language and the properties shared by all of them. Section 4.2.2. presents the properties that are observed only with some auxiliaries.

4.2.1. The general properties

The Trumai auxiliaries can be grouped in three sets: auxiliaries for the expression of Aspect and Mood (AM); auxiliaries that indicate the body orientation of the entity performing an event (Body Posture); and auxiliaries that indicate the directionality of the event (Directionals). Below, we have examples of each kind of auxiliary:

- **Aspect and Mood:**

- (1) *iyi sone-kna-n de.*
 IYI drink-Perf-3Abs already
 ‘He already finished drinking.’ or ‘He already drank all.’
- (2) *ha xom take ka_in fi-s.*
 I suck Des Foc/Tens tobacco-Dat
 ‘I want to smoke.’

- **Body Posture:**

(3) *ha ma katsi ka_in.*
 1Abs eat be.seated Foc/Tens
 ‘I am eating in a sitting position.’

(4) *iyi ma chumuchu-n.*
 IYI eat lie-3Abs
 ‘He is eating lying (on the floor).’

- **Directionals:**

(5) *ha lax kahmi anenewte (h)ita.*
 1 hunt Dir(up.hill) woods Allat
 ‘I go up to the woods to hunt.’

(6) *ha ka'chi lako.*
 1 walk Dir(down.hill)
 ‘I go down walking.’

(7) *ka'ne chay kaksu ha wan laketsi hiwda Morena-ki.*
 yesterday in.past 1 PL visit Dir(up.river) Morená-Dat
 ‘Yesterday we went up to Morená for a visit.’

(8) *ha huma-ktsu.*
 1 take.bath-Dir(towards.river)
 ‘I go to river to take a bath.’¹

The properties that are common to all auxiliaries are:

- Occurrence inside of the VP, with no “extra” subordinating morphology on content V
- Inability to occur post-VP
- Combination with other auxiliaries

Now, let us look at each of these characteristics.

¹ As already mentioned, some auxiliaries can cliticize (cf. section 4.2.2.1).

4.2.1.1. Internal to VP

Auxiliaries occur inside the VP, modifying the verb. They are all post verbal and they can bear the 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e*, which occurs at the end of the VP.

Inside the VP, postverbal

- (9) *[[ha] ma-kma] de.*
 1 eat-Perf already
 ‘I already finished eating.’ or ‘I already ate all.’
- (10) *[[ha] lax kamu].*
 1 hunt Dir (downriver)
 ‘I go downriver to hunt.’
- (11) *hai-ts [[ha mut] xoxan katsu].*
 1-Erg 1 dress wash Dir(towards.river)
 ‘I go to river to wash my dresses/clothes.’
- (12) *[[wan] oko katsi]-n de.*
 PL watch/keep.guard be.seated-3Abs already
 ‘They, being seated, watch (her).’

Can bear the 3Abs enclitic:

- (13) *[[wan] kitiw kuma]-n hen.*
 PL grate Perf-3Abs then
 ‘They finish grating manioc.’
- (14) *[[iyi] fa-tke]-n ka_in ka wan-ki.*
 IYI kill-Des-3Abs Foc/Tens 1 PL-Dat
 ‘He wants to kill us.’
- (15) *[[wan] hu'tsa hiwda-ktsi]-n.*
 PL see Dir(up.river)-Direc(towards.interior)-3Abs
 ‘They (the doctors) are coming upriver (to our village) to see (the sick people).’

One could wonder if the forms that we are calling ‘auxiliaries’ should be analyzed rather as main verbs that take a subordinate verb as their complement. For instance, in

examples (16)-(17) below, one could say that *k(a)tsu* is an Intransitive verb meaning ‘go towards river’ and the verbs *huma* and *etsi* would be its “complements”, expressing the purpose/circumstance of the motion towards the river:

- (16) *Atawaka huma-ktsu.*
 Atawaka take.bath-Dir(towards.river)
 ‘Atawaka went to the river to take a bath.’
- (17) *hai-ts axos etsi-ktsu.*
 1-Erg child carry- Dir(towards.river)
 ‘I go to the river carrying the child.’

However, when a subordinate clause is used to express the purpose of a main event, or to express another event that is co-occurring with the main event, special morphology is required after the subordinate verb: the postposition *tam* for a simultaneity clause, and the subordinator *(a)hak* for a purposive clause (cf. chapter 10, sections 10.3.1.3 and 10.3.2, respectively). Observe in examples (16-17) that there is no such extra morphology. A verb modified by *k(a)tsu* does not receive any subordinating morphology; this fact is also true for verbs modified by all the other forms that we are calling ‘auxiliaries’.

Another important fact observed in example (17) is that *k(a)tsu* has no influence on the case-marking of the NPs in the clause. It is the verb *etsi* that determines their marking: *etsi* is Transitive; the agent *hai* ‘I’ is marked as Ergative and the patient *axos* ‘child’ is marked as Absolutive. If the main verb is switched to an Extended Intransitive (such as *hu'tsa* ‘see’), the case-marking of the NPs in the clause changes as well:

- (18) *axos-ki ha hu'tsa-ktsu.*
 child-Dat 1 see- Dir(towards.river)
 'I am going to the river to see the child.'
 [agent is now Absolutive; "patient" is marked as Dative]

In other words, main verbs have independent argument structure, but auxiliaries do not. Auxiliaries are really different from verbs.

One additional difference between them is that when we have the sequence [V Aux], the morpheme *(i)yi* cannot occur between the verb and the auxiliary, while in subordinated clauses that are complements of Transitive verbs, the presence of *(i)yi* is possible after the subordinate verb (cf. chapter 10, section 10.2.2). For example:

- V Aux
- (19) a. *ma-tke-n ka_in.*
 eat-Des -3Abs Foc/Tens
 'He wants to eat.'
- b. **ma yi-tke-n ka_in*
- V Aux
- (20) a. *ha sa hup ka_in.*
 1 dance be.able.to Foc/tens
 'I know how to dance.'
- b. **ha sa yi hup ka_in.*
- (21) **pech yi pita-n.*
 run YI go.out
 (he runs going out)

note the contrast:

- V V_{trans}
- (22) a. *hai-ts chi_in [axos waʃkan] homne.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens child cry find
 'I found the child crying.'

V V_{trans}

b. *hai-ts chi_in [axos waʃkan yi] homne.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens child cry YI find
 'I found the child crying.'

V V_{trans}

(23) a. *hai-ts [ain] homne-n.*
 1-Erg play find-3Abs
 'I found her playing.'

V V_{trans}

b. *hai-ts [ain yi] homne-n.*
 1-Erg play YI find-3Abs
 'I found her playing.'

Therefore, the sequence [V Aux] is not the same as the sequence [V_{SBRD} V_{MAIN}].

4.2.1.2. Inability to occur post-VP

Unlike adverbs, auxiliaries cannot occur outside the VP, at the last position of the clause. As already demonstrated in chapter 3 (section 3.4), adverbs have flexibility of position, but auxiliaries do not. They always have to be VP internal. For instance:

(24) a. *axos ma-kma ka_in.*
 child eat-Perf Foc/Tens
 'The child ate everything.'

b. **axos ma ka_in k(u)ma.*

(25) **iyi sone-n kuma.*
 IYI drink-3Abs finish
 (he finished drinking)

(26) **iyi ma-n katsi.*
 IYI eat-3Abs be.seated
 (he is eating in a sitting position.)

- (27) **iyi ma-n chumuchu.*
 IYI eat-3Abs lie
 (he is eating lying on the floor).

4.2.1.3. Combination among auxiliaries

It is possible to have more than one auxiliary in a VP. Auxiliaries can combine in several ways, which are described below.

- **Verb AM - AM**: it is possible to have more than one Aspect/Mood auxiliary in a VP.

Alternation in word order between the auxiliaries is possible when there is little difference in the semantic effect; otherwise, the order cannot be changed:

- (28) *ha sone-tke-kma chi_in.*
 1 drink-Des-Perf Foc/Tens
 'I wanted to drink completely.'
- (29) *ha sone-kma-tke chi_in.*
 1 drink-Perf-Des Foc/Tens
 'I wanted to drink completely.'
- (30) a. *ha sa-kma-chketsi ka_de_in.*
 1 dance-Perf-Incho Foc/Tens-already
 'I am already finishing dancing.' (lit: I am beginning to finish dancing)
- b. **ha sa-chketsi-kma ka_de_in.*
 [aspectual auxiliaries cannot combine freely if the semantic effect is strange]

- **Verb Direc - Direc**: such a combination is frequently observed in texts, and often involves the auxiliary *ketsi* 'towards the interior of a location'. In this kind of combination, the auxiliary *ketsi* is always final, perhaps because of iconicity (i.e. first the person arrives at a location, then s/he moves towards its interior; the auxiliary *ketsi*

comes after the other Directional auxiliary in order to be iconic to the chronological sequence of events). For instance:

- (31) a. *kiki elka hiwda-ktsi asuka-s.*
 man exchange Dir(upriver)-Dir(towards.interior) sugar-Dat
 ‘The man went upriver to the interior (of the city) to buy sugar.’
 [the man first goes upriver, then goes to the interior of the city]
- c. **kiki elka-ktsi hiwda asuka-s.*
 [*ktsi* is always final]

- **Verb Posture - Posture**: this combination is not observed, probably because of semantic incompatibility (it is not possible to have two body postures at the same time).

- **Verb Direc - AM**: this combination is attested. For instance:

- (32) *ka'chi-ktsi-tke-n men.*
 walk-Dir(towards.interior)-Des-3Abs frustrative
 ‘He wanted to come (but he couldn’t).’

- **Verb Posture - AM**: this combination is also possible. Example:

- (33) *ha ma katsi-tke ka_in.*
 I eat be.seated-Des Foc/Tens
 ‘I want to eat sitting down.’

- **Verb AM - Direc ; Verb AM - Posture ; Verb Dir - Posture**: these combinations were not attested so far. Further research is necessary.

As we already know, verbal particles are the other elements that also occur inside of a VP, modifying the verb. What are the possible combinations between auxiliaries and

particles? The Causative particle can freely combine with Aspect/Mood auxiliaries (i.e. V Aux Caus - V Caus Aux), as exemplified in chapter 3, section 3.1.2; we need further research on its combination with other kinds of auxiliaries. Apparently, the particle of Intensity cannot combine freely with auxiliaries: the order [V Aux Intens] is attested, but not [V Intens Aux]. However, more investigation on this issue is also necessary. The particle of Negation does not combine freely with auxiliaries; it always comes after the sequence V + Aux.²

- (34) *ha sa hup tak.*
 1 dance be.able.to Neg
 ‘I do not know how to dance.’
- (35) *Yakairu yi fa'tsa-tke tak wan waxudi yi-a-tl.*
 Yakairu YI hear-Des Neg PL fight YI-3Poss-Dat
 ‘Yakairu did not want to hear them fighting.’
- (36) *Wayaku yi pech pata tak.*
 Wayaku YI run arrive Neg
 ‘Wayaku did not arrive’ (lit: Wayaku did not arrive ‘running’, i.e., by boat or plane)
- (37) *ka'chi pata tak chi-n.*
 walk arrive Neg Cop-3Abs
 ‘She did not come.’

4.2.2. The idiosyncratic behaviors

The properties presented in the following sub-sections are observed only with some auxiliaries. These properties are:

- Phonological reduction
- Occurrence in first position

² We tried to alternate the combination between the negation particle and the ‘desiderative’ auxiliary, that is, ‘I do not want to drink.’ versus ‘I want not to drink.’, but we were not successful in obtaining such data.

- Some auxiliaries are homophonous with main verbs (i.e. the verb-source is still alive in the language)
- Auxiliaries that do not bear the morpheme *wa-*

4.2.2.1. Phonological reduction

Some auxiliaries present phonological reduction when modifying a verb ending in a vowel. That is, some auxiliaries have two allomorphs: one which is stressed and modifies verbs ending in consonants, and another which is cliticized to the verb and modifies verbs ending in vowels.

The phonological reduction is observed for some Aspect/Mood auxiliaries and for some directional auxiliaries.

- AM auxiliaries:

<i>k(u)ma</i>	‘Perfective’
<i>t(a)ke</i>	‘Desiderative’
<i>ch(i)ketsi</i>	‘Delayed Inchoative’
- Directional auxiliaries:

<i>k(a)mu</i>	‘downriver’
<i>k(a)tsu</i>	‘towards river’
<i>k(V)tsi</i>	‘towards the interior of a location’ ³

For instance:

(38) *hi wan tam ka_men_in ha wan chomta-tke.*
 2 PL Com Foc/Tens 1 PL play-Des
 ‘We want to play (soccer) with you (pl).’

(39) *fi-s-a hi xom take?*
 cigarette-Dat-Quest 2 suck Des
 ‘Do you want to smoke?’ (lit: to suck a cigarette)

(40) *karaiw wan yi hu'tsa-kmu.*
 non.Indian PL YI see Dir(downriver)
 ‘The non Indians went down to see (a problem in another village).’

³ Most of our examples with *tsi* came from texts, and unfortunately there are no examples where *tsi* modifies a verb ending in consonant. We believe that when modifying a verb of this kind, *tsi* has a vowel, but at the moment we cannot tell which vowel this is.

- (41) *ha lax kamu.*
 1 hunt Dir (downriver)
 'I go downriver to hunt.'

Observe that verbal particles do not present the same kind of phenomenon. The phonological reduction described above is a property of auxiliaries, but not of verbal particles.

4.2.2.2. Occurrence in first position

Adverbs can occur in the first position of a clause, while most auxiliaries cannot. Two Aspect/Mood auxiliaries, however, are allowed in this position: *napta* 'Inchoative' and *hupma* 'be used to/habitual':

- (42) *napta ke ka_in ha sone wirix-es.*
 start KE Foc/Tens 1 drink manioc.porridge-Dat
 'I am starting to drink manioc porridge.'
- (43) *hupma ke ka_in ha sone wirix-es.*
 be.accustomed KE Foc/Tens 1 drink manioc.porridge-Dat
 'I am accustomed to drinking manioc porridge.'

We can see in the examples above that a morpheme *ke* must occur after the auxiliary (consultants do not accept examples without *ke*). Note that when verbs occur in the first position, they are also followed by a morpheme *ke*, whose occurrence can be explained by the fact that the Absolutive NP does not immediately precede the verb (example (44) below). However, we cannot say the same about an auxiliary in first position, since in this case the Absolutive is still adjacent to the verb (e.g. *ha* 'I', in (42)). The function of the

morpheme *ke* in examples (42-43) above is unclear. Finally, note that the morpheme *ke* is not required in the case of adverbs in first position.

- (44) *padi ke ka_in hai-ts Kumaru.*
 wait KE Foc/Tens 1-Erg Kumaru
 'I always wait for Kumaru.' [verb + *ke*: Abs not before V]
- (45) *kometani ka_in ha ma.*
 slowly ImpI-ndp 1 eat
 'I eat slowly.' [adverb: no *ke*]

Directional and other Aspect/Mood auxiliaries are not allowed in first position, with or without the morpheme *ke*.⁴ In the case of body posture auxiliaries, the consultants were unanimous in rejecting examples with *katsi* 'be seated' in first position, but they disagreed about the other posture auxiliaries:

- (46) *?tsula ke ka_in ha ma.*
 lie KE Foc/Tens 1 eat
 'I am eating lying.'
 [possible, according to one consultant; not possible, according to another]

⁴ With regard to the auxiliary *t(a)ke* 'desiderative', at first sight it seems that this auxiliary can also occur in first position (extra morphology is optional for *take*):

- (i) *take ka_in ha ma.*
 Foc/Tens 1 eat
 'I am eating without desire.'
- (ii) *take (ke) ka_in ha sone wirix-es.*
 KE Foc/Tens 1 drink manioc.porridge-Dat
 'I am drinking manioc porridge without desire.'

However, notice that in this position, the meaning of *take* is a little different from the auxiliary *t(a)ke*: it does not mean 'desiderative', but rather 'to be without desire'. We cannot say that the *take* here is the same as the 'desiderative' auxiliary, since they have opposite meanings. Probably this *take* is a different word with similar phonological form (perhaps the source of the privative *t(a)ke*, cf. section 4.3). We therefore conclude that *t(a)ke* 'desiderative' occurs only after the verb, not in first position.

- (47) *?chumuchu ke ka_in ha ma.*
 lie KE Foc/Tens 1 eat
 ‘I am always eating lying.’
 [possible, according to one consultant; strange example, according to another]
- (48) *?la ke ka_in ha ma.*
 be.standing KE Foc/Tens 1 eat
 ‘I am always eating standing.’
 [possible, according to one consultant; strange example, according to another]

The occurrence in first position actually is not a good criterion to characterize auxiliaries, given that very few auxiliaries exhibit this property, and given that consultants show disagreement with regard to which forms can occur in this position. However, the occurrence in first position is useful at least to point up a difference between adverbs and auxiliaries: auxiliaries that occur sentence initially require extra morphology, while adverbs do not. With regard to particles, they do not occur in this position by themselves (they occur only accompanying the verb).

4.2.2.3. Auxiliaries that are homophonous with main verbs

As Heine (1993:49) points out, verbs can be the origin of auxiliaries, but auxiliaries are no longer full verbs (Heine:86), given that they exhibit differences in behavior, in semantic content, and sometimes even in the phonological form (some auxiliaries undergo cliticization).

We do not know whether all auxiliaries in Trumai evolved from verbs, but in some cases it is possible to say so, since the verb that was the origin of the auxiliary still exists in the language. However, the auxiliary cannot be equated with the source-verb

anymore, because of the differences in meaning and syntactic behavior. The meaning of the auxiliary is not identical to the meaning of the verb; often, the auxiliary is more abstract (e.g. Aspect/Mood auxiliaries) or it misses some components that are part of the meaning of the verb (e.g. Posture auxiliaries). With regard to syntactic behavior, the auxiliary functions as a verb modifier and has no independent argument structure.

In order to point out that the auxiliaries are distinct from the verbs that gave rise to them, we are treating these auxiliaries as being homophonous with main verbs. That is, verb and auxiliary have the same phonological form, due to the origins of the auxiliary, but they are already distinct forms which present different characteristics.

First, we have the Aspect/Mood auxiliaries whose source-verbs are still alive in the language. The source-verbs are all Intransitive:

Table 4.1. AM auxiliaries that are homophonous with verbs

VERB		AUXILIARY	
take	'want to go/be somewhere'	t(a)ke	'desiderative'
hup	'know'	hup	'be.able.to'
laketsi	'go.for.a walk or visit'	laketsi	'prospective'
napta	'start'	napta	'inchoative'
chiketsi	'stay for a time/live'	ch(i)ketsi	'delayed inchoative'
hupma	'be.accustomed'	hupma	'habitual'

The Aspect/Mood auxiliaries have a grammatical content which is different from the lexical content of the source-verbs. Below, we have examples of each auxiliary in contrast with its source:

• **t(a)ke**

The auxiliary *t(a)ke* represents an interesting case, because it can co-occur with the form that gave rise to it.⁵

- (49) *ha take ka_in.*
1 want.go Foc/Tens
'I am wanting to go.' [verb]
- (50) *xodaka-ki ka_in kanarana-n ha wan take hat'ke.*
tomorrow-Dat Foc/Tens Canarana-Loc 1 PL want.be in.future
'We want to be in Canarana tomorrow.' [verb]
- (51) *ha ma-tke ka_in.*
1 dance-Des Foc/Tens
'I want to eat.' [aux]
- (52) *ha xom take ka_in laranja-s.*
1 suck Des Foc/Tens Orange-Dat
'I want to eat oranges.' [aux]
- (53) *asix yi-ake naha-tke men Atawaka-k.*
tail YI-3Poss cut-Des frustratingly Atawaka-Erg
'Atawaka wanted to cut its (a bird's) tail.' [aux]
- (54) *hai-ts ka_in hi chikida ka-tke.*
1-Erg Foc/Tens 2 travel Caus-Des
'I want you to travel.' (lit: I want to make you travel.) [aux]
- (55) *Kumaru ka_in take-tke ke hi wan tam.*
Kumaru Foc/Tens want.go-Des KE 2 PL Com
'Kumaru wants to go with you (PL).' [co-occurrence]

⁵ Observe that the verb *take* seems to be used as an Intransitive verb, indicating desire to go/be somewhere. Speakers use a different verb to express the idea of wanting a thing, *hod* 'ask for something':

- (i) *karaiw mut xodae-s ka_in ha hod.*
non.Indian dress new-Dat Foc/Tens 1 ask
'I want a new dress.' (lit: I ask for a new dress).

Alternatively, speakers can use the possessive predicate (cf. chapter 5, section 5.2.6), where a nominal root referring to the desired object behaves as the verb of the clause. The auxiliary *t(a)ke* then modifies this verb. For instance:

- (ii) *ha [mut]_v take ka_in.*
1 have.cloth Des Foc/Tens
'I want to have clothes.'

It might be that like *t(a)ke* in (55), the other auxiliaries that are homophonous with verbs can co-occur with the forms that gave rise to them. This is a point for future investigation.

• **hup**

(56) *iyi hup-e hi wan-ki.*
 IYI know-3Abs 2 PL-Dat
 ‘He knows you (pl).’ [verb]

(57) *iyi sa hup-e.*
 IYI dance be.able.to-3Abs
 ‘She knows/can dance.’ [aux]

• **laketsi**

(58) *ina hen ha laketsi hulaṭ oela-n.*
 there then 1 go.for.walk/visit beach center-Loc
 ‘Then, I had a walk in the center of the beach.’ [verb]

(59) *ha k’ad-chachxo laketsi ka_in.*
 1 hand-write/draw prospective Foc/Tens
 ‘I am going to begin to write.’ [aux]

• **napta**

(60) *ine chü(in) napta ke kut’a-s.*
 3 Foc/Tens start KE plantation-Dat
 ‘He started the plantation (he was the first to plant).’ [verb]

(61) *ha k’ad-chachxo napta ka_de_in.*
 1 hand-write/draw Incho Foc/Tens-already
 ‘I am already beginning to write.’ [aux]

• **chiketsi**

(62) *ha wan chiketsi ayey yi tam.*
 1 PL be.for.while grandfather (vocative) YI Com
 ‘We have lived with grandpa.’ [verb]

(63) *nichiṭs ka_in ha ma-chketsi.*
 now Foc/Tens 1 eat-delayed.Incho
 ‘Now I am beginning to eat.’ (after waiting for it) [aux]

(64) *nichiṭs ka_in hai-ts k’ate naha naha-chketsi.*
 now Foc/Tens 1-Erg fish cut cut-delayed.Incho
 ‘Now I am beginning to cut the fish.’ [aux]

• **hupma**

- (65) *ha hupma de.*
 1 be.accustomed.to already
 ‘I am already accustomed (to something).’ [verb]
- (66) *ha cho hupma kaksu in hura'i-s.*
 1 shot.with arrow habitual in.past Foc bird-Dat
 ‘I used to kill (with arrows) birds.’ [aux]

Next, we have the Body Posture auxiliaries and the verbs (all Intransitive) that are their sources:

Table 4.2. Body Posture auxiliaries that are homophonous with verbs

VERB		AUXILIARY	
wa-la	‘be standing’	la	‘be standing during (event X)’
chumuchu	‘lie (on ground)’	chumuchu	‘be lying on ground during (event X)’
tsula	‘lie (on high place)’	tsula	‘be lying on high place during (event X)’

The meaning of the Posture auxiliaries is similar to the meaning of their source-verbs, but there are differences: the auxiliaries indicate only the static orientation of the body of an entity, while the verbs can also indicate changes in the position of the body (cf. section 4.4).

The body-orientation described by the Posture auxiliary is just extra information; that is, the verb modified by the auxiliary describes an event that is being performed by an entity, and the auxiliary refines this description by describing how the body of the entity is oriented in relation to the ground (examples 68, 72). In the case of the Posture verbs, the emphasis is on the body posture itself. For instance, the auxiliary *la* just provides extra information in example (68), while the verb *la* describes the main information in example (67).

- **la**

(67) *hilaka oela-n di la , yaw hu'tsa hak.*
 village center-Loc woman be.standing human.being see Purp
 'The woman is standing in the center of the village, in order to be seen by the people.'

(68) *ha ma la ka_in.*
 1 eat be.standing Foc/Tens
 'I am eating standing.' [aux]

- **chumuchu**

(69) *ine chumuchu ka_in.*
 3Pr lie Foc/Tens
 'He lay down (on the ground).' or
 'He is lying (on the ground).' [verb]

(70) *kiki otl chumuchu ka_in.*
 man sleep lie Foc/Tens
 'The man is sleeping lying on the floor.' [aux]

- **tsula**

(71) *ha tsula ka_in.*
 1 lie Foc/Tens
 'I lay down.' or 'I am lying.' [verb]

(72) *ha ma tsula ka_in.*
 1 eat lie Foc/Tens
 'I am eating lying.' [aux]

(73) *deatu-s ka(_in) ha wan xom tsula.*
 fruit-Dat Foc/Tens 1 PL suck lie
 'We are eating fruits lying (in the tree).' [aux]

The Posture auxiliaries are further described in section 4.4.

Finally, we have the Directional auxiliaries and the verbs from which they evolved (again, the verbs are all Intransitive):

Table 4.3. Directional auxiliaries that are homophonous with verbs

VERB		AUXILIARY	
kawa	'go'	kawa	'go.to (event X)'
pumu	'enter'	pumu	'enter.with/for (event X)'
pita	'go.out'	pita	'go.out.with/for (event X)'
pata	'arrive'	pata	'arrive.with (event X)'
lamu	'go downriver, spinning''	lamu	'go.downriver (during event X)'

These auxiliaries have the sense of motion in some direction with a purpose, or motion in some direction when another event is co-occurring (cf. section 4.5. for more information on the semantics of Directional auxiliaries). For instance:

- Purpose

- (74) *in-is hen mada'cha torek yi ma pita mani ik'ada yi-ki.*
 it-Dat then wild.pig YI eat go.out.to potato leaf YI-Dat
 'Then, the wild pig goes out in order to eat potato leaves.'

Observe that verbs cannot be used in the same way as *pita*. For verbs, in order to express the same kind of semantics, it is necessary to use the purposive construction, with the subordinator (*a*)*hak* (cf. chapter 10):

- (75) *ina hen wan fa-n kodetl-es [wan ma-n ahak].*
 there then PL kill-3Abs animal-Dat PL eat-3Abs Purp
 'Then they kill animals in order to eat (them).'

- Co-occurrence of events

- (76) *tsi-u chi(in) hen ami pumu ke.*
 3Poss-father Foc/Tens then speak enter KE
 'And then her father entered saying...' (lit: her father said entering (in the house))

Notice that with verbs, in order to express simultaneous action, it is necessary to use a construction with the postposition *tam* 'comitative' (again cf. chapter 10):

- (77) [*huma tam*] *iyi waŋkan-e*.⁶
 take.bath Com IYI cry-3Abs
 ‘He bathed (while) crying.’

Next, there are examples of directional auxiliaries in contrast with their source-verbs:

• **kawa**

- (78) *Amati kawa São Paulo hita*
 Amati go São Paulo Allat
 ‘Amati is going to São Paulo.’ [verb]
- (79) *Yakuta api kawa kudomaŋ’ek-es.*
 Yakuta grab go.to ant-Dat
 ‘Yakuta goes to get saúvas (a kind of ant).’ [aux]
- (80) *inatl-ek ka_in k’ate ma’may kawa.*
 3-Erg Foc/Tens fish stir go.to
 ‘She goes to turn the sides of the fish (which is being roasted).’ [aux]

pumu⁷

- (81) *pike-ki chi(_in) de kiki yi pumu*
 house-Dat Foc/Tens already man YI enter
 ‘The man already entered in the house.’ [verb]
- (82) *wan hod pumu-n de.*
 PL ask enter.to-3Abs already
 They enter to ask. [aux]

pita

- (83) *in-is hen wan pita-n.*
 it-Dat then PL go.out-3Abs
 ‘In this situation/then, they went out.’ [verb]
- (84) *etsi pita kawa-n hen ine yi-k.*
 carry go.out.with go.with-3Abs then 3 YI-Erg
 ‘He went out carrying her.’ [aux]

⁶ The verbal root *huma* here behaves as a noun with no nominalizing morphology. This phenomenon is described in chapter 10, and analyzed diachronically in chapter 5.

⁷ It is not surprising that the verbs *pumu* ‘enter’ and *pita* ‘go out’ gave rise to directional auxiliaries, since in the content of these verbs there is the semantic component of ‘directionality’.

(wa)pata

- (85) *Kanarana lots' ka_in ha wa-pata.*
 Canarana Ablat Foc/Tens 1 WA-arrive
 'I am arriving from Canarana.' [verb]
- (86) *in lots' ha wan pech pata ni-ki ha wan hilaka-ki.*
 it Ablat 1 PL run arrive here-Dat 1 PL village-Dat
 'Then we arrived "hurrying"/fast here in our village.' [aux]

lamu

- (87) *ha lamu ka_in.*
 1 downriver-spinning Foc/Tens
 'I am going downriver, spinning.'
 (the canoe is without control) [verb]
- (88) *Wari-k ha etsi lamu-ktsi.*
 Wari-Erg 1 bring Dir(downriver)-Dir(towards.interior)
 'Wari took me downriver to.interior (of village).' [aux]

4.2.2.4. Auxiliaries that do not bear the morpheme wa-

The morpheme *wa-* seems to be a 'middle voice' marker (cf. chapter 9, section 9.3). It does not occur on all verbs, only on a subset of translational motion verbs, such as *pata* 'arrive' and *pita* 'go.out', and on the body posture verb *la* 'be standing'. For example:

- (89) *ha wa-pita ka_in.*
 1 WA-go.out Foc/Tens
 'I going out (I am moving out from the house, I am leaving it.)
- (90) *ha wa-la ka_in.*
 1 WA-be.standing Foc/Tens
 'I am standing.'
- (91) *morokore'a wa-pata hen tukanu hilaka-ki.*
 owl WA-arrive then toucan village-Dat
 'The owl arrived at the toucan's village.' [example from a myth]

The occurrence of the morpheme *wa-* with the auxiliaries *pita*, *pata*, and *la* is not observed, and it is not attested with other auxiliaries either. The case of *pata* ‘arrive’ is particularly interesting, because the auxiliary *pata* occurs without the prefix *wa-*, while the verb *pata* always requires it (the other verbs do not always receive the prefix; cf. chapter 9):

- (92) *ha pech pita chi_in.*
 1 run go.out.with Foc/Tens
 ‘I run going out.’
- (93) *iyi ma la-n ale.*
 IYI eat be.standing-3Abs hearsay.
 ‘He is eating standing.’
- (94) a. *ha wa-pata de.*
 1 arrive already
 ‘I already arrived’ [verb *pata*]
- b. **ha pata de.*
 (I already arrived.)
- (95) *ka'ne chay kaksu ha ka'chi pata.* [auxiliary *pata*]
 yesterday in.past 1 walk arrive
 ‘I arrived yesterday.’

Now that we have a view of the properties observed with auxiliaries, let us examine each type of auxiliary in more detail.

4.3. Aspect and Mood Auxiliaries

The Aspect and Mood auxiliaries are presented in the following table:

Table 4.4. Aspect and Mood auxiliaries

Auxiliary	Meaning
k(u)ma	'perfective'
t(a)ke	'desiderative'
hup	'be.able.to'
laketsi	'prospective'
napta	'inchoative'
ch(i)ketsi	'delayed inchoative'
hupma	'habitual'

These auxiliaries are productive, and some of them seem to be evolving to become affixes (i.e. the ones that present phonological reduction). Three auxiliaries have very similar meanings: *napta*, *laketsi*, and *ch(i)ketsi*. The difference between *napta* and *laketsi* seems to be that with *napta*, the entity-agent already started the event (i.e. the event has already been initiated), while with *laketsi* the entity-agent is still “moving” to the beginning of the event. With regard to *ch(i)ketsi*, there is the idea that the event took a long time to start (i.e. it took “a life time”, metaphorically speaking). For this reason, *ch(i)ketsi* is being glossed as ‘delayed inchoative’.

The auxiliary *t(a)ke* ‘desiderative’ deserves special attention because of its relationship with the morpheme *t(a)ke*, which means ‘privation of’. The grammatical status of this second morpheme is still not clear. It could be called an auxiliary, because of its semantics and phonological reduction; however, it is not clear whether the element modified by the privative morpheme is a verb or a noun, since this morpheme can modify both nominal and verbal roots:

- (96) *fa'tsa-tke* *ke ka_in* *chi-n*.
 hear-privation.of KE Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 ‘He does not hear (he is deaf).’

- (97) *ao-tke* *ke ka_in* *chī-n.*
 father- privation.of KE Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 ‘He does not have a father.’⁸

and, given that we cannot identify the status of *t(a)ke* ‘privation of’, it is also hard to say what the role of *ke* is in the examples above.

The relationship between the desiderative auxiliary and the privative morpheme is a little complicated because their phonological forms are identical: like the desiderative, the word with privative sense is usually *-tke* following vowels and *take* following consonants:

- (98) *ka’chī-tke* *ke ka_in* *chī-n.*
 walk-privation.of KE Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 ‘He does not walk.’ (lit: He is deprived of walking).’
- (99) *katnon take* *ke ka_in* *ha chī.*
 work privation.of KE Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am deprived of work.’ or ‘I am not a person of working.’

When speakers want to distinguish the privative from the desiderative, they can further reduce the privative to *-tke* following consonants, whereas the desiderative remains *take*:

- (100) *ha katnon take.*
 1 work Des
 ‘I want to work.’
- (101) *katnon-tke* *ke ka_in* *ha chī.*
 work-privation.of KE Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am deprived of work.’ or ‘I am not a person who works.’

⁸ Since *ao* ‘father’ is a nominal root, we could interpret the example above as being: [father]_N + *tke* ‘deprived of father’. However, nominal roots in Trumai can function as verbal words in inalienable possessive predicates. This being so, the example above could also be analyzed as: [father]_V + *tke* ‘deprived of having a father.’

However, in natural conversation, the privative and the desiderative tend to have the same form: example (99) is more natural than (101). It seems that the best way of resolving the ambiguity between them is to look at their distribution, since the two forms occur in distinct environments:

Table 4.5. Desiderative versus Privative

privative sense	desiderative sense
nom/verbal root <u>Priv</u> ke Foc/Tens Subj Cop	S V <u>Des</u> Foc/Tens
	V <u>Des</u> tak Foc/Tens Subj Cop

* privative sense:

(102) *ami-tke ke ka_in chi-n.*
 speak-privation.of KE Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 'He does not speak.' (lit: He is deprived of speaking)

(103) *otl take ke ka_in ha chi.*
 sleep privation.of KE Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I do not sleep.' (lit: I am deprived of sleeping)

* desiderative sense:

(104) *iyi ami-tke-n ka_in..*
 IYI speak-Des-3Abs Foc/Tens
 'I want to talk.'

(105) *ami-tke tak ka_in __ chi-n.*
 tak-Des Neg Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 'He does not want to talk.'

(106) *otl take tak ka_in ha chi.*
 sleep Des Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I do not want to sleep.'

Therefore, despite the overlap in their phonological forms, the privative *t(a)ke* is not the same as the desiderative *t(a)ke*, and speakers are aware of the difference. Distribution helps to keep both forms apart.

4.4. Body Posture Auxiliaries

This section explores more carefully the auxiliaries used to express the body orientation of the entity performing an event.⁹ The posture auxiliaries are presented in the table below:

Table 4.6. Body Posture auxiliaries

Auxiliary	Meaning
katsi	'be seated during (event X)'
la	'be standing during (event X)'
chumuchu	'be lying on flat surface during (event X)'
tsula	'be lying on high place during (event X)'

What is the relation of these auxiliaries to the verbs that also express body posture or changes in the posture? There are different scenarios depending on the kind of posture being described:

* **standing:** Both the auxiliary *la* and the verb *la* refer only to the state of being standing. In order to indicate the action (to stand up), the verb *lakida* is used. Often, speakers use *la* in a clause that has a nominal predicate configuration, and *la* receives the prefix, *wa*. It is not clear why *la* presents this special use; that is, it is still not clear what the difference is between examples (107) and (108) below.

⁹ Unfortunately, we have no examples of posture auxiliaries with Transitive verbs. For this reason, we cannot tell if the auxiliary refers to the body posture of A, O, or both.

- (107) *ha la ka_in.* [verb *la*: state]
 1 be.standing Foc/Tens
 ‘I am standing.’
- (108) *wa-la ka_in ha chi.* [verb *la*: state, more unusual]
 WA-be.standing Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am standing.’
- (109) *ha wan chikida la de.* [aux *la*: state]
 1 PL travel be.standing already
 ‘We are already traveling, standing (on the back part of a truck).’
- (110) *ha lakida ka_in.* [*lakida*: action]
 1 stand.up Foc/Tens
 ‘I stood up.’
- (111) *Kumaru-k ha lakida ka.* [*lakida*: action]
 Kumaur-Erg 1 stand.up Caus
 ‘Kumaru made me stand up.’

* **sitting**: The auxiliary *katsi* refers only to the state (to be sitting during X). The verb *aha'tsi* expresses both the state (to be sitting) and the action that leads to the state (to sit down). According to one consultant, it is possible to use *aha'tsi* as an auxiliary (114), but this use is not observed in natural conversation. The two “sitting” forms can co-occur in the same clause (115).

- (112) *ha aha'tsi ka_in.* [verb *aha'tsi*: action or state]
 1Abs sit Foc/Tens
 ‘I sat’ or ‘I am sitting (after doing the action of sitting down, i.e. ‘I sat down’).’
- (113) *aha'tsi ka-n ale ine-k.* [verb *aha'tsi*: action]
 sit Caus-3Abs hearsay 3-Erg
 ‘(People say that) he made him sit down.’
- (114) *ha ma aha'tsi ka_in.* [*aha'tsi* as aux - unusual]
 1 eat sit Foc/Tens
 ‘I am eating (while seated).’

- (115) *ha ma katsi ka_in.* [aux *katsi*: state]
 1Abs eat be.sitting Foc/Tens
 ‘I am eating (while seated).’
- (116) *han yi in aha'tsi katsi ke?* [combination verb and aux]
 what YI Foc sit be.sitting KE
 ‘What is that seated (while seated) there?’
 [speaker is pointing to an animal seated on the branch of a tree]

* **lying1** (on high place: hammock, tree, etc.). The auxiliary *tsula* refers only to the state (to be lying during X), while the verb *tsula* can mean both the state (to be lying) or the action that leads to the state (to lie down).

- (117) *ha tsula ka_in.* [verb *tsula*: action or state]
 1 lie Foc/Tens
 ‘I lay down.’ or ‘I am lying.’
- (118) *ha ma tsula ka_in.* [aux *tsula*: state]
 1 eat lie Foc/Tens
 ‘I am eating lying (in a hammock).’
 [same as example (72)]
- (119) *hai-ts axos tsula ka.* [verb *tsula*: action]
 1-Erg child lie Caus
 ‘I made the child lie down (in a hammock).’

* **lying2** (on a flat surface: ground, bed, bottom of a boat): we have the same scenario observed with *tsula*. The auxiliary *chumuchu* refers only to the state, while the verb *chumuchu* can refer to state or action.

- (120) *ha chumuchu ka_in.* [verb *chumuchu*: state or action]
 1 lie Foc/Tens
 ‘I lay down (on the ground).’ or ‘I am lying (on the ground).’
- (121) *ha ma chumuchu ka_in.* [aux *chumuchu*: state]
 1 eat lie Foc/Tens
 ‘I am eating while lying (on the bed).’

- (122) *hai-ts axos chumuchu ka.* [verb *chumuchu*: action]
 1-Erg child lie Caus
 'I made the child lie down (on the bed).'

In sum, for the standing position, **state** and **action** are set apart, since *lakida* is used exclusively for action and *la* (verb or auxiliary) exclusively for state.

a. standing position

	V	Aux
action	lakida	-----
state	la	la

For the sitting position, state and action are partially set apart, because on one hand the verb *aha'tsi* can indicate state or action, but on the other hand we see a different form (the auxiliary *katsi*) exclusively for state.

b. sitting position

	V	Aux
action	aha'tsi	-----
state	aha'tsi	katsi

For the lying positions, state and action are also partially set apart, because the verbs *tsula* and *chumuchu* can indicate action or state, but the auxiliaries *tsula* and *chumuchu* are restricted to a state interpretation.

c. lying position

	V	Aux
action	tsula chumuchu	----- -----
state	tsula chumuchu	tsula chumuchu

4.5. Directional Auxiliaries

The following table presents the set of Directional auxiliaries found in Trumai:

Table 4.7. Directional auxiliaries

Auxiliary	Meaning
kahmi	'uphill'
lahmi	'uphill'
lako	'downhill'
hiwda	'upriver'
kiwa	'upriver'
k(a)mu	'downriver'
lamu	'downriver'
ktsi	'towards.interior'
k(a)tsu	'towards.river'
kawa	'go.to (event X)'
pumu	'enter.with/for (event X)'
pita	'go.out.with/for (event X)'
pata	'arrive.with (event X)'

These auxiliaries indicate that the participant(s) of the event described by the verb is moving with regard to a specific direction. In clauses with Intransitive and Extended Intransitive verbs, the participant in question is S; in Transitive clauses, the participants are A and O (we do not have examples in which the participants are moving in different directions). Examples:

- (123) *hai-ts axos etsi-ktsu.*
 1-Erg child carry-go.to.river
 'I go to the river carrying the child.'
 [same as example (17)] [both A and O go to the river]
- (124) *etsi pita kawa-n hen ine yi-k.*
 carry go.out.with go.with-3Abs then 3 YI-Erg
 'He went out carrying her.'
 [same as example (84)] [both A and O go out]
- (125) *inak wan-ek ha umu-ktsi.*
 3Pr PL-Erg 1 carry-towards.interior
 'They brought me to the interior (of village).' [both A and O go to the interior]

The auxiliary codifies information about ‘motion’ and ‘direction’ (example (126)). When the verb has a component of ‘motion’ in its semantics, the auxiliary redundantly indicates the idea of motion (plus direction), as in (127):

- (126) *ha huma-ktsu.*
 1 take.bath-Dir(towards.river)
 ‘I go to river to take a bath.’
 [same as example (8)]
- (127) *ha wa-ka’chi lahmi de.*
 1 WA-walk Dir(up.hill) already
 ‘I am going (going uphill) away.’¹⁰

We can have two possible semantic interpretations for the sequence Verb + Directional auxiliary: motion in some direction with a purpose, and motion in some direction when another event is co-occurring.

- the semantics of **purpose**: the entity goes in some direction in order to do X. Another possibility would be to interpret the main verb as a **goal**: the entity goes in some direction to [goal: do X]. For instance:

- (128) *kiki lax kahmi anenewte (h)ita.*
 man hunt Dir(up.hill) woods Allat
 ‘The man goes up to the woods to hunt.’

- the semantics of **co-occurrence of events**: the entity goes in some direction while event X is happening. Another way of describing the event is to say that the entity goes in some direction **with** [event X]. For instance:

¹⁰ The verb *ka’chi* usually means ‘walk’. However, when modified by *wa-*, the meaning of *ka’chi* changes to ‘walk/go away’.

- (129) *wan wal lako-ktsi-n* *hen.*
 PL sing Dir(down.hill)-Dir(towards.interior)-3ABs then
 ‘They come down to interior (of the village) singing.’¹¹

Notice that for some directions, there is more than one auxiliary available: *kahmi* and *lahmi* for ‘uphill’; *hiwda* and *kiwa* for ‘upriver’; *k(a)mu* and *lamu* for ‘downriver’. The difference between *kahmi* and *lahmi*, or *hiwda* and *kiwa* is still not clear. With regard to *k(a)mu*, even though its gloss is ‘downriver’, like the auxiliary *lamu*, there are differences between these two Directionals. *Lamu* indicates that the participant of the event is going downriver rowing, while *k(a)mu* indicates that he/she is going downriver with a motorboat. It might be that in old times, before motorboats were known by the Trumai people, *lamu* meant ‘carried downriver by the current’, while *k(a)mu* would be ‘going downriver with the help of an instrument’ (originally rowing, later the motor of a boat). Observe that in meaning of the current verb *lamu* ‘go downriver, spinning’, there is the idea of going with the flow of the river (e.g. if a canoe is going downriver without control, it means that it is going with the current).

It is important to say here that there are in Trumai some motion verbs that present the same principle of organization observed with the auxiliaries that indicate ‘uphill/downhill’ or ‘upriver/downriver’ directions. These verbs are not the source of the auxiliaries (they have different phonological form), but they also indicate orientation on an up-down axis, with information about the kind of ground where the motion is being made (e.g. land or river). However, in the case of the verbs, it seems that other semantic

¹¹ We do not know if (129) could also mean ‘They come down to the interior (of the village) in order to sing.’ (i.e. the semantics of purpose). In the context where the example was used, the only possible translation was the one offered above (i.e. they come singing).

aspects are involved. We are reserving the treatment of these verbs for a future study, since further research is still necessary to understand the whole set of directional forms found in Trumai.

There is one Directional auxiliary that deserves special attention: *k(V)tsi*. This auxiliary indicates that the entity performing the event is moving to the interior of a location, which can be the village itself (from the river to the village), a house (from outside to inside the house), or the field of a plantation (from the border of the field to its interior). However, the use of this auxiliary very often (but not always) implies that the motion is being made not only towards the interior of a location, but also towards the location where the speaker is, producing then the sense of ‘coming’. We also observe that the combination of *tsi* with the verb *wawa* ‘carry/take’ results in the sense of ‘bring’:

- (130) *karaiw wan yi hu'tsa-kmu.* [without *tsi*]
 non.Indian PL YI see-Dir
 ‘The non Indians went downriver to see (a problem in another village).’
 [same as example (40)]
- (131) *hi dat wan yi-ki hi hu'tsa-kmu-tsi?* [with *tsi* = ‘come’]
 2 relative PL YI-Dat 2 see-Dir-Dir
 ‘Did you come downriver to see your relatives?’
 [speaker is talking to somebody who just arrived in the village]
- (132) *misu wela-ki hen wawa-n ale inak a yi-k.* [without *tsi*]
 river center-Dat then carry-3Abs hearsay 3 Dual YI-Erg
 ‘They (two) took him to the center of the river.’
- (133) *te yi-k de ha wawa-tsi ni-ki?* [with *tsi* = ‘bring’]
 who YI-Erg already 1 carry-Dir here-Dat
 ‘Who brought me here?’
- (134) *hai-ts chi_in k'ate yi wawa-tsi hi otle hak.* [with *tsi* = ‘bring’]
 1-Erg Foc/Tens fish YI carry-Dir 2 roast Purp
 ‘I brought fish for you to roast’.

- (135) *in lots' hen Kasu chomta lamu-tsi.*
 it Ablat then Kasu throw/play Dir-Dir
 'Then Kasu went to fish (i.e.throw fish-hooks) in the river.'
 [*k(V)tsi* does not always produce the sense of 'come']

As a final remark on Directional auxiliaries, we observe that more than one auxiliary can occur in a VP, as already mentioned in section 4.2.1.3:

- (136) *te yi in kachi lako-tsi ke?*
 who YI Foc come Dir-Dir KE
 'Who is coming.down to.interior (of the village)?'
- (137) *in lots' hen ha wan pech pata-kmu-tsi ni-ki ha wan hilaka-ki.*
 it Ablat then I PL run arrive-Dir-Dir here-Dat I PL village-Dat
 'Then we arrived "running" (i.e by motorboat) to our village.'
- (138) *ha laketsi kawa-tsi ka_in.*
 I go.for.visit go.with-Dir Foc/Tens
 'I am visiting the village (entering in the houses of the village).'

One might argue that the VPs with more than one directional, like the ones in the examples above, could be analyzed as a serial construction, since in many languages, serial constructions can involve the use of verbs of motion (Payne, 1997:310-312). However, in serial verb languages it is also possible to have sequences of content verbs in the same clause, with only one subject for the whole series of verbs. For example, in the example from Thai (Foley and Olson, 1985) presented below, the verbs that occur in the serial construction have lexical content:

- (139) *John khàp rôt chon khwaay taay.*
 John **drive** car **collide** buffalo **die**
 'John drove the car into a buffalo and it (buffalo/car/John) died.'

In Trumai, content verbs cannot come in sequence in the same clause (example (140)). Only juxtaposition of clauses is allowed, like in example (141) below. Notice in this example that each verb has its own S mark.

- (140) **iyi sa ma tsula otl-e.*
 IYI dance eat lie sleep-3Abs
 (He danced, ate, lay down, and slept.)
- (141) *iyi sa-kma-t' lots', iyi ma-n, iyi tsula-n, iyi otl-e hen.*
 IYI dance-finish-NzrEx Ablat IYI eat-3Abs IYI lie-3Abs IYI sleep-3Abs then
 'He danced, ate, lay down, and slept.'
 (lit: From finishing his dancing, he ate, he lay down and then he slept.)

Payne (1997:311) points out that verbs in serial constructions have equal status, that "...neither one is clearly grammatically dependent on the other". The Directional auxiliaries in Trumai are dependent on the main verb; they cannot occur by themselves and they cannot have independent argument structure. Payne also says that verbs of motion are frequently used in serial constructions, but that sometimes they can become auxiliaries. We do not know if the forms presented in the table 4.7 were used originally in a serial construction, but we believe that now they are auxiliaries, for the reasons presented in section 4.1. For this reason, we believe that what we have in examples (136-138) above is not a serial construction, but rather verb + auxiliaries.

CHAPTER 5

Simple Declarative Clauses

In this chapter, we study the configuration of simple clauses in Trumai. First, two important elements that can occur in simple clauses are described: the second-position Focus/Tense particles *ka_in* and *chi_in*, and the morpheme *ke*. The relationship between them is analyzed, as well as the configuration of the Trumai cleft construction. After that, there is the characterization of nominal and verbal predicates, the attributive (adjectival) predicate, other non-verbal predicates (equative, locative, and existential), and predicative possession. Next, the expression of tense and aspect in simple clauses is discussed, analyzing both verbal and non-verbal predicates. Finally, the last sections are dedicated to the clausal particle *tsile* and interjections.

5.1. Background for the analysis

Simple clauses in Trumai can be analyzed as being basically constituted by a subject and a predicate. The predicate can be verbal (i.e. the head is a verb) or nominal (i.e. the head is a noun). The attributive predicate falls between them. Other non-verbal predicates besides the nominal include: the locative ('I am in the river. '), the existential ('There are many X (in a location). '), and the equative (X is Y, Y is X).

Before analyzing the structure of simple clauses, we have to take a look at some facts observed in Trumai that are relevant to understanding the configuration of simple clauses. As already seen in previous chapters, Trumai is an almost completely isolating language. There is little nominal and verbal morphology, and no tense or aspectual marks

in the verb. Aspectual differences are not expressed by verbal morphology, but rather by the use of auxiliaries. Tense is expressed via the use of adverbs, especially *kaksu* ‘in.past’, *hat’ke* ‘in.future (certain)’, *ifke* ‘in.future (uncertain)’, or via the occurrence of the Focus/Tense particles *ka_in* and *chi_in*, which can indicate present/recent past events or more distant past ones (the particles will be better described in the next section).

However, not all clauses contain adverbs or Focus/Tense particles. In a text, we observe that in general the first clause presents the Focus/Tense particle or an adverb. The following clauses occur without any tense indicator, but by the discursive context and by the indicators in the first clause, we can identify if the event described in each sentence is occurring in the present, past or future. This means that a clause in isolation - that is, out of context - can be ambiguous in relation to tense, but in context there is no such problem. The examples below illustrate what was said here:

- (1) *ha ami.* ‘I speak (habitually).’
 1Abs speak ‘I spoke (still today).’
 ‘I spoke yesterday.’

- (2) *ka’ne chay chi_in ha hu’tsa ha pine yi-ki.*
 yesterday Foc/Tens 1 see 1 friend YI-Dat
 ‘Yesterday I saw a friend of mine.’

in-is hen ha ami...
 it-Dat then 1 speak
 ‘Then I spoke...’

Besides the first clause in a text, other clauses can contain Focus/Tense particles, under specific conditions. First, let us examine these particles in more detail.

5.1.1. The Focus/Tense particles *ka in* and *chĩ in*

In several Trumai examples, it is possible to observe the occurrence of a combination of morphemes: *ka in*. For example:

- (3) *misu-s ka in dewan yi sone.*
 water-Dat old.man YI drink
 ‘The old.man is drinking water.’

This combination has an interesting behavior. On the one hand, *ka in* do not form a single morpheme, because adverbs can be inserted between them, as already mentioned in chapter 3 (section 3.4):

- (4) *sa tak ka nuk in ha hat’ke.*
 dance Neg then 1 in.future
 ‘I will not dance.’

On the other hand, the morphemes *ka* and *in* always work together in this context, almost as if they were a lexicalized unit. The idea of unity is reinforced by two factors: (i) the existence of another combination, *chĩ in*, which is similar in shape and which exhibits similar behavior; (ii) the elements in the combination seem not to have the same value that they have when they appear by themselves in other contexts. This is especially true for *chĩ in*. We can have two morphemes *chĩ in* in the same clause, but with different positions and functions:

- (5) *ine chĩ chĩ in ofa ke kasoro-tl*
 3 Cop hit RlZR dog-Dat
 ‘It was him who hit the dog.’

The idea of unit is also reinforced by the fact that *ka in* sometimes can be phonologically reduced to *kan* in fast speech. Example:

- (6) a. *axos yi kan dama ke piñik asix yi-ki.*
 child YI pull KE monkey tail YI-Dat
 ‘The boy is pulling the tail of the monkey.’ [FAST SPEECH]
- b. *axos yi ka in dama ke piñik asix yi-ki.*
 child YI pull KE monkey tail YI-Dat
 ‘The boy is pulling the tail of the monkey.’ [SLOW SPEECH]

The main function of *ka_in* and *chi_in* is to indicate that the information should be the goal of the listener’s attention, for some of the following reasons: (i) the information is new; (ii) it is the information whose confirmation was requested by somebody; (iii) it is very relevant information for the conversation and therefore needs to be highlighted. When the clause has no *ka_in* and *chi_in*, it means that no element is being highlighted or deserves special attention. Examples:

New information (in answers to a specific question - new info comes in first position)

- (7) *ham de axos yi pumu?*
 where already child YI enter
 ‘Where did the child enter?’
- pike-ki chi in de iyi pumu-n.*
 house-Dat already IYI enter-3Abs
 ‘S/he entered in the house.’

Information that needs confirmation (answer to a specific question)

- (8) *hu'tsa tak-a hi chi?*
 see Neg-Quest 2 Cop
 ‘Aren’t you seeing?’
- hahak, hu'tsa tak ka in ha chi.*
 no see Neg 1 Cop
 ‘No, I am not seeing.’

- (9) *kamayula-a hi chi?*
 Kamayura-Quest 2 Cop
 'Are you a Kamayura?'

ee, kamayula ka in ha chi.
 yes Kamayura 1 Cop
 'Yes, I am a Kamayura.'

Highlighting information: if the clause as a whole is in focus, then the Focus/Tense particle comes at the end. If only one piece of information is really salient, it comes at the beginning of the clause, followed by the Focus/Tense particle.

- (10) *ha lax ma'tsi ka in.*
 1 nose hurt
 'My nose is hurting.'

lemxo-k ka in ha lax mox ka.
 injury-Erg 1 nose swell Caus
 'An injury caused my nose to swell.'

It is important to observe that there is in Trumai a morpheme *in* that occurs in

WH-questions, right after the NP that contains the interrogative word:

- (11) *hamuna in hi wan chomta-tke?*
 where Focus 2 PL play-Des
 'Where do you (PL) want to play?'

- (12) *hele in hi katmon yi?*
 how Focus 2 work YI
 'How is your work?'

- (13) *han yi in?*
 what YI Focus
 'What is this?'

The morpheme *in* can be classified as a mark of 'Focus', because it signals which piece of information is requested by the speaker, who has a gap in his/her knowledge with

regard to it; in other words, *in* refers to the piece of information that is new and crucial to the person who asks the question. The term ‘focus’ is used in the linguistic literature to refer to new information.¹

As showed in chapter 2 (section 2.2.3), not all WH-questions have the morpheme *in*, because the use of the WH-word itself is enough to indicate that information is being requested. The use of *in* just makes more explicit which piece of information is missing in the knowledge of the person who makes the question.

The morpheme *in* sometimes can be found in affirmative clauses, such as in examples (14-16) below. However, the occurrence of *in* in non-interrogative clauses is rare. We hardly find examples like the ones above, while the number of affirmative clause with *ka_in* and *chĩ_in* in is high.

(14) *ni in ha chi.*
 here Focus 1 Cop
 ‘I am here!’

(15) *ha api hat'ke in.*
 1 grab in.future Focus
 ‘I am going to grab (it).’

(16) *ha hup tak ka_in kesne-ki, yaw datipi-ki in.*
 1 know Neg Foc/Tens tradition-Dat human.being life-Dat Focus
 ‘I do not know (our) traditions and the life of (our) people.’

Both *in* and *ka_in* / *chĩ_in* indicate ‘Focus’, but while *in* is dedicated only to focus, *ka_in* and *chĩ_in* can give other information: they also indicate if the event being described is occurring in the present or in the past; therefore, the units can be used to

¹ For instance: “The essential piece of new information that is carried by a sentence will be referred to as its focus.” (Comrie 1981:63)

indicate the **tense** of the event, too. The unit *ka in* is used to indicate events in the present time or recent past (i.e. the event happened just a short time ago and it is still alive in the speaker's mind), while *chi in* indicates events in a more distant past. The use of *chi in* is more precise - it indicates only past events - while the use of *ka in* can generate some ambiguity in the interpretation of the clause. Extralinguistic information, plus the use of the adverbs, help to solve the ambiguity.

- (17) a. *ha ami ka in.*
 1 speak
 'I am speaking' or 'I spoke (today).'

Given the characteristics of *ka in* and *chi in*, we decided to call these combinations of morphemes 'Focus/Tense' particles. In the absence of a better classification, the term 'particle' is used for *ka in* and *chi in*, given that they have such peculiar behavior.²

Besides the function of indicating new or important information, the Focus/Tense particles can also distinguish a clause from a phrase, as we can see in example (18b). The Focus/Tense particles are in some way linked to predication; that is, while their function is not exactly to indicate predication, since they modify arguments of a predicate, they end up indicating predication too. Therefore, whenever their occurrence is attested, we have the occurrence of a whole clause, not merely a phrase.

² Therefore, in the next sections, and in the rest of the dissertation, *ka in* and *chi in* will be glossed as:
ka in 'Foc/Tens' - focus and tense (non distant past) particle
chi in 'Foc/Tens' - focus and tense (distant past) particle

We preferred to coin special terms for glossing *ka in* and *chi in*, instead of using simple terms such as topic or focus, because in the linguistic literature these terms have specific definitions, and the Trumai Focus/Tense particles do not fit any of them very well.

- (18) a. *ha ao* 'my father'
 1 father
- b. *ha ao ka in.* 'I have a father.'
 1 have.father

As mentioned in chapter 3 (section 3.5), sometimes *ka in* and *chi in* can be reduced to *ka* and *chi* without any obvious change in either the syntactic status or the semantics of the constructions. This makes the identification of these units more complicated, especially with respect to *chi*, since the Copula *chi* is also often used.³ As already explained before, in order to evaluate whether an occurrence of *ka* or *chi* is a reduced form of *ka in* or *chi in*, we have to observe the differences in distribution of these morphemes and try to replace *ka* and *chi* by the whole combination.

Several elements can be followed by *ka_in* and *chi_in* in the first position of a clause. Below, there is a list of all elements that can be followed by the Focus/Tense particles, as well as some examples:

- S:
- (19) *axos yi ka_in wapta ke.*
 child YI Foc/Tens fall KE
 'The child fell.'
- A:
- (20) *hai-ts ka_in Makarea yi daka.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens Makarea YI push
 'I pushed Makarea.'

³ The case of *ka* is simpler, because the other *ka* attested in the language is the Causative particle, whose nature is identifiable by the semantics of the clause. The *ka* of *ka in* came probably from a copula or auxiliary that eventually disappeared. So, the two *ka* observed in the language nowadays are different in kind. In the case of *chi in*, the scenario is more complex, because the Copula *chi* - which was probably the source for the *chi* of *chi in* - is still alive in the language. See the next sections for speculation about the origins of the Focus/Tense particles.

• O:

- (21) *kodechich ka_in hai-ts disi ke.*
 snake Foc/Tens 1-Erg hit/kill KE
 'I killed the snake.'

• DAT:

- (22) *ha ayen-atl chi_in hai-ts oke yi kiŋi.*
 1Poss grandfather-Dat Foc/Tens 1-Erg medicine YI give
 'I gave medicine to my grandfather.'

- (23) *oke yar-atl ka_in ha fa-tke.*
 medicine owner-Dat Foc/Tens 1 hit/kill-Des
 'I want to kill the black magic maker.'

• NP modified by postpositions:

- (24) *Kanarana lots' ka_in ha wa-pata.*
 Canarana Ablat Foc/Tens 1 WA-arrive
 'I am arriving from Canarana.'

• Nominal predicate:

- (25) *ayets ka_in ha chi.*
 old.woman Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I am a old woman.'

• Intransitive verb (+ morpheme *ke*):

- (26) *ala ke ka_in ha chi.*
 fish KE Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I habitually fish.'

• Transitive verb (+ morpheme *ke*):

- (27) *tiichi ke ka_in hai-ts di yi.*
 scarify KE Foc/Tens 1-Erg woman YI
 'I always/habitually scarify the woman.'

• D.O. + Transitive verb:

- (28) *atlat yi mapa ka_in hai-ts.*
 clay.pan YI break Foc/Tens 1-Erg
 'I broke the clay pan.'

• S + verb:

- (29) *ha xom ka_in panana-ki.*
 1 suck Foc/Tens banana-Dat
 'I eat banana.'

• Intransitive or Transitive Verb (plus aux or not) + Neg:

(30) *hu'tsa tak ka_in ha chi pet'ew yi-ki.*
 see Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop frog YI-Dat
 'I did not see the frog.'

(31) *pit'a tak chi_in hai-ts hi chi.*
 call Neg Foc/Tens 1-Erg 2 Cop
 'I did not call you.'

(32) *sa-tke tak ka_in ha chi.*
 dance-Des Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I do not want to dance.'

• Adjective:

(33) *herohen chi_in ha hu'tsa di yi-ki.*
 beautiful Foc/Tens 1 see woman YI-Dat
 'I saw the beautiful woman.'

• Demonstrative (when not behaving as a pronominal form):

(34) *ka'natl chi_in dinoxo yi-ki ha fa.*
 that Foc/Tens girl YI-Dat 1 hit/kill
 'That girl I hit.'

• Numeral:

(35) *huch ka_in ha elka tahu-s.*
 two Foc/Tens 1 buy knife-Dat
 'I bought two knives.'

• Quantifier:

(36) *a'di ka_in ha hu'tsa asi yi-ki.*
 many Foc/Tens 1 see star YI-Dat
 'I saw many stars.'

• Adverb:

(37) *kometani ka_in ha laketsi.*
 slow Foc/Tens 1 walk
 'I walk slowly.'

• Whole clause:

(38) *ha ora ka_in.*
 1 cry (screaming) Foc/Tens
 'I am crying.'

It seems that the elements that precede *ka_in* or *chĩ_in* can be considered constituents, since the Focus/Tense particles do not occur in any random position: in several examples, they are attested at second position, after elements that are clearly constituents,⁴ such as NPs or PPs. Also, they cannot occur inside a constituent, “breaking” it. For example:

- (39) a. *[[pike] lots'] ka_in ha pita.*
 house Ablat Foc/Tens I go.out
 ‘I went out of the house.’
 b. **pike ka_in lots' ha pita.*
- (40) a. *[[axos] ma tak] ka_in.*
 child eat Neg Foc/Tens
 ‘The child is not eating.’
 b. **axos ma ka_in tak.*
- (41) a. *[[ha] hu'tsa] chĩ_in [di heroehen-ki].*
 I see Foc/Tens woman beautiful-Dat
 ‘I saw the beautiful woman.’
 b. **ha hu'tsa di chĩ_in heroehen-ki.*⁵

⁴ The only exception to this pattern is the occurrence of an adverb or the clausal hearsay particle *tsile* between the constituent being highlighted and the Focus/Tense particle, as in:

- (i) *Yakuta-k hen chĩ_in oke yi kiŕi.*
 Yakuta-Erg then Foc/Tens medicine YI give
 ‘Then Yakuta gave medicine (to him).’
- (ii) *yakare-n tsile ka_in a'di denets'ak yi.*
 Jacaré-Loc hearsay Foc/Tens many ghost YI
 ‘People say that in the Jacaré station there are many ghosts.’

But notice that what we have here is a full constituent plus an adverb or particle before the Focus/Tense particle. What we do not find is the Focus/Tense particles after a sequence of words that do not form any constituent.

⁵ Here, we also could say that the Focus/Tense particle does not occur after a sequence of words that do not form a constituent.

The elements that are followed by *ka in* and *chi in* form a constituent in their own: an NP, a PP, a VP, an AdvP, or an S.⁶ The case of adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, and quantifiers in first position is a little more complicated, since in general they are found inside NPs, but when they occur in first position, they seem to form a constituent by themselves, in the same way adverbs can. Perhaps in this case they could be grouped together with Adverbial Phrases, since they do not fit the other kinds of constituents.

As already argued in chapter 3, the sequence S V_{intr} forms a constituent in Trumai, since the Focus/Tense particles are often found following a S V combination. On the other hand, the DAT argument seems to be a constituent by itself, not being part of the VP. Even though these facts seem to be a little strange - after all, we would expect that S would be a constituent and O V (DAT) another one - they can be understood if we analyze them from a historical perspective. In section 5.1.3 these issues will be addressed in detail.

5.1.2. The morpheme *ke*

Let's now take a look at the morpheme *ke*, which so often is attested in the Trumai data. This morpheme is observed in three kinds of environment:

(i) in one environment, *ke* is clearly a nominalizer, having another allomorph *-k* for roots ending in a vowel. For example:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (42) | a. <i>atsi</i>
b. <i>atsi-k</i> | ‘to.fight’
‘fighter’ |
| (43) | a. <i>katnon</i>
b. <i>katnon-ke</i> | ‘to.work’
‘worker’ |

⁶ The cases of V + *ke* and V + Neg, as in examples (26-27), (30-32), need a different treatment, given that the configuration of the clause is special. See section 5.2.3 for discussion on this issue.

- (44) a. *chīchī* 'sour, hot'
 b. *chīchī-k* 'pepper (lit: the sour, hot one)'
- (45) a. *daɬ* 'black'
 b. *daɬ'-ke* 'mutuca, a black mosquito (lit: the black one)'

(ii) the other environment is cleft clauses. In this environment, *ke* occurs after the verb, and it is not sensitive to the last sound of the word before it. It seems to behave as a relativizer. Examples:

- (46) *ha chī ka_in wal ke.*
 1 Cop Foc/Tens sing
 'It is me who is singing.'
- (47) *ha chī chī_in ma ke.*
 1 Cop Foc/Tens eat
 'It is me who ate.'
- (48) *hi atle chī ka_in hai-ts amidoxos ke.*
 2 mother Cop Foc/Tens 1-Erg call
 'It is your mother who I called.'
- (49) *bateria chī ka_in opi ke.*
 battery Cop Foc/Tens turn.off
 'It was the battery that turned off.'

(iii) the third kind of environment is a clause where S or O is not adjacent to the verb.

S/O is not immediately preverbal because it is in first position, separated from the verb by the Focus/Tense particles or adverbs. In this environment, *ke* is also not sensitive to the last sound of the word before it. *ke* obligatorily appears after the verb, but its function does not seem to be that of a relativizer.

- (50) *pīɬik yi ka_in api ke.*
 monkey YI Foc/Tens grab
 'The monkey grabbed (it).'

- (51) *kandida yi ka in hai-ts wa-padi ke.*
 Cândida YI Foc/Tens 1-Erg WA-wait
 ‘I am waiting for Candida.’
- (52) *bateria yi ka in opi ke.*
 battery YI Foc/Tens turn.off
 ‘The battery turned off.’
- (53) *Makarea yi hen waimi ke inatl-etl.*
 Makarea YI then tell 3-Dat
 ‘Then, Makarea told (it) her.’
- (54) *kiki herothen yi hat'ke sa ke deani letsi.*
 man handsome YI in.future dance party Instr
 ‘The handsome man will dance in the party (lit: with the party).’
- (55) *tsi-tle yi de pudits ke.*
 3Poss-mother YI already like
 ‘His mother already liked (it).’

Notice that examples (50-55) are very similar in shape to the examples of clefts in (46-49). However, there are differences too:

- * there is **no Copula** in (50-55)
- * examples (46-49) are used to **contrast** information (that is, to contradict something previously said). Examples (50-55) are used simply to highlight a piece of information, not for contrast. Example (50) is actually an answer to the question ‘Who did grab (it)?’.

Examples (50-55) seem to be what Heine and Reh (1984) call completive focus:

“This type of pragmatic function does not involve contrast, the focus information is meant rather to fill a gap in the pragmatic knowledge of the addressee. Most clearly, completive focus manifests itself in answers to WH-questions. It may refer to either arguments (term focus), or predicates (predicate focus), possibly also entire clauses.”

(Heine & Reh, 1984: 148). As we can see, the facts observed in the Trumai data exactly

match the scenario described by Heine and Reh. For this reason, from now on we will make distinction between **contrastive focus** - observed in examples (46-49) - and **completive focus**, observed in examples (50-55) above. Although similar, these two kinds of clauses are not the same, because their function is different (completive focus fills a gap in the knowledge of the addressee; contrastive focus does not fill a gap, it just makes the knowledge of the addressee more accurate by correcting wrong information).

With regard to examples (53-55), they are also different from the clefts presented above, because in these examples what separates S/O from the verb is an adverb, not the Focus/Tense particles. Therefore, they do represent a different kind of environment for the occurrence of *ke*.

A question is then raised: is the *ke* observed in clauses where the Absolutive NP is far from the verb the same *ke* as found in nominalizations? Is it the same *ke* as found in cleft clauses? We would like to say yes to this question, in order to have a unified account for all these three cases, since in all of them the form in question is the same, *ke*.

However, a unified account is not possible, given the differences among the cases: the *ke* nominalizer is phonologically different from the others, because it is bound: *-ke*. The difference is more transparent when *-ke* modifies a root ending in vowel, because in this case the allomorph used (*-k*) shows that the nominalizer is bound. The other two *ke* morphemes are insensitive to the last sound of the word they modify, as pointed out before.⁷ Also, *ke* relativizer shows some flexibilities that would not be expected with a

⁷ Actually, the case of nominalizations involving verbal roots ending in consonant is a little more complicated, because the allomorph used is *ke*, which then generates ambiguity between the nominalizer and the relativizer. That's why sometimes it is hard to say if what we have is one *ke* or the other. In order to distinguish them, we take in account the context of occurrences (root + ke inside an NP or verb in a clause).

nominalizer (e.g. the variation of order in attributive predicates, as shown in chapter 2, section 2.2.4). On the other hand, the *ke* relativizer cannot be equated with the *ke* that occurs in clauses where the Absolutive NP is not preverbal, since this latter does not seem to have the function of a relativizer.

Therefore, we have to say that there are three morphemes *ke* in Trumai, but it is not by coincidence that they all have the same form. That has to do with historical facts. As we will see in 5.1.3., the 3 morphemes *ke* can be analyzed as having the same origin: a morpheme *ke* that was a kind of relativizer used in a cleft construction. Over time, this morpheme assumed other functions and split into three different morphemes⁸: (1) one *ke* became a nominalizer, developing a reduced allomorph for vowel-final verbs; (2) one *ke* remained a relativizer, being found also in cleft constructions, and (3) one *ke* assumed a new function (not identified yet), occurring every time the Absolutive NP is far from the verb.

The morpheme *ke* of the third type is parallel to the enclitic of 3rd person *-n/-e* with respect to the argument involved in their use (both are related to the Absolutive NP), but they are not of the same kind, since *ke* is not pronominal and it is not restricted to the third person. Also, the enclitic occurs in complementary distribution with the lexical item or pronoun which is the head of the Absolutive NP (cf. section 3.1.3), while *ke* occurs merely when the Absolutive NP is not adjacent to the verb (the NP is not in its “normal” position, but it is still present in the clause). Actually, the enclitic *-n/-e* and the morpheme *ke* are incompatible, that is, they do not co-occur in the same clause: *ke* occurs when the

⁸ It might be that we have one more morpheme *ke*, because the behavior of *ke* in negative clauses is not exactly the same as one of the morphemes *ke* described here. Cf. section 5.2.3.

Absolute NP is far from the verb but still present in the clause; the enclitic *-n/-e* does not occur at all when the Absolute head-noun is in the clause. Examples:

- (56) a. *kiki yi ka_in hu'tsa ke.*
 man YI Foc/Tens see
 'The man (emphasis) saw (it).'
 [the presence of *ka_in* highlighting the Absolute NP [*kiki yi*] separates it from the verb; therefore, *ke* necessarily occurs]
- b. * __ *iyi ka_in hu'tsa-n ke.*
- c. * __ *iyi ka_in hu'tsa ke-n.*
 [if the enclitic occurs, the Absolute head-noun *kiki* cannot occur; but since a focused noun must occur, the sentence is not acceptable]

5.1.3. The relation between the Focus/Tense particles and *ke*

From the facts described in the previous section, and others described in section 5.1.1, some questions arise:

(i) why do [SV] and [OV] form a constituent in this language, while [AV] and [V DAT] do not?

(ii) why is the presence of *ke* necessary whenever S or O is not in the preverbal position?

And why are A and DAT insensitive to this morpheme (i.e. why can A and DAT be far from the verb without triggering the occurrence of *ke*)?

(iii) why does Trumai have the two Focus/Tense particles *ka_in* and *chi_in*? Why is *chi_in* so similar to the Copula *chi*? Why do some cleft clauses present two *chi* words, one the Copula, the other one part of the Focus/Tense particle?

(iv) why are there remarkable similarities between cleft clauses and clauses where *ka_in/chi_in* occur, highlighting a constituent that is an Absolute NP?

In order to discuss such questions, this section will offer a view of the possible historical developments in Trumai that would be the origin of the facts observed in the contemporary language. The historical approach offered here is based on internal reconstruction (taking into consideration some patterns observed in the language) and on parallel developments observed in other languages of the world, which makes the historical development presented here more plausible, because such developments are already attested. The historical approach that is being proposed is not a tool to analyze the synchronic data, it is just a way of understanding where the patterns came from.

We observe that there is correlation of word order between [SV] - [OV] and the possessive construction:

$$NP_{\text{possessor}} NP_{\text{possessed}} \longleftrightarrow SV / OV$$

This correlation is not mere coincidence. SV and OV probably came from nominalizations of verbs used in cleft constructions that eventually became main clauses. The Focus/Tense particles probably arose from clefts too. We are proposing these facts because: (1) it is already attested in the development of some languages that clefts can replace main clauses (cf. Heine & Reh 1984); (2) traditionally, cleft sentences involve the isolation of an argument (in order to be highlighted), the presence of a Copula, and a verb undergoing nominalization or relativization. This configuration is very similar to the scenario we have in Trumai.

In previous stages of Trumai, S and O would be originally the possessor of the nominalized verb used in the cleft (e.g. the monkey's scream; the construction of the house). Later the nominalizations were reanalyzed as verbs in the infinitive and the NPs

that were with them were reinterpreted as their arguments.⁹ A and DAT probably were obliques (i.e. they were extra NPs) reinterpreted as Ergative and Dative NPs, respectively. So, we would have something like:

(It is) the monkey's scream. > The monkey screams.
 (It is) the construction of the house by the man. > The men-Erg constructs the house.
 (It is) Karu's eyesight on the monkey /towards the monkey. > Karu sees the monkey-Dat.

With regard to the Focus/Tense particles, we can speculate that at some moment in the history of the Trumai language, the cleft sentences would have had the following configuration (stage 1):

_____ ka [NP Verb in nominalized form]
 _____ chi [NP Verb in nominalized form]

The specific element under focus (for example, an oblique such as by the man or on the monkey) would be isolated in first position. ka would be the Copula for present/recent past tense, with chi being the Copula for distant past tense. A possible instance of this cleft construction would be something like:

by the man Copula [house construction] 'It is by the man the construction of the house.'
on the monkey Copula [Karu's eyesight] 'It is on the monkey (that is) Karu's eyesight.'

Then, in a following step (stage 2), the morpheme in, a mark of 'Focus', started

⁹ Observe that in the current data, a verbal root sometimes can behave as a noun without any Nominalizer in the root (cf. chapter 10). This could be seen as a remnant of the fact that the current main verbs came from nominalization of verbs that were eventually reanalyzed.

being used, perhaps because the cleft was already losing its force and needed to be renewed. In modern data, *in* can be found in questions following NPs with WH-words (cf. section 2.2.3). So, the configuration of clefts changed to:

oblique ka in [NP Verb in nominalized form]
oblique chi in [NP Verb in nominalized form]

As said before, over time the nominalizations of verbs were reanalyzed as verbs in the infinitive. The NPs that were their possessors were reanalyzed as their S/O arguments, and the other NPs were reanalyzed as A/DAT arguments:

A/DAT ka in [O/S Verb]
A/DAT chi in [O/S Verb]

At some moment in the history of the language (stage 3), the cleft construction replaced the main clause, that is, it became the norm instead of a special kind of clause (Heine & Reh 1984 attest a similar development in African languages). This was especially true for clauses that were an answer to a question (in the modern language, we can see that answers tend to have the presence of *ka_in* or *chi_in*). The sequences of morphemes *ka + in* and *chi + in* started being seen not as mere linear sequences of morphemes, but as morphemes in association. They were reanalyzed as units, becoming now markers of focus which, at the same time, would carry tense information too. Later, in some cases, their use became optional. We know this because not all modern clauses have the presence of *ka_in* or *chi_in*; however, the morphosyntax of the modern clauses with *ka_in/chi_in* and the ones without them is basically the same: the original NP possessor became Absolutive NP; the verb is “naked”, without inflectional marks. If the

Absolutive NP is not right before the verb because it is in focus or it is separated from the verb by an adverb, there is a morpheme *ke* after the verb. These morphosyntactic facts are true for all main clauses, with or without *ka_in/chĩ_in*. Therefore, they came from the same source (clefts),¹⁰ and if some of the modern clauses do not present the Focus/Tense particles, it is because these particles became non-obligatory (the clauses without them would have not complete focus, but neutral focus, that is, no element under focus). In sum:

A/DAT (ka in) [O/S Verb]
 A/DAT (chĩ in) [O/S Verb]

The main stages of the evolution of the focus construction with the old obliques (later reanalyzed as A or DAT) can be summarized in the following chart:¹¹

Table 5.1. Summary: Evolution of focus construction with the old obliques

Stage 1	oblique Cop [NP V-nzd]
Stage 2	oblique Cop in [NP V-nzd] or
	A/DAT Cop in [O/S V]
Stage 3	A/DAT (cop in) [O/S V]

¹⁰Probably Trumai had other main clause constructions besides the clefts, but they must have disappeared. Besides the African languages cited in Heine and Reh (1984), such complete replacement of old main clause verbal systems is attested in the Cariban family (cf. Gildea 1998).

¹¹ Observe that the same developments can be proposed for the construction where the whole clause would be under focus, such as:

the monkey's scream Copula 'It is the monkey screaming.'

[NP V-nzd] Cop

[NP V-zd] Cop in **or**

[S V] Cop in

[S V] (cop in)

These historical developments had several consequences, generating the following results:

(i) **the “creation” of the Focus/Tense particles *chi_in* and *ka_in*.** The parts of the units (*ka/chi* and *in*) are still not completely fused into a single form, since the sequence can still be broken by adverbs, but they do form a semantic unit, being intimately associated, despite the presence of possible adverbs between them. This also explains the presence of a reflex of the modern Copula *chi* in *chi_in*.

(ii) **SV and OV are VPs**, “preserving” the fact that S and O used to form a constituent with the element that was originally their possessed noun and that is now the verb. Given that, S and O have fixed position - right before the verb. A and DAT came from obliques; therefore, they were relatively independent in relation to the element that was originally a noun and currently the verb. That is the reason why [AV] and [V DAT] do not form a constituent in Trumai.

(iii) **Trumai shows little inflectional morphology in main clauses:** if verbs came from nominalizations, they are not expected to exhibit etymologically verbal morphology.

Then, next question is: what would happen if the element that had to be in focus were not an oblique, but rather the NP Possessor of the nominalized verb? That is:

[the man’s competition]

[the house’s construction] by the man

[Karu’s eyesight] on the monkey

Like in the other clefts, the element under focus would be isolated in first position, followed by the Copula *ka* or *chi* (stage 1). However, extra morphology would occur here: the use of the morpheme *ke*, a relativizer for creating unpossessed nouns. In other words: the bond between Possessor and some Possessed nouns is strong and cannot just be broken (some nouns are obligatorily possessed); in order to have a free, unpossessed noun, special morphology may be required.¹² For this reason, the relativizer *ke* would be used, since the NP Possessor would be isolated in first position. For example:

the man Copula competition Relativizer

'It is the man who competes.'

competition is unpossessed, since its potential possessor (*the man*) is not close and available to it. Similarly:

the house Copula construction Relativizer by the man

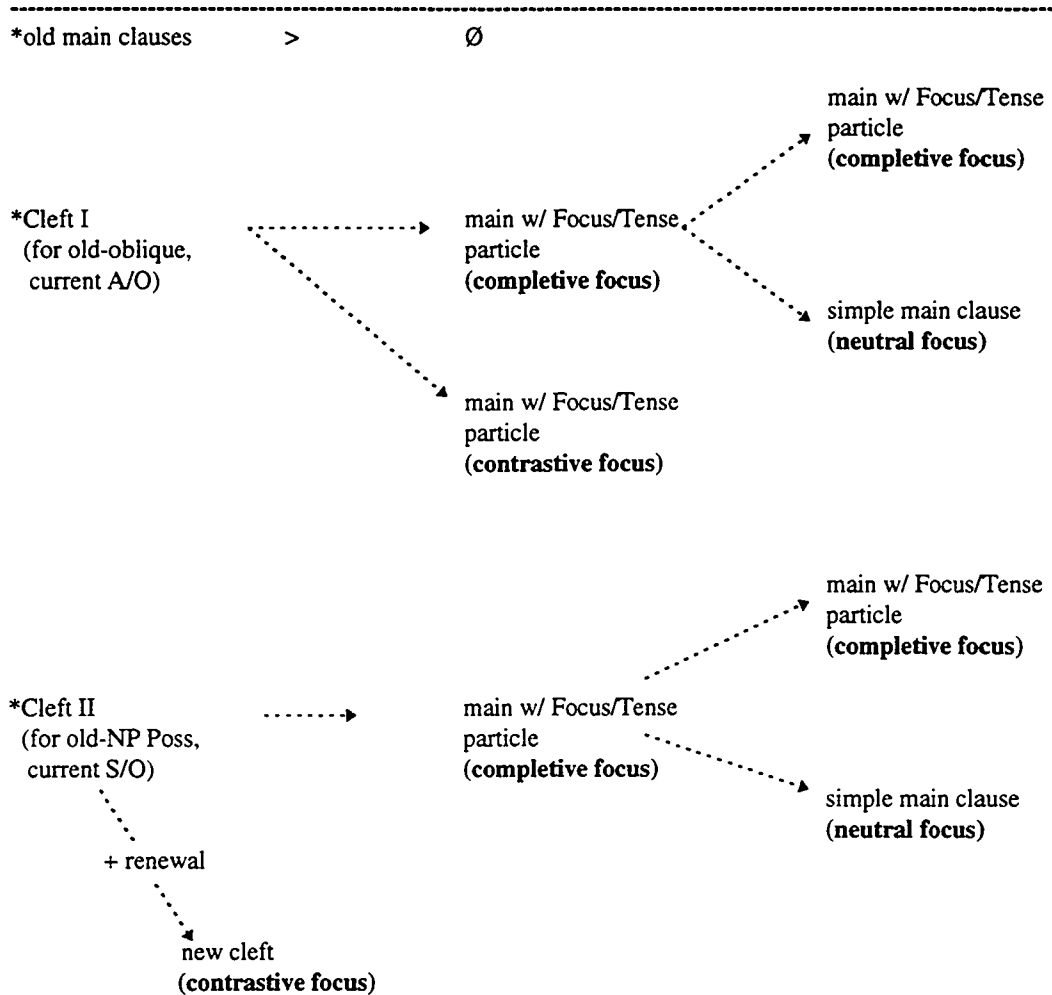
'It is the house that's constructed by the man

Karu Copula eyesight Relativizer on the monkey

'It is Karu who (has) the eyesight on the monkey.'

Then, the same stages proposed before would happen: in stage 2, the morpheme *in* would be introduced after the Copula, the relativized verb was reanalyzed as a main verb in the infinitive and the NP possessor was reanalyzed as S or O (and the obliques as DAT or A). In stage 3, the cleft replaced the main clauses, the sequence of morphemes *ka* or *chi* + *in* was reinterpreted as morphemes in association and eventually became optional.

¹² This fact is typologically attested, that is, nouns that are obligatorily possessed lead to the raising of special constructions. Cf. Derbyshire (1994) and Gildea (1998) with regard to the Cariban family.



The main stages of the evolution of the focus construction for the old-NP

Possessor (later reanalyzed as S or O) are presented in the chart below:

Table 5.2. Summary: Evolution of focus construction with the old NP Possessors

Stage 1	NP Cop	[V ke] _{N/RC}	(oblique)	
Stage 2	NP Cop in	[V ke] _{N/RC}	(oblique)	or
	S/O Cop in	[V ke] _v	(DAT/A)	
Stage 3	S/O (cop in)	[V ke] _v	(DAT/A)	and
	S/O Cop (cop in)	[V ke] _{N/RC}	(DAT/A)	[new cleft]

The consequences of these historical developments were:

(i) like in the evolution of the focus construction for old-obliques, the evolution of the focus construction for the old-NP Possessors lead to the “creation” of the Focus/Tense particles *chī_in* and *ka_in*.

(ii) *ke* marks sentences where Absolutive NPs and Verb are separated. The original morpheme *ke* actually had three paths of change:

- in one context - the new cleft construction - it remained a relativizer.
- in another context - the creation of lexical items - *ke* became a nominalizer, and has become more phonologically bound (the allomorph *-k* signals this). Observe that in modern data, verbs nominalized by *-ke/-k* cannot be possessed, a property that probably is inherited directly from the original **ke*:

- (58) a. **ha xoxan-ke*
 1 wash-Nzr
 (my washer) [cannot be possessed]
- b. *ha xoxan kewcha*
 1 wash tool
 ‘my washer (lit: my tool of washing)’
- (59) a. **ha daṭ-ke*
 1 black-Nzr
 (my black one) [cannot be possessed]
- b. *hai-kte han daṭ yi*
 1-Poss thing black YI
 ‘My black one (lit: my black thing)’
- c. *daṭ'-ke-tl ka_in ha pudits.*
 black-Nzr-Dat Foc/Tens 1 like
 ‘I like the black one.’ [only non-possessed]
- d. **ha daṭ'-ke-tl ka_in ha pudits.*
 (I like my black one.) [cannot be possessed]

- in the other context - clauses where the Absolutive NP is distant from the verb - *ke* was reanalyzed, not functioning anymore as a relativizer/nominalizer. The problem is to identify what its new function is. So far, it is not clear.

(iii) **A and DAT can change position without “triggering” the occurrence of *ke*.** As already mentioned, the relativizer *ke* would be used only when the NP Possessor would be isolated in first position, in order to be under focus. Given that A and DAT did not come from NP Possessors, but rather from obliques, they would not require the use of *ke* in their focus construction. So, only the Absolutive case became sensitive to the appearance of the morpheme *ke*.

Of course, we would prefer some way to test this hypothesis, either by encountering a related language or by finding previously unknown historical documentation of the Trumai language. In the absence of any way to verify or falsify it, the hypothesis is only as strong as the coherence of the explanation it provides for a number previously incoherent synchronic structural facts: (i) the organization of simple clauses in Trumai, (ii) the configuration of the Focus/Tense particles, (iii) the relationship among the different occurrences of the morpheme *ke*, and finally (iv) the differences of behavior between S/O and A/DAT observed in the data.

Let us now move to the analysis of the main characteristics of nominal and verbal predicates in Trumai.

5.2. Characterization of nominal and verbal predicates in Trumai

First, we present the main differences between nominal and verbal predicates. The other kinds of non-verbal predicates will be treated later (section 5.2.5) since they have some similarities in relation to the nominal ones.

5.2.1. Main characteristics

A prototypical verbal predicate has the characteristics presented in the left column, while a prototypical nominal predicate shows the characteristics on the right column¹⁴:

	<u>verbal</u>	<u>nominal</u>
<i>word order:</i>	S V	Pred Subj Cop ¹⁵
<i>position of the enclitic of 3p (-n/-e):</i>	V-n	Cop-n ¹⁶
<i>word used for negation:</i>	tak	anuk ¹⁷

As examples of verbal and nominal predication, we have:

¹⁴ As already mentioned in chapter 2 (footnote 11), the order [S V] is based on clauses with Intransitive verbs, since the presence of only one argument makes it easier to analyze the organization of the clause. We use Intransitive clauses as the basis for the comparison, but the facts presented here (i.e. position of enclitic; word for negation) are also valid for Extended Intransitive and (Extended) Transitive clauses. When necessary, we present information on these kinds of clauses too.

¹⁵ Nominal predicates can also present an alternative order (Subj Cop Pred), depending on pragmatic factors:

(i) a. *tsi-tle ka_in ha chi.*
3Poss-mother Foc/Tens 1 Cop
'I am his mother.'

b. *ha chi ka_in tsi-tle.*
I Cop Foc/Tens 3Poss-mother.
'His mother is me.' (lit: I am (new info) his mother) (Q: Who is his mother?)

¹⁶ As already mentioned in chapter 3 (section on Copula), there are actually two possibilities for the nominal predicate:

(i) Occurrence of Copula: *di ka_in chi-n.* 'She is a woman.'
(ii) Occurrence of morpheme *iyi*: *di ka_in iyi-n.* 'She is a woman.'

The morpheme *iyi/yi* and the Copula cannot co-occur. Usually, the Copula is used, but when it does not occur, the presence of *iyi* seems to be obligatory if the 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e* is used (*iyi* is the site where the enclitic attaches).

¹⁷ Besides the use of *anuk*, which is more usual, there is an alternative way of expressing negation in nominal predicates: the use of *n(i)kik*. See chapter 6, section 6.3.2.1.

First Person:

- (60) S V
a. *ha katnon.* 'I work.'
- Pred Subj Cop
b. *di (ka_in) ha chi.* 'I am a woman.'

Third Person:

- (61) S V
a. *ine katnon.* 'He works.'
- V-s
b. *katnon-e.* 'He works.'
- (62) Pred Subj Cop
a. *di (ka_in) inatl chi.* 'She is a woman.'
- Pred Cop-subj
b. *ai (ka_in) chi-n.* 'She is a woman.'

Neg. first person:

- (63) S V Neg
a. *ha katnon tak.* 'I am not working.'
- Pred Neg Subj Cop¹⁸
b. *di anuk ha chi.* 'I am not a woman.'

Neg. third Person:

- (64) S V Neg
a. *ine katnon tak.* 'He does not work.'
- S V Neg
b. *iyi katnon tak.* 'He does not work.'
- (65) Pred Neg Subj Cop
a. *di anuk inatl chi.* 'She is not a woman.'
- Pred Neg Cop-subj
b. *di anuk chi-n.* 'She is not a woman.'

¹⁸ It seems that there is an incompatibility between *anuk* and *ka_in*, since the consultants do not accept utterances with both elements co-occurring.

5.2.2. Nominal roots as verb

In chapter 2, we saw that a nominal root can function as a nominal word ('an X') or as a verbal word ('to have an X'). If it functions as a verb, occurring in a verbal predicate, it shows the behaviors observed with this kind of predicate (examples (b) below):

Nominal vs. verbal, first person:

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------|------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | Pred | | Subj | Cop | |
| (66) | a. <i>di</i> | (<i>ka_in</i>) | <i>ha</i> | <i>chi.</i> | 'I am a woman.' |
| | | | | | |
| | | | S | V | |
| | b. <i>ha</i> | <i>di</i> | <i>ka_in.</i> | | 'I am married.' (said by man)
(lit: I have a woman) |

Nominal versus verbal, third person:

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|------------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| | Pred | | Cop-subj | | |
| (67) | a. <i>di</i> | (<i>ka_in</i>) | <i>chi-n.</i> | 'She is a woman.' | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | S | V-subj | |
| | b. <i>iyi</i> | <i>di-n</i> | <i>ka_in.</i> | | 'He is married'
(lit: He has a woman).' |

5.2.3. Verbal predicate becomes similar to nominal predicate

Sometimes both nominal and verbal predicates can become very similar in form, and that represents a problem of analysis. Basically, when the clause is an answer to a specific question, and the verb codifies the new information or the information that needs to be confirmed, the clause has the structure of a cleft construction with the verb in focus. However, there are reasons to say that the construction is not really a cleft.

This problem will be treated here in several steps. First, the facts observed in the data will be presented. After that, two possible analyses will be discussed.

As already mentioned, in Trumai new or important information, or information that needs confirmation, comes at the beginning of the clause. If somebody asks a question such as: ‘Do you work (habitually)?’, or ‘Are you married (i.e., Do you have a woman)?’, or even ‘Are you a woman/What are you?’, the answer will have the requested information in first position:

Work	I.	OR	Work not	I.
Have.woman	I.		Have.woman not	I.
Woman	I am.		Woman not	I am.

In the case of nominal predicates, no changes are necessary from the normal word order, Pred Subj Cop. The scenario is different in the case of verbal predicates, because the order now is changed, becoming the same as nominal predicates. More interesting, now the Copula also occurs, and a morpheme *ke* appears after the verb. For example:

Answer to question

	V	S	Cop	
(68) a.	<i>katnon ke ka_in ha</i>	<i>chi.</i>		‘I work.’
	V	Cop-s		
b.	<i>katnon ke ka_in</i>	<i>chi-n.</i>		‘He works.’

In some cases, the presence of *ke* makes the difference between a nominal and a verbal predicate: when a nominal root is involved, the presence of *ke* preserves the difference between a nominal predicate (be an X) and a verbal one (have a X), as in example (69).

Nominal vs. verbal: answer to question

	Pred	S	Cop	
(69) a.	<i>di ka_in ha</i>	<i>chi.</i>		‘I am a woman.’

	V		S	Cop	
b.	<i>di</i>	<i>ke ka_in</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>chĩ.</i>	'I am married.' (lit: I have a woman)

What about when the clause is a negative answer? Again, clauses with verbs show the syntax of nominal predicates, but the Negation particle used is the one that typically modifies verbs, *tak*.¹⁹ For instance:

Negative answer to question - first person:

	V	Neg	S	Cop	
(70) a.	<i>di</i>	<i>tak ka_in</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>chĩ.</i>	'I am not married'. (lit: I do not have a woman)

	V	Neg	S	Cop	
b.	<i>katnon</i>	<i>tak ka_in</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>chĩ.</i>	'I am not working.' ²⁰

Negative answer to question - third person:

	V	Neg		Cop-s	
(71) a.	<i>di</i>	<i>tak ka_in</i>	<i>chĩ-n.</i>		'He is not married.'

	V	Neg		Cop-s	
b.	<i>katnon</i>	<i>tak ka_in</i>	<i>chĩ-n.</i>		'He is not working.'

Negative answer to question - nominal predicate:

	Pred		S	Cop	
(72)	<i>di</i>	<i>anuk ha</i>	<i>chĩ.</i>		'I am not a woman.'
	(same as example (63-b))				

¹⁹ This is observed with Transitive verbs too:

	V	Neg		A	O	Cop
(i)	<i>pit'a</i>	<i>tak ka_in</i>	<i>hai-ts</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>chĩ</i>	
	call	Neg	Foc/Tens	1-Erg	2	Cop
	'I did not call you.'					

²⁰ In affirmative answers, the order [V ke ka_in S Cop (DAT)] or [V ke ka_in A O Cop (DAT)] is used when the verb refers to an habitual event (e.g. I work). In negative answers, this order occurs for non-habitual events (e.g. I am not working, I did not work). When the negative answer refers to a habitual event (e.g. I do not work), the morpheme *t(a)ke* 'Privative' is used (cf. chapter 4, section 4.3).

- (73) Pred Neg Cop-s
di anuk chi-n. 'She is not a woman.'
 (same as example (65-b))

Looking at these two last examples, we can see that the morpheme *ke* is not present in the clauses. When the Negation particle *tak* is used, the presence of the morpheme *ke* is not obligatory (so far, we have not identified a difference in meaning):

Additional examples:

- (74) a. V Neg S Cop DAT
puđits tak (ke) ka_in ha chi chichik-es.
 like Neg KE Foc/Tens 1 Cop pepper-Dat
 'I do not like pepper.'

- b. V Neg Cop-s
ađo atuk tak (ke) ka_in chi-n.
 arm long Neg KE Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 'He does not have long arms.'

Then a question arises: can the order between *ke* and *tak* be reversed, in order to negate not only the verb, but the whole predicate? The answer is no. The negator *tak* is used if we negate the verb itself, that is, if we want to negate the nucleus of the predicate. If we want to negate the predicate as a whole, then the Negation particle used is *anuk*, which typically negates nominal predicates, as illustrated above:

- (75) V Neg S Cop DAT
ofa ke anuk ha chi fe'de-s.
 kill Neg 1 Cop jaguar-Dat
 'I do not kill jaguars (habitually).'

In all of the examples given above, the clauses have the structure of a cleft construction: the verb is isolated in first position in order to be highlighted, it undergoes relativization, and the Copula is present.²¹ So, example (68a), which is an answer to the question ‘Do you work?’, could be interpreted as: ‘Yes, I am one who works’. The use of the negator *anuk* in example (75) suggests that the verb is relativized. Therefore, one possible analysis would be to say that all the examples above are instances of cleft constructions with focus on the verb/predicate.

However, this analysis cannot explain one syntactic property of these constructions: when the negator *tak* directly modifies the verb (example (74)), *ke* becomes optional. It would be strange for a cleft construction to optionally relativize the verb. Another problem with analyzing all of (68-69b), (74), and (75) as instances of clefts is that this construction occurs more frequently than we would expect for a cleft. Basically, these clauses are the usual way of answering a yes/no question about a habitual event.

There is one more problematic point in saying that these examples are instances of cleft: how can we account for a clause with a Transitive verb - such as the example below - where the “subject” of the “nominal predicate” (i.e. the relativized verb) is marked as Ergative?

- (76) *[ni'de pak]-ki disi ke [kiki wan]-ek [pelasawak yi]*.
 this month-Dat kill/hit KE man PL-Erg tapir YI
 ‘In this month, men kill tapirs.’

²¹However, when the verb is Transitive, the Copula is not necessarily present:

- (i) *tüchi ke ka_in hai-ts di yi*.
 scarify KE Foc/Tens 1-Erg woman YI
 ‘I always/habitually scarify the woman (example (27) recalled)

If *ke* here is a Relativizer, then [*disi ke*] means ‘one who kills’ and it is a nominal predicate (the Copula is not presented here, but as mentioned in chapter 3 (section 3.5) the Copula does not always occur in a nominal predicate). In this case, shouldn’t the “subject” [*kiki wan*] ‘men’ be in the Absolutive? Instead, it is [*pelasawak*] ‘tapir’ that is in the Absolutive, but tapirs are not the killers here, they are rather the killed ones. The nominalizer for ‘patient’ is *-t'(a)*, not *-k(e)* (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2). Therefore, it does not seem adequate to say that *ke* in (76) is a Relativizer, and that this example is an instance of a cleft construction.

An alternative analysis would explain the morphosyntax of a cleft as indicating the historical source of the modern construction, but would argue that, as in the case of the clefts for old obliques/NP Possessors that became main clauses (as argued in section 5.1.3), the construction has been reanalyzed into a standard clause type. Thus, the presence of the Copula, the morpheme *ke* relativizing the verb, and the Negation particle *anuk* would be explained. However, both the construction and the morpheme *ke* would have changed their status as the construction was used more and more. Finally, it would have been reanalyzed as a regular clause, with the difference that the verb comes in first position. The morpheme *ke* does not indicate relativization anymore; the fact that *ke* is optional in the negative clauses would be evidence for reanalysis. The question is to identify the function of *ke* in the examples (68-69b), (74), and (75) above.

There is one extra problem that needs to be discussed: the behavior of *ke* in negative answers with a verb in first position (such as in example 74) is not exactly the same as the *ke* that occurs when the Absolutive NP is non-adjacent to verb, because the

latter is obligatory. Thus, we would have to say that we have a fourth kind of *ke* in negative answers, and that this *ke* is perhaps another derivation from the Relativizer *ke*.

It is not clear if this analysis is desirable; that is, if it is really necessary to distinguish every single instance of *ke* as being a different case, or if it would not be better to unify them. It is hard to make a decision. An additional fact that deserves attention is that a verb negated by *tak* patterns together with nominal elements in other contexts, for example, in imperative constructions (cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.4, and chapter 6, section 6.4). Thus, perhaps the presence of morpheme *ke* in negative answers has to do with the negative modality itself rather than to the “answering question” construction. In the moment, what is visible is that *ke* here interacts with both focus and negation.

5.2.4. Attributive predicates

Attributive predicates involve the use of adjectives as the nucleus of the predicate. They share characteristics of both verbal and nominal predicates, and there are indications of temporary versus permanent states.

If the clause has nominal-predicate configuration, and the clause is not in the negative modality, the predicate can indicate a temporary state if the predicate contains only an adjective, or a permanent attribute if the adjective is modified by *ke*, probably the relativizer morpheme. If the clause is in the negative modality, it indicates permanent attributes (*ke* can also appear, but its use is optional in this case).

If the clause has a verbal-predicate configuration, the predicate always indicates temporary states, in both negative and affirmative modalities. However, in the negative modality, the use of the verbal negator tak is allowed only with the word order [Adj *tak* Subj Cop]. As already explained in the previous section, verbal predicates can also present this word order when in the negative modality, but this construction is not the typical one, since it is a “blend” of nominal and verbal predicates (it has the Copula and nominal word order, but the verbal negator). However, that is the only order allowed with attributive predicates if the negator is *tak*.

Nominal predicate-like:	<u>permanent</u>	<u>temporary</u>
	Adj + <i>ke</i> Subj (Cop) ²²	Adj Subj (Cop)
	Adj (+ <i>ke</i>) <u><i>anuk</i></u> Subj (Cop)	-----
Verbal predicate-like:	-----	Subj Adj
	-----	Adj <u><i>tak</i></u> Subj(Cop)

If the clause is negative and presents the same word order as prototypical verbal predicates, the negator used is *anuk*, the same used for nouns. This is again a “blend” of the characteristics of nominal and verbal predicates (now, we have verbal word order, but the nominal negator): Subj Adj *anuk*.

²² Like in the nominal predicates, in attributive predicates it is possible to have the Cop or the morpheme *iyi/yi*:

- (i) *nacha ka_in chi-n.*
 curved Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 ‘He is curved (temporary).’
- (ii) *nacha ka_in iyi-n.*
 curved Foc/Tens IYI-3ABs
 ‘He is curved. (temporary)’

For example:

Nominal predicate-like:

- (77) *nacha ke ka_in ha chi.*
 curved Rlzr Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am curved.’ (**permanent**)
- (78) *nacha (ke) anuk ha chi.*
 curved Rlz r Neg 1 Cop
 ‘I am not curved.’ (**permanent**) or ‘I am not a curved person.’
- (79) *nacha ka_in ha chi.*
 curved Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am curved.’ (**temporary**) (for example, sitting with a bad posture)

Verbal predicate-like:

- (80) *ha nacha ka_in.*
 1 curved Foc/Tens
 ‘I am curved.’ (**temporary**)
- (81) *nacha tak ka_in ha chi.*
 curved Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am not curved.’ (**temporary**)

A blend of nominal and verbal predicates:

- (82) a. *ha nacha anuk.*
 1 curved Neg
 ‘I am not curved.’ (**temporary**)
- b. **ha nacha tak ka_in.*

Looking at the patterns presented above, we can see that there is only one way of expressing permanent characteristics, but two ways of expressing temporary states.

Attributive predicates that indicate permanent characteristics are probably simple nominal predicates, with the adjective nominalized by *ke* behaving in the same way as nouns. The

question is to understand the nature of the attributive predicates that indicate temporary states. Let us first realign them strictly on the basis of word order:

affirmative:	Adj Subj (Cop)	Subj Adj
negative:	Adj <i>tak</i> Subj (Cop)	Subj Adj <i>anuk</i>

Looking at the negative modality, we observe that when the order is nominal, the negator is verbal, and conversely, when the order is verbal, the negator is nominal. In other words, the negator has always opposite “polarity” in relation to the word order.

However, a problem remains: what are the semantic differences between the two ways of expressing temporary states? So far, the only difference that could be detected was due to pragmatic factors: the Subj Adj or Adj Subj (Cop) order is selected depending on which information the speaker wants to highlight:

(83) *kafe yi supi.*
 coffee YI bitter
 ‘The coffee is bitter.’ (comment)

(84) *supi ka_in kafe yi.*
 bitter Foc/Tens coffee YI
 ‘The coffee is bitter (new info).’ (answer to the question: Is the coffee sweet?)

In sum, it seems that the more adequate way of understanding attributive predicates in Trumai is to take into account whether the attribute being expressed is permanent or temporary. If permanent, we have a nominalized adjective in a nominal predicate and no further complications. If temporary, we have a “hybrid” predicate, with two possibilities: (i) nominal syntax but not-nominal nucleus (and consequently, not-nominal Negation particle); (ii) verbal syntax but not-verbal nucleus and not-verbal

Negation particle. We could go deeper into this issue and explore the nature of adjectives in general. As some scholars point out, adjectives refer to entities that are more time-stable than verbs, but less than nouns (Givón 1984). This being so, it is not surprising that in some languages adjectives shows properties of both nouns and verbs, since they constitute an in-between category. Perhaps the temporal attributive predicates in Trumai play along with this in-between nature, oscillating between nominal (permanent) or verbal (temporary) characteristics. Could we say that an attributive temporal predicate with nominal syntax indicates a slightly less temporary attribute than one with verbal syntax? Or is the choice of a nominal or verbal syntax conditioned only by the same pragmatic factors which condition order changes in verbal predicates? This remains a point for further research.

5.2.5. Other kinds of non-verbal predicate

In this section, we will consider the other possible kinds of predicate that are not verbal. They are: the equative predicate, the locative predicate, and the existential predicate. They can be considered subtypes of the nominal predicate, because their typical order is Pred Subj and the use of the Copula is frequent. However, each of these predicates has its own peculiarities that differentiate them from prototypical nominal predicates and from each other. The following table presents the main similarities and differences among these predicates (for the comparison, we are excluding the Copula, which not always occur in the clause):

Table 5.3. Non-Verbal Predicates

	Nominal Predicate	Equative	Locative	Existential
Typical Order	Pred Subj	Pred Subj	Loc Subj	Loc Subj
Alternative Order	Subj Pred	Subj Pred	Subj Loc	-----
Negator	anuk n(i)kik	anuk n(i)kik	tak	nik

The next sections explore each predicate in detail.

- Equative:

Like nominal predicates, Equative predicates have the order Pred Subj but, depending on pragmatic factors, they can also present the order Subj Pred. The presence of the Copula is not obligatory with 3rd person, but if used, it is always following the Subject, despite the variations in the order:²³

Pred ka_in Subj (Cop)
 Subj (Cop) ka_in Pred
 * Subj ka_in Pred Cop

As examples of equative clauses, we have:

(85) *Aria che yi ka_in Tawapī chī.*
 Aria husband YI Foc/Tens Tawapī Cop
 ‘Tawapī is Aria’s husband.’
 [the general conversation is about Tawapī]

(86) *Tawapī chī ka_in Aria che yi.*
 Tawapī Cop Foc/Tens Aria husband YI
 ‘Aria’s husband is Tawapī.’ (lit: Tawapī (new info) is Aria’s husband).’
 [the general conversation is about Aria. Somebody asks about her husband]

When in the negative modality, equative predicates can employ the negator *anuk*, but the use of the morpheme *n(i)kik* is preferred by the consultants (cf. chapter 6 for analysis of this morpheme). We do not have examples with *anuk* in the order Subj Pred,

²³ Actually, when the order is [Subj Cop Pred], the copula is conserved in nominal predicates. In equative predicates, the copula can be absent.

only with *n(i)kik* (perhaps this is just a gap in the corpus; this point will be checked in the future).

- (87) Pred Subj Cop
Aria che anuk Tawapī chi.
 Aria husband Neg Tawapī Cop
 ‘Tawapī is not Aria’s husband.’

- (88) Pred Subj
Aria che-nkik ka_in Pedro yi.
 Aria husband-Neg Foc/Tens Pedro YI
 ‘Pedro is not Aria’s husband.’

- (89) Subj Pred
Pedro ka_in Aria che-nkik.
 Pedro Foc/Tens Aria husband
 ‘Aria’s husband is not Pedro.’ (lit: Pedro (new info) is not Aria’s husband.)

- Locative:

In general, in locative predicates the word order is Pred Subj, but there is an alternative order, less often attested: Subj Pred (probably this variation in order has to do with pragmatic factors). The Copula can appear in the clause, but its use is not obligatory with 3rd person (in any order). Examples:

- (90) *misu-n ka_in ha chi.*
 river-Loc Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am in the river (taking a bath).’

- (91) *si-n ka_in chi-n.*
 canoe-Loc Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 ‘He is in the canoe.’

- (92) *hilaka-n ka_in adis paine.*
 village-Loc Foc/Tens Indian collective
 ‘The Indians are in the village.’

[no Copula]

- (93) *adis paine ka_in hilaka-n.*
 Indian collective Foc/Tens village-Loc
 ‘The Indians are in the village.’

[alternative word order]

- (94) *ni ha chi.*
 here 1 Cop
 ‘I am here.’ [no Focus/Tense particle]

When in the negative modality, locative predicates employ the Negation particle

tak to negate the predicate:

- (95) *misu-n tak ka_in ha chi.*
 river-Loc Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am not in the river.’
- (96) *mesa-n tak ka_in k’ate yi.*
 table-Loc Neg Foc/Tens fish YI
 ‘The fish is not on the table.’
- (97) *k’ate yi ka_in mesa-n tak.*
 fish YI Foc/Tens table-Loc Neg
 ‘The fish is not on the table.’

- Existential:

Existential predicates in Trumai are a little hard to characterize. They are better defined by their characteristics in the negative modality than in the affirmative one.

Existential predicates have word order Loc Subj (or Pred Subj), but no alternative order is possible.²⁴ The Copula in general is not used, while the presence of the Focus/Tense particle is highly frequent. As we can see, there are many overlaps between the characteristics of existential predicates and the locative/nominal ones. Thus, sometimes it is hard to tell if a clause in the affirmative modality is an existential or a locative/nominal predicate. The existential reading is preferred depending on the conversational context. For example:

²⁴ This actually confirms a tendency already observed by Clark (1978): existential predicates tend to present the order Loc Noun.

- (98) *anenewte-n ka_in yaw yi.*
 woods-Loc Foc/Tens people YI
 ‘There are people in the woods.’
[this clause could also be interpreted as: The people are in the woods. Speakers use this clause with an existential reading when talking about strangers in the woods]
- (99) *a’di ka_in k’ate yi.*
 many Foc/Tens fish YI
 ‘There are many fish.’
[this clause could also be interpreted as: The fish are many. Speakers use this clause with existential sense when pointing to fish in the river]

The negative modality can be expressed through the use of a construction with the postposition *nik* ‘without’:

- (100) *misu nik ka_in iyi.*
 water without Foc/Tens IYI
 ‘There is no water.’ (lit: (It) is without water.)
- (101) *yaw nik ka_in (iyi).*
 human.being without Foc/Tens IYI
 ‘There is no people/nobody.’ (lit: (It) is without people.)
- (102) *oke nik ka_in.*
 medicine without Foc/Tens
 ‘There is no medicine.’ (lit: (It) is without medicine.)

This postposition is also found as an alternative way to express predicative alienable possession (cf section 5.2.6):

- (103) *sapaun nik ka_in ha chi.*
 soap without Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I do not have soap.’ (lit: I am without soap).
- (104) *sapaun nik ka_in iyi-n.*
 soap without Foc/Tens IYI-3Abs
 ‘She does not have soap.’ (lit: She is without soap).

In the case of the existential predicate, the subject position presents no lexical item (___ is without water) and most important, the 3Abs enclitic does not occur. In example (104) the lexical zero is due to discursive reasons, but the enclitic codifies the 3rd person subject. As we will see in chapter 9, in several cases the absence of the enclitic can give to the clause a generic or existential sense (cf. section 9.1.1).

What about the use of the negator *tak*? We presented to our consultant data where *tak* was used instead of *nik*:

- (105) *misu tak ka_in iyi.*
 water Neg Foc/Tens IYI
 ‘There is no water’

The consultant accepted this kind of data. However, she has never offered it spontaneously, and we have never observed such example in texts or in natural conversation, so we wonder if this use is indeed possible. If so, how can we analyze it? We observe that the example (105) is similar in structure to one of the possible negative possessive predicates, which is exemplified below:

- (106) *kuch tak ka_in ha chi.*
 hair Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I do not have hair.’

- (107) *kuch tak ka_in iyi-n.*
 hair Neg Foc/Tens IYI-Abs
 ‘He does not have hair.’

The difference between (105) and (106-107) is that in (105) the subject has a lexical zero (___ does not have water) and no 3Abs enclitic. So, again it seems that the construction used to express possession can be used to express existence too. The problem of example

(105) is that *tak* is being used to negate *misu* ‘water’, which is not an inalienably possessed noun. The possessive construction with *tak* is observed with body part and kinship terms (cf. section 5.2.6). Therefore, example (105) is very atypical and needs to be rechecked before we can draw further conclusions.

There are some examples with *nik* in which the entity whose existence is reported appears twice in the clause: in the subject and in the predicate position; these examples were offered spontaneously by the consultant:

*** affirmative**

	Loc		Subj	
(108)	<i>pike-n</i>	<i>ka_in</i>	<i>yaw</i>	<i>chĩ.</i>
	house-Loc	Foc/Tens	human.being	Cop
	‘There are people in the house.’			

*** negative**

	Loc		Pred		Subj	
(109)	a. <i>pike-n</i>	<i>ka_in</i>	<i>yaw</i>	<i>nik</i>	<i>yaw</i>	<i>chĩ.</i>
	house-Loc	Foc/Tens	human.being	without	human.being	Cop
	‘There are no people in the house.’ (lit: In the house, people are without people.)					
		Pred		Subj		Loc
	b. <i>yaw</i>	<i>nik</i>	<i>yaw</i>	<i>chĩ</i>	<i>pike-n.</i>	
	human.being	without	human.being	Cop	house-Loc	
	‘There are no people in the house.’ (lit: People are without people in the house.)					

Observe that in (109) the order of the physical location *piken* ‘in the house’ changes, but the structure of the rest of the clause is the same: Pred Subj. Example (109) is typologically uncommon, since existential constructions in most languages do not have the entity expressed twice in the clause. Perhaps (109) could be better understood if we consider the relationship between locative and possessive or existential predicates. Clark (1978) points out that there is a locative basis for both existential and locative

constructions, and that the possessive construction could be analyzed as a more abstract kind of location. So, when we say The book is Mary's, we could say that the book can be localized in relation to Mary, in the same way that the book can be localized in relation to the box if we say The book is in the box. The same would be true for a clause such as The book is with Mary.

However, this kind of abstract localization works well if the localized entity is definite, that is, it can be identified. If it cannot, the tendency is to present the localizer first, for example, Mary has a book. Another possibility is to use an existential clause, such as There is a book in the box / with Mary. According to Culioli (1995), existential predicates can also be seen as a kind of abstract localization, where the entity is localized in relation to itself, something like: X is {in the spot where X is}.²⁵ Therefore, the existential predicate would be a kind of absolute localization. And, since it is absolute, the localizer does not necessarily need to be expressed: given that the entity X is localized in relation to itself, there is only one possible localizer for it. In this case, it is not really necessary to express it (however, some languages prefer to fill the abstract localization with an adverb, like in English there is/are X).²⁶ Therefore:

[The spot where a book is/ that has a book] has a book.

∅ has a book.

²⁵ "Given the first term, we find here the property of the fundamental primitive operation, that of being located by two identifications:

- the first indicates that an occurrence is located with respect to its predicate:

x is x= is what it is

- the second, that an occurrence is located with respect to an abstract, spatial localization: *is in the spot where it is*, which enables the construction of the predication of existence..." (Culioli 1995:150)

²⁶ Actually, this is just a simplified version of the ideas of Culioli. His theory is much more complex.

In a clause like There is a book in the box / with Mary, the physical location - e.g. the box, Mary - could be considered a further refinement of the localization, making it more specific, but the “main” localization, which asserts the existence of the entity, is absolute. In other words, the existence would be the abstract and permanent localization; the localization in the box would be the physical and temporary location. After asserting the existence of the entity in the universe (general localization), we would refine it, saying where is its localization in the moment (specific localization).

In some languages, existential clauses indeed have a configuration that is similar to possessive clauses, with the difference that the possessor (the abstract location) is a zero in the existential clause. For example, in Brazilian Portuguese:

- (110) \emptyset *tem* *café*.
 have coffee
 ‘There is coffee.’
 {the spot where coffee is / that has coffee} has coffee.

- (111) \emptyset *não tem* *café*.
 not have coffee
 ‘There is no coffee.’
 {the spot where coffee is / that has coffee} does not have coffee.

Trumai also follows this principle in its existential constructions:

- (112) *misu nik ka_in* \emptyset (*iyi*)
 water without Foc/Tens IYI
 ‘There is no water.’
 {the spot where water is / that has water} is without water.

What makes example (109) uncommon is the fact that the localizer - the entity itself - is being expressed, a fact that we would not expect, for the reason explained above:

- (113) *pike-n ka_in yaw nik yaw chi.*
 house-Dat Foc/Tens people without people Cop
 ‘There are no people in the house.’
 In the house, people = {the “spot” that has people} is without people.’

This is just a first approach to the problem of existential clauses in Trumai. This point deserves extended discussion, but must be reserved for future studies.

As a final remark, we would like to point out that the construction observed in examples (100-101) - that is, lexical zero in the subject position and no presence of 3Abs enclitic - can be found in the affirmative modality for the expression of natural phenomena:

- (114) *tsi-xu'tsa ka_in iyi.*
 TSI-cold Foc/tens IYI
 ‘It is cold.’ (the weather)
- (115) *kuyaṭane yumane ka_in iyi.*
 hot Intens Foc/tens IYI
 ‘It is very hot.’ (the weather)

5.2.6. Predicates for expressing Possession

The predicative possession constructions (i.e. ‘I have an X’) present the alienable-inalienable distinction already observed in the attributive possession construction (i.e. ‘my X’). The possession of material objects requires a construction that is different from the one used for kinship terms and body parts. The alienable construction represents a

unique kind of clause, because it contains a verb with two Absolutive NPs. The inalienable possession construction could have been treated as a part of the section on verbal predicates, but we preferred to analyze it here in order to give to the reader a whole picture of predicative possession in Trumai.

The construction for **inalienably** possessed entities does not involve a special verb meaning ‘to have’. Rather, the nominal root referring to the possessed entity behaves as the verb of the clause, receiving verbal morphology (as already exemplified in section 2.2.1). In this context, the root no longer means anymore ‘an X’, but ‘to have an X’. For example:

(116) a. *t-adifle ka_in ha chi.*
 3Poss-sister Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am his sister.’ [nominal predicate]

b. *ha adifle ka_in.*
 1 sister Foc/Tens
 ‘I have a sister.’ [verbal predicate]

(117) a. *t-adifle ka_in chi-n.*
 3Poss Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 ‘She is his sister.’

b. *[iyi] adifle-n ka_in.*
 IYI sister-3Abs Foc/Tens
 ‘He has a sister.’

(118) *ha hon ka_in.*
 1 eye Foc/Tens
 ‘I have eyes.’

(119) *[iyi] hon-e ka_in.*
 IYI eye-3Abs Foc/Tens
 ‘He has eyes.’

The possession of **alienable** entities involves a special kind of clause: the word *k'ad*, which literally means 'hand', behaves as the verb of the clause (and probably means 'to have' here), and both the NP-possessor and the NP-possessed occur in the Absolutive case, which is a pattern completely different from those observed elsewhere in the language.²⁷ In a verbal predicate, when one of the NPs is in the absolutive case, the others are in the ergative, dative or remaining cases. However, here two NPs are both in the Absolutive; case marking is not allowed in the NP-possessed (examples 123b-c). In this case, how do we distinguish the possessor from the possessed? The possessor is the NP that comes right before the verb *k'ad* (120), or right before the copula when there are changes in the word order (121). When the possessor is not lexically realized, the 3Abs enclitic occurs on the verb *k'ad* (example 122). As we can see, the possessor has the syntactic attributes of an S argument (cf. chapter 7). Examples:

- (120) *tahu ka_in ha k'ad.*
 knife Foc/Tens 1 have
 'I have knife.' [possessor: ha, right before k'ad]
- (121) *tahu ka_in k'ad ke ha chi.*
 knife Foc/Tens have KE 1 Cop
 'I have a knife.' [possessor: ha, right before the copula]
- (122) [*iyi*] *k'ad-e tahu.*
 IYI have-3Abs knife
 'He has a knife.' [possessor marked in the verb k'ad]

²⁷ Given that the verb *k'ad* probably came from the noun *k'ad* 'hand', we could imagine that the construction perhaps has evolved from something like [my hand is in/with a knife] to [I hold a knife] and finally [I have a knife]. Later, the possessive pronoun for 'my' was probably reanalyzed as a subject personal pronoun 'I', and the word for 'hand' was reanalyzed as verb (probably following the path: grasp/hold> have; the common evolution observed in some languages is hand>grasp>hold>have, like in French). This is merely speculation, since there is no direct evidence for this hypothesis, but the evolution grasp>have is widely attested cross-linguistically, and the connection between 'hand' and 'grasp' should be uncontroversial.

- (123) a. *tahu ka_in [iyi] k'ad-e.*
 knife Foc/Tens IYI have-3Abs
 'He has a knife.' [possessor marked in the verb *k'ad*]
- b. **tahu yi-ki ka_in [iyi] k'ad-e.*
- c. **tahu-s ka_in [iyi] k'ad-e.* [no case-marking in the NP-possessed]

Observe that the possession of alienable entities cannot use the same strategy employed for the possession of body parts and kinship terms (i.e. nominal roots behaving as the verb of the clause):

- (124) a. *ha k'ad ka_in sapaun yi.*
 1 have Foc/Tens soap YI
 'I have soap.'
- b. **ha sapaun ka_in.*
 (I have soap)

The construction with *k'ad* can be used for expression other kinds of "possession", such as the example below:

- (125) *paye ka_de_in ha k'ad.*
 shaman Foc/Tens-already 1 have
 'I "have" the shaman (I kidnapped him).'

In relation to the expression of negation in predicative possessive constructions, we observe that the negation particle *tak* is required in all cases: in the case of alienable possession, it modifies the word *k'ad*, which is the verb of the clause; in the case of inalienable possession, it negates the nominal root that behaves as the verb:²⁸

²⁸ Notice that the construction in these examples is of the same kind as the ones discussed in section 5.2.3. Consultants consistently offer this word order (i.e. V Neg *ka_in* Subj Cop) when the possessive predicate is in the negative modality.

- (126) *icha tak ka_in ha chi.*
tooth Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
'I do not have teeth.'
- (127) *tahu ka_in k'ad tak ke ha chi.*
knife Foc/Tens have Neg KE 1 Cop
'I do not have a knife.'

The same is observed with regard to the expression of the desiderative mood: the auxiliary *t(a)ke* modifies the word *k'ad* in the case of alienable possession, and the nominal root that behaves as the verb in the case of inalienable possession:

- (128) *ha icha-tke.*
1 tooth-Des
'I want to have teeth.'
- (129) *tahu ka_in ha k'ad take.*
knife Tens/Foc 1 have Des
'I want a knife.'

Finally, as mentioned in section 5.2.1., besides the construction above, predicative alienable possession can present an alternative way of expressing negation, through the use of the postposition *nik*:

- (130) *asuka nik ka_in ha chi.*
sugar without Foc/Tens 1 Cop
'I do not have sugar.' (lit: 'I am without sugar.')

5.3. Expression of tense and aspect/modality in non-verbal predicates

As said before, in verbal predicates tense or aspect/modality differences can be expressed via the use of adverbs, the Focus/Tense particles *ka_in* and *chi_in*, and auxiliaries. Aspect differences are expressed by the use of auxiliaries, as shown in chapter 3. Tense differences can be expressed in the following ways:

Present:	use of the Focus/Tense particle <i>ka_in</i>		
Past:	use of the Focus/Tense particle	<i>ka_in</i>	for recent past
	use of the Focus/Tense particle	<i>chi_in</i>	for more distant past
	use of the adverb	<i>kaksu</i>	'in.past'
Future:	use of the adverb <i>hat'ke</i>		'in.future (for sure)'
	use of the adverb <i>ifke</i>		'in.future (not sure)'

The question is how time and aspect/modality differences are expressed in non-verbal predicates, given that they do not have a verb to be modified by an auxiliary. As we will see in the next subsections, the Trumai speakers have strategies for expressing the variations in tense and aspect. We will start with the more simple cases (Existential predicates), moving later to the more complex ones (nominal predicates).

5.3.1. Tense/aspect in existential predicates

The differences in tense are expressed through the use of the Focus/Tense particles and the adverbs *kaksu* 'in.past', *ifke* 'in.future (perhaps)', and *hat'ke* 'in.future (surely)':

- (131) *Pavuru-n ka_in fad yuraw yi.* PRESENT
Pavuru-Loc Foc/Tens flu imitation YI
'There is hooping-cough in Pavuru.'
- (132) *Pavuru-n chi_in fad yuraw yi.* PAST
Pavuru-Loc Foc/Tens flu imitation YI
'There was hooping-cough in Pavuru (last year, at a specific time).'
- (133) *Pavuru-n kaksu fad yuraw yi* PAST
Pavuru-Loc in.past flu imitation YI
'There used to be hooping-cough in Pavuru (now it's over).'

- (134) *Yawarawitsi laka-n ka in Yamurikuma yi.* PRESENT
 Yawalapiti village-Loc Foc/Tens Yamurikuma YI
 ‘There is the Yamurikuma celebration in Yawalapiti’s village.’
- (135) *Yawarawitsi laka-n ifke Yamurikuma yi.* FUTURE
 Yawalapiti village-Loc in.future Yamurikuma YI
 ‘There will be (perhaps) the Yamurikuma celebration in Yawalapiti’s village.’
- (136) *Yawarawitsi laka-n hat’ke Yamurikuma yi.* FUTURE
 Yawalapiti village-Loc in.future Yamurikuma YI
 ‘There will be (surely) the Yamurikuma celebration in Yawalapiti’s village.’

It seems that the use of *kaksu* and *chi_in* can indicate aspectual differences, too, perhaps because *kaksu* expresses the idea of past in more of a vague way. We will present a more detailed discussion of this issue later.

5.3.2. Tense/aspect/modality in locative predicates

Like the existential predicates, locative predicates also employ the Focus/Tense particles and adverbs to express differences in tense. Observe in example (140), that *ka_in* and the adverb of future can co-occur in the same clause, since both do not refer to a distant past (it seems that the main distinction of tense in Trumai is distant past - non distant past. With the help of adverbs, the latter can be further divided into recent past, present, and future):

- (137) *misu-n chi in ha chi.* PAST
 river-Loc Foc/Tens I Cop
 ‘I was in the river.’ (contrast with example (90))
- (138) *kanarana-n ka in ha chi.* PRESENT
 Canarana-Loc Foc/Tens I Cop
 ‘I am in Canarana.’

- (139) *kanarana-n kaksu ha chi.* PAST
 Canarana-Loc in.past 1 Cop
 'I was in Canarana.'
- (140) *kanarana-n ka_in ha hat'ke.* FUTURE
 Canarana-Loc Foc/Tens 1 in.future
 'I will be in Canarana.'

With regard to the desiderative mood: we have the use of *take* as a main

Intransitive verb:

- (141) *xodaka-ki ka_in kanarana-n ha hat'ke.*
 tomorrow-Dat Foc/Tens Canarana-Loc 1 in.future
 'I will be in Canarana tomorrow.'
- (142) *xodaka-ki ka_in kanarana-n ha t(a)ke hat'ke.*
 tomorrow-Dat Foc/Tens Canarana-Loc 1 want(?) in.future
 'I want to be in Canarana tomorrow.'²⁹
- (143) *xodaka-ki ka_in kanarana-n ha wan take hat'ke.*
 tomorrow-Dat Foc/Tens Canarana-Loc 1 PL want(?) in.future
 'We want to be in Canarana tomorrow.'

5.3.3. Tense/aspect/modality in nominal predicates

There are several ways to express differences in time in nominal/equative predicates.

(A) Present versus Past states:

- Use of *-t'/t'a* (attached in the predicate) for Past:

- (144) a. *t-eche ka_in ha chi.* PRESENT
 3Poss-husband Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I am her husband.'
- b. *t-eche-t' ka_in ha chi.* PAST
 3Poss-husband-NzrEx Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I was her husband.' (lit: I am her ex-husband)

²⁹ When speaking faster, the consultant says *ha-tke* rather than *ha take*.

- Use of the Adverb *kaksu*:

It is interesting to observe that the Adverb *men* can also appear in the clause:³⁰

- (145) a. *paye ka in ha chi.* PRESENT
 shaman Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I am a shaman.'
- b. *paye kaksu men ha chi.* PAST
 shaman in.past frustative 1 Cop
 'I used to be a shaman.' (now I am not anymore, because I gave it up)

- Use of the Focus/Tense particle *chi_in*:

Again, we see that the difference between the use of *kaksu* and *chi_in* seems to be a matter of the internal characteristics of the time when the event happened (limited, specific time > *chi_in* ; more vague, probably not-limited time > *kaksu*), that is, the difference between these two elements seems to be related to an aspectual difference. An example with *chi_in* follows:

- (146) *paye chi in ha chi.* PAST
 shaman Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I was a shaman (during a specific event).'

(B) Present versus Future states:

- Use of the adverbs of future:

- (147) *paye letsi hat'ke ha chi.* FUTURE
 shaman Instr in.future 1 Cop
 'I will be a shaman. (for sure).'

It is interesting to observe that the nominal predicate here can optionally be modified by the postposition *letsi* 'Instrumental'. According to the consultant, the use of

³⁰ The adverb *men* has the sense of 'frustratively' in verbal predicates; cf. chapter 3, section 3.4.

the postposition provokes some semantic effects: if examples (b) and (c) below are without it, the speaker is saying that he is going to be a hunter (it is already planned); with the postposition *letsi*, the speaker is saying that he is going to play the role of a hunter in a game (therefore, the person will be a hunter only temporarily).

- | | | |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| (148) a. | <i>alax-ke ka_in ha chi.</i>
hunt-Nzr Foc/Tens 1 Cop
'I am a hunter.' | PRESENT |
| b. | <i>alax-ke (letsi) hat'ke ha chi.</i>
hunt-Nzr Instr in.future 1 Cop
'I will be a hunter. (for sure)' | FUTURE |
| c. | <i>alax-ke (letsi) ifke ha chi.</i>
hunt-Nzr Instr in.future 1 Cop
'I will be a hunter (perhaps).' | FUTURE |

(C) Desiderative Mood:

In order to express the desiderative mood the Trumai speakers use a verbal root - meaning 'be turned into' - which is then modified by the desiderative auxiliary:

- (149) *paye letsi ka_men_in ha tsika-tke in.*
shaman Instr Foc/Tens-frustrative 1 be.turned.into-Des Foc
'I want to become a shaman.'

5.4. Simple clauses: other elements

This final section is dedicated to the presentation of the clausal particle *tsile* and its alternants, and the Trumai interjections.

5.4.1. The hearsay particle

The clausal particle *tsile* ‘hearsay’ (with the variants *le* and *ale*) modifies the clause as a whole and can occur in different positions. When it comes after the verb (or attributive predicate), the forms used are *le* (after a verb without the 3Abs enclitic) and *ale* (after a verb with the enclitic).³¹ If it comes in other positions, the form used is *tsile*.³²

This particle is used when the speaker wants to report a fact that s/he did not observe and for which there is no direct evidence. The speaker knows the fact because somebody else told it to her/him. The particle is found very often in mythical narratives and it is translated by the consultants as ‘they say, people say that...’:

- (150) *hi ami le.*
2 speak
‘People say that you said (it).’
- (151) *pike yi hukana-kma le de.*
house YI clear/bright-Perf already
‘People say that the house became all bright (with lights).’
- (152) *ha adif ma'tsi le ka_in.*
1 brother sick Foc/Tens
‘They say that my brother is sick.’
- (153) *iyi ami-n ale*
IYI speak-3Abs
‘People say that he said (it).’
- (154) *fakdits-e ale hen.*
die-3Abs then
‘Then people say that he died.’

³¹ Actually, this is a tendency rather than a rule, because in one text, *le* was found after a verb with the enclitic:

(i) *ami-n le hen xos pine-a-tl.*
speak-3Abs people.say then child partner-3Poss-Dat
‘Then people say that he spoke to his friend.’

³² Perhaps *tsile* could be subdivided into *tsi-le*. The same pattern is observed with the subordinator *iets*, which became *tsi-(i)ets* when it occurs in a different environment. See chapter 10 for discussion on this issue.

- (155) *in-is hen tsile ami-n.*
 it-Dat then speak-3Abs
 ‘Then, people say that he said (it).’
- (156) *kiki herothen yi ifke tsile sa ke deani letsi.*
 man handsome YI in.future dance KE party Instr
 ‘They say that the handsome man will (probably) dance in the party.’
- (157) *in-is hen tsi-pine waŋkan hen tsile.*
 it-Dat then 3Poss-partner cried then
 ‘Then, people say that her friend cried.’

Therefore, *tsile* is a particle which signals that the fact being narrated came from an indirect source of information. So far, other kinds of evidentials, such as an inferential particle, have not been attested (in order to signal that the information was inferred rather than directly observed, speakers use the adverb *huka* ‘perhaps/maybe’).

5.4.2. Interjections

The Trumai interjections constitute a class by themselves. They are a closed set of expressions that occur independently, as a whole clause (especially in dialogues). The

Trumai interjections are:³³

- ho’kela ‘Really?!’ (showing surprise because of some interesting news)
 ‘Oh, OK.’ (giving the idea that: ‘OK, I heard what you said’)
- tan ‘Wow!’ (showing surprise)
- hukele ‘True!’ or
 ‘That’s right!’ (confirming some news that was just mentioned)
- a’tsï ‘Ugh!’ (expression of repugnance)
- pï ‘Oh, man!’ (showing surprise in a slightly bad way. It can be a complaint too)

³³ To translate interjections from one language into another one is not an easy task. The English translations provided here are the best approximations that it was possible to get.

- aka 'Ouch.' (expression of pain)
- ko 'Huh?' (expression of no understanding or being in doubt)
- mo 'Look!' (expression for attracting the attention of the listeners)

VOLUME II:

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF TRUMAI

by

RAQUEL GUIARDELLO

CHAPTER 6

Modality

In this chapter, issues related to modality will be presented. Some of the issues treated here were already mentioned in previous chapters; for this reason, some points will be treated briefly in this chapter, leaving more room for the issues that are new, such as the alternative ways for expressing the negative modality in verbal and non-verbal predicates.

First, there is a short section on declarative clauses; a general view of this kind of clauses will allow us to see better the differences between them and the clauses in other modalities. Next, we have sections on interrogative clauses (with polar and non-polar questions), followed by a section on negative clauses, exploring negation in verbal and non-verbal predicates. The negation of single elements, and negative words such as ‘nobody’ or ‘nothing’, will also be addressed. Finally, we have a section on imperative constructions in the affirmative and negative modalities.

6.1. Review of declarative clauses

In this section, the issue of word order will be addressed, in order to give us a better idea of the differences and similarities between declarative and negative clauses (as we will see, negative clauses can present variations in word order for the purpose of narrowing the scope of negation).

As mentioned in chapter 5, simple declarative clauses can have verbal or non-verbal predicates. For clauses with verbal predicates, the basic or unmarked word orders

are [S V (DAT)] and [A O V (DAT)]. Variations in the order are possible when a specific piece of information needs to be highlighted. The piece of information – which is a constituent - comes in the first position of the clause, and can be followed by the Focus/Tense particle *ka_in* or *chi_in* (actually, the fronting of the constituent seems to be the important step for the highlighting). If the constituent being highlighted is a NP, extra verbal morphology may be necessary, depending on its grammatical role (i.e. if it is an Absolutive NP).

For clauses with non-verbal predicates (i.e. nominal, equative, locative, existential), there are two possible word orders, [Pred Subj (Cop)] and [Subj (Cop) Pred], depending on pragmatic factors, that is, which piece of information needs to be highlighted. A Focus/Tense particle in general is used after the element under focus, although it is not always employed (again, the fronting of the information seems to be the important factor). The presence of the Copula *chi* is often attested for nominal and equative predicates, but is not always required, especially with 3rd. person subjects (for nominal predicates, when the order is Subj Pred, the copula is present). Locative and Existential predicates almost do not employ the Copula *chi*. Only the order [Pred Subj] is possible for existential predicates.

Attributive predicates can present two orders, one nominal (Pred Subj Cop), another verbal (Subj Pred), and so far there is no reason to consider one more basic than the other. Their use probably indicates different nuances in the semantics of the clause.

This is the overall scenario with regard to simple declarative clauses. Now, let us see how clauses are configured in other kinds of modalities.

6.2. Interrogative clauses

This section will be dedicated to the study of interrogative clauses in Trumai and how they are organized. The interrogative clauses can be divided into two major types: (i) *polar questions*, which request a yes-no answer, and (ii) *information questions*, which can request information about a participant in an event (who; what), about a location (where), a specific time (when), a reason (why), and so on.

6.2.1. Polar questions

Polar questions require the use of the enclitic *a*, which occurs after the element (the constituent) under interrogation:

- (1) *[hi fa-tke]-a hai-tl ?*
2 kill-Des-Quest 1-Dat
'Do you want to kill me?'
- (2) *[hi wan xot'ken]-a*
2 PL dig-Quest
'Are you (PL) digging?'
- (3) *[ni] a de hi chi ?*
here Quest already 2 Cop
'Are you already here?'
- (4) *[wan yi sone-n]-a ?*
PL YI drink-3Abs-Quest
'Are they drinking?'

It is also possible to express interrogation without the use of *a*. A change in the intonational contour of the clause can indicate that the clause is a question.

This is the case for questions used when the speaker wants confirmation about something (the declarative clause has a descending contour at its end, while the question has an ascending contour):

ho'kela. hi ma. 'Ok. You eat (some kind of food).'

hi ma? 'Are you going to eat (the food that is being prepared)?'

However, this kind of interrogation with only change in the intonation has limited use, because sometimes it can cause ambiguity (it may be not clear to the listener if the clause is a statement or a question). The use of the enclitic *a* is preferred and is quite frequent in the data.

6.2.2. Information Questions

This kind of question involves the use of one of the interrogative words (cf. chapter 2, section 2.2.3): *te* 'who'; *hele* 'how'; *hamuna* 'where', etc. The NP with the interrogative word comes in first position, receiving the necessary case marking, and usually is followed by the morpheme *in*, a mark of focus (cf. chapter 5, section 5.1.1).

Some examples are presented below:

- (5) *te yi in hu'tsa ke fe'de-s?*
 who YI Focus see KE jaguar-Dat
 'Who saw jaguars?'
- (6) *te-k in kiŋi ke atlat yi?*
 who-Erg Focus give KE clay.pan YI
 'Who gave the clay pan (to you)?'
- (7) *han-is in hi ma-tke?*
 what-Dat Focus 2 eat-Des
 'What do you want to eat?'

- (8) *te yi-ki hen iyi chafa-n?*
 who YI-Dat then IYI call-3Abs
 ‘Whom did she call?’ [focus mark does not always occur]
- (9) *hamuna in hi wan chomta-tke?*
 where Focus 2 PL play-Des
 ‘Where do you (PL) want to play?’
- (10) *hamuna de ka a pumu?*
 where already 1 Dual enter
 ‘Where are we (two) going to enter?’ [focus mark does not always occur]

6.3. Negative clauses: main aspects of Negation

In this section, the different kinds of negative clauses will be characterized. Some will be presented briefly, as they were already described in previous chapters. As we will see, in Trumai there are two main negators, the Negation particles *tak* and *anuk*. In addition, there are other words which can also be used to express the idea of negation. These words are the postposition *nik* ‘without’, the word *t(a)ke* ‘Privative’, and the morpheme *n(i)kik*.

We also have in this section a discussion with regard to scope, based on the ideas of Givon (1984). As he explains, sometimes the scope of negation can be narrowed down, with only one constituent being negated (the verb, a NP, etc.). By narrowing the scope, a speaker can make the grounds of denial more precise. When scope is not narrowed, we have a neutral negation, that is, the event as a whole is denied. According to Givon, different strategies can be used for the negation of a single constituent. Some languages front the constituent to be negated; other languages move the constituent to the clause final position. Trumai has both strategies, but fronting is more common.

6.3.1. Negation in verbal predicates

6.3.1.1. Negating the verb

As already mentioned in chapters 3 and 5, to negate verbal predicates, the Negation particle *tak* follows the verb, or the verb plus other elements, such as auxiliaries. Negative clauses can present different word orders, depending on whether the clause is a simple statement or an answer to a question. When it is the second case (i.e. answer), the clause has a nominal-predicate configuration (cf. chapter 5, section 5.2.3 on this issue). For instance:

(11) A V Neg
hai-ts chī(_in) kuhmu tak.
 1-Erg Foc/Tense throw Neg
 ‘I didn’t throw it away.’

(12) V Neg A O
kuhmu tak chī(_in) hai-ts iyi.
 throw Neg Foc/Tens 1-Erg IYI
 ‘I didn’t throw (it) away.’ (answer to question: Did you throw (it)?)¹

(13) a. S V Neg
ha sa tak.
 1 dance Neg
 ‘I did not dance.’

b. V Neg S Cop
sa tak ka_in ha chī.
 dance Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I did not dance.’ (answer to the question: Did you dance?)²

Other examples:

¹ The 3Abs enclitic is not present in the clause because O is discursively unimportant here. Cf. Chapter 9, section 9.1.1, on the omission of the 3 Abs enclitic.

² As already showed in chapter 5, the morpheme *ke* is obligatory in affirmative clauses when S/O is not preverbal, but it is optional in negative clauses (cf. section 5.2.3).

- (14) S V Neg DAT
iyi hup tak ha wan-ki.
 IYI know Neg 1 PL-Dat
 'He did not recognize us.'
- (15) V Neg S Cop DAT
pudits tak ka_in ha chi chichik-es.
 like Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop pepper-Dat
 'I do not like pepper.'
- (16) V Neg A O Cop
pit'a tak ka_in hai-ts hi chi
 call Neg Foc/Tens 1-Erg 2 Cop
 'I did not call you.'
- (17) V Neg A O DAT
kij̄i tak ka_in hat'ke hai-ts oke yi inatl-etl.
 give Neg Foc/Tens in.future 1-Erg medicine YI 3-Dat
 'I will not give medicine to her.'

In clauses that are answers to questions, when the 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e* occurs, it can be attached to the Copula *chi* or, in case the Copula is not present, to the morpheme

(i) *yi* or the pluralizer *wan*. For instance:

- (18) *kij̄i tak chi_in inatl-ek ch̄i-n.*
 give Neg Foc/Tens 3-Erg Cop-3Abs
 'She did not give her (the child).'
- (19) *pit'a tak chi_in hai-ts iyi-n.*
 call Neg Foc/Tens 1-Erg IYI-Abs
 'I did not call him.'
- (20) *sone tak ka_in ch̄i-n.*
 drink Neg Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 'He is not drinking.'
- (21) *sone tak ka_in iyi-n.*
 drink Neg Foc/Tens IYI-Abs
 'He is not drinking.'

- (22) *ma tak chi(_in) a yi-n.*
eat Neg Foc/Tens Dual YI-3Abs
'They (two) did not eat.'
- (23) *ma tak wan-e.*
eat Neg PL-3Abs
'They (many) do not eat.'

The second position particles *ka_in* and *chi_in* can be used to manipulate scope of negation, because they isolate in first position the element that will be more specifically negated by *tak*:

- (24) a. *axos ma-tke tak ka_in.*
child eat-Des Neg Foc/Tens
'The child does not want to eat. (comment)'
- b. *[ma-tke] tak ka_in axos chi.*
eat-Des Neg Foc/Tens child Cop
'The child does not want to eat.'
[this example can be an answer to a question, such as: Is the child eating?
There is emphasis on the fact that s/he does not want to eat.]

However, although highly frequent, the use of *ka_in* or *chi_in* is not always attested. Actually, it is sufficient for the element to occur in first position followed by *tak* to narrow the scope of negation:

- (25) *[fakdits take] tak wan-e.*
die Des Neg PL-3Abs
'They do not want to die.'
- (26) *[ka'chi pata] tak chi-n*
come arrive Neg Cop-3Abs
'She did not come.'
- (27) *[waṭkan take] tak ha chi.*
cry Des Neg I Cop
'I do not want to cry.'

- (28) [kiŋi] tak hat'ke hai-ts tahu yi.
 give Neg in.future 1-Erg knife YI
 'I will not give the knife.'

In relation to other possible ways of expressing negation of verbs (actually, negation of roots that can be considered verbal), we have the use of the word *t(a)ke* 'Privative'. Actually, the clause is not really in the negative modality, since no negation particle is employed, but there is a sense of negative condition due to the semantics of *t(a)ke*. When contrasted with negative clauses that have *tak*, clauses with *t(a)ke* actually present a semantic difference: the negative condition indicated by *t(a)ke* is permanent. For example:

- (29) ami tak ka_in chi-n.
 speak Neg Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 'He is not speaking (now, for some reason not specified here).'
- (30) ami-tke ke ka_in chi-n.
 speak-Priv KE Foc/Tens Cop-3Abs
 'He does not speak (he never speaks, he is mute).'
- [lit: He is deprived of speaking.]

The use of the 'Privative' *t(a)ke* is the only alternative way of expressing negation for verbal roots. The occurrence of the negator *n(i)kik*, whose use is observed in nominal predicates (cf. section 6.3.2.1), is not possible with verbal roots:

- (31) a. sone tak ka_in ha chi.
 drink Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I am not drinking.'

b. * sone-nkik ka_in ha chi.

6.3.1.2. Negating other elements of the verbal predicate

For the negation of a S or O argument, we have clefts³ in the negative modality, with S/O in first position, followed by the Copula and the negator *anuk*:

- S:

- (32) *ha chi anuk chi katnon ke.*
 1 Cop Neg Foc/Tens work RlZR
 'It was not me who worked.'⁴

- O:

- (33) *hi adifle chi anuk hai-ts amidoxos ke.*
 2 sister Cop Neg 1-Erg call RlZR
 'It was not your sister that I called.'

To negate the A argument, the negator *anuk* is also employed, directly following A, which is naturally in first position.:

- A:

- (34) *hai-ts anuk hi adifle midoxos.*
 1-Erg Neg 2 sister call
 '(It was) not me (who) called you sister.'

The negation of the DAT argument and other kinds of NPs usually employs the negator *tak*. The constituent being negated comes at the end of the clause; additionally, there is a pause between the end of the clause and the negated element:

³ The construction in example (32) is a cleft. Observe the occurrence of the Relativizer *ke* and the presence of two morphemes *chi* in the construction: one is the Copula, negated by *anuk*; the other one is the Focus/Tense particle. The negator *anuk* is never observed modifying the Focus/Tense particles (in simple clauses, *anuk* and the Focus/Tense particles cannot co-occur; cf. section 6.3.2.1).

⁴ As mentioned, the negator *anuk* and the Focus/Tense particles cannot co-occur in the same clause. The exception is negative clefts, like the example above, where *anuk* and the particle co-occur. However, notice that here the Focus/Tense particle is in its reduced form (i.e. *chi*). The occurrence of the full form (i.e. *chi_in*) is not accepted by the Trumai consultants:

(i) * *ha chi anuk chi_in katnon ke.*
 (It was not me who worked.)

The construction above needs further investigation, in order to be better understood.

- **DAT:**

- (35) *hai-ts oke yi kiŋi Atawaka-tl , hi adifle tak.*
 1-Erg 1 medicine YI give Atawaka-Dat 1 sister Neg
 ‘I gave medicine to Atawaka, not (to) your sister.’

- **Others:**

- (36) *hai-ts ha k’ad naha , tahu yi letsi tak.*
 1-Erg 1 hand cut knife YI Instr Neg
 ‘I cut my hand, (but) not with a knife.’

Apparently, there are other possible strategies for negating the DAT argument, like the examples below. However, in example (38), one can wonder if what is being negated is really a DAT or rather a phrase that is the nominal predicate of a non-present subject. That is, perhaps in example (38) we do not have ‘I saw somebody, (but it was) not your sister’, but rather ‘I saw somebody. (Whom I saw) was not your sister’. The presence of the negator *n(i)kik*, used for negating nominal predicates (cf. section 6.3.2.1) suggests the second interpretation. See the discussion presented in section 6.3.5 with regard to this issue (and also with regard to the use of *hahak*).

- (37) *inatl-ek kafe yi kiŋi Kumaru-tl. hai, hahak.*
 3-Dat coffee YI give Kumaru-Dat 1 no
 ‘She gave coffee to Kumaru. (To) me, no.’

- (38) *ha hu’tsa yaw yi-ki , hi adifle nikik.*
 1 see people YI-Dat 2 sister Neg
 ‘I saw somebody, (but) it was not your sister.’

6.3.2. Negation in non-verbal predicates

In the next section, we have an overall view of how negation is expressed in nominal, equative, locative, and existential predicates.

6.3.2.1. Negation in nominal and equative predicates

Nominal predicates are negated via the Negation particle *anuk*. Since one of the possible orders for nominal predicates is [Pred Subj (Cop)], no special strategies are necessary to narrow the scope of *anuk*. The Focus/Tense particles cannot co-occur with *anuk*. Examples:

- (39) *axos anuk ha chi.*
 child Neg 1 Cop
 ‘I am not a child.’
- (40) *paye anuk hi chi.*
 shamam Neg 2 Cop
 ‘You are not a shaman.’
- (41) a. *t-eche anuk ha chi.*
 3Poss-husband Neg 1 Cop
 ‘I am not her husband.’
- b. **t-eche anuk ka_in ha chi.*
 (I am not her husband.)

There is an alternative way to express the idea of negation in nominal predicates, involving use of the morpheme *n(i)kik* (probably another kind of nominal negator).

Unlike *anuk*, *n(i)kik* can co-occur with the Focus/Tense particles:

- (42) *yaw nikik de wan yi-n.*
 human.being Neg already PL YI-3Abs
 ‘They are not human beings already.’
- (43) *paye-nkik ka_in iyi-n.*
 shamam-Neg Foc/Tens IYI-Abs
 ‘He is not a shaman.’

Although similar in phonological form, *nikik* is not the same as the postposition *nik* ‘without’.⁵ Both *nik* and *nikik* occur in clauses of the same kind, but the semantics of the clauses are different:

- (44) *paye-nkik ka_in ha chi.*
 shamam-Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am not a shaman.’ (*I do not have a shaman)⁶
- (45) *sapaun nik ka_in ha chi.*
 soap without Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I do not have soap.’ (lit: I am without soap.) (*I am not soap)

The negator *anuk* and the morpheme *n(i)kik* can alternate, but it is not clear what the semantic difference between them is:

- (46) *paye anuk ha chi.*
 shaman Neg 1 Cop
 ‘I am not a shaman.’
- (47) *paye-nkik ka_in ha chi.*
 shaman-Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am not a shaman.’

Equative predicates present the same scenario observed with nominal predicates; the only difference is that consultants seem to prefer the use of *n(i)kik* over *anuk*:

- (48) *Aria che anuk Tawapī yi.*
 Aria husband Neg Tawapī YI
 Tawapī is not Aria’s husband.’

⁵*nik* is a postposition that modifies NPs in simple clauses:

- (i) *misu nik ka_in hi wan kawala hat’ke.*
 water without Foc/Tens 2 PL last/stay. for. while in.future
 ‘You (pl) will stay for a while without water.’

⁶ If we want to say ‘I have the shaman (because I kidnapped him)’, the clause will be:

- (i) *paye ka_de_in ha k’ad.*
 shaman Foc/Tens-already 1 have
 ‘I have the shaman.’

and the negative version of this clause will have the verb *k’ad* ‘have’ negated by *tak* (cf. section 6.3.2.4).

- (49) *Aria che-nkik ka_in Tawap̄i yi.*
 Aria husband Foc/Tens Tawap̄i YI
 ‘Tawap̄i is not Aria’s husband.’
- (50) *t-eche-nkik ka_in ha chi.*
 3Poss-husband-Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am not her husband.’

6.3.2.2. Negation in locative predicates

As already mentioned in chapter 5, locative predicates are negated with the verbal negation particle *tak*. Apparently, there is no alternative way to negate locatives. As examples, we have:

- (51) *pike-n tak ka_in ha chi.*
 house-Loc Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I am not in the house.’
- (52) *pike-n tak ka_in iyi-n.*
 house Neg Foc/Tens IYI-3Abs
 ‘He is not in the house.’
- (53) *axos yi ka_in esak-en tak.*
 child YI Foc/Tens hammock-Loc Neg
 ‘The child is not in the hammock.’

6.3.2.3. Negation in existential predicates

Negation in existential predicates involves a construction with the postposition *nik* ‘without’. This construction is also observed with alienable possession predicates (cf. section 6.3.3). The use of the negation particle *anuk* is not possible for existential clauses (if *anuk* is used in the same context, it changes the semantics of the clause). Examples:

- (54) *misu nik ka_in iyi.*
 water without Foc/Tens IYI
 ‘There is no water.’ (lit: (It) is without water)

- (55) *misu anuk iyi-n.*
 water Neg IYI-3Abs
 ‘It (something) is not water’ [not existential meaning]

6.3.3. Negation in possessive predicates

The Negation particle *tak* is used for both inalienable and alienable possessive predicates, negating the verb. In the case of **alienable** possession, the negator modifies *k’ad* ‘to have’. In the case of **inalienable** possession, the negator *tak* modifies the nominal root that indicates the possessed entity (and that behaves as the verb of the clause; cf. section 5.2.6). For instance:

- (56) *sapaun ka_in k’ad tak ke ha chi.*
 soap Foc/Tens have Neg KE 1 Cop
 ‘I do not have soap.’ [alienable]
- (57) *aʒo tak ka_in ha chi.*
 arm Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I do not have arms.’ [inalienable]

The **alienable** possessive predicate has an alternative way of expressing negative sense, through the use of the postposition *nik*:

- (58) *yakir nik ka_in ha chi.*
 salt without Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I do not have salt.’

The **inalienable** possessive predicate also has an alternative way of expressing negative sense, through the use of the word *t(a)ke* ‘Privative’. Although it is not clear as yet, the use of *t(a)ke* here seems to imply that the subject has never possessed the object in question. For instance, (60) probably means that the speaker has never had a sister, as

opposed to a person who does not have a sister because she died. We raise this hypothesis on the basis of other occurrences of *t(a)ke*, where the sense of ‘never’ is evoked.

However, the semantics of example (60) need to be rechecked, in order to confirm or disconfirm our hypothesis.

(59) *aʔo-tke ke ka_in ha chi.*
arm- Priv KE Foc/Tens 1 Cop
‘I do not have arms.’

(60) *adifle-tke ke ka_in ha chi.*
sister-Priv KE Foc/Tens 1 Cop
‘I do not have a sister.’

6.3.4. Negation in attributive predicates

As already mentioned in chapter 5, attributive predicates are very peculiar because they can present both nominal and verbal-predicate word orders (i.e., Adj Subj (Cop) or Subj Adj), and also because when in the negative modality, they have the negator *tak* occurring with the nominal order, while *anuk* occurs with the verbal one; in other words, the opposite scenario observed in nominal and verbal predicates. For example:

(61) *nacha tak ka_in ha chi.*
curved Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
‘I am not curved.’ (temporary)

(62) *ha nacha anuk.*
1 curved Neg
‘I am not curved.’ (temporary)

Attributive predicates also have alternative ways for expressing a negative sense. Like verbal predicates, they can use *t(a)ke* ‘Privative’, and like nominal predicates, they can employ the morpheme *n(i)kik*:

- (63) *nacha-nkik ka_in ha chi.*
 curved Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I am not curved.'
- (64) *nacha-tke ke ka_in ha chi.*
 curved-Priv KE Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 'I am not curved (I have never been curved).'

6.3.5. Negation of single elements/specific pieces of information

Suppose that a person learns about a piece of information that s/he thinks is not correct according to her/his knowledge. The person probably will try to negate this specific piece of information, in order to present the correct one. For instance, somebody is told: 'I heard that your mother got seriously sick', but the speaker is wrong about who got sick. The interlocutor then may reply: 'No, not my mother. It was my sister who got sick.' In the reply, a specific piece of information is being negated. How is this kind of negation made in Trumai?

When the piece of information being negated involves a pronoun, numeral, adjective, or quantifier, the negator used is *anuk*, which - as we have seen before - is the Negation particle for nominal constituents. Looking at examples (66-70), we may think that *anuk* is directly modifying the pronoun/numeral/adjective/quantifier. However, when we look at example (65), we can see that what *anuk* is modifying is not really a noun, but rather a NP, which is probably the non-verbal predicate of a subject that is assumed by the context, but not formally present (i.e. (Who is coming) is not Kumaru ; cf. English pleonastic 'it': It is not Kumaru). We believe that the same is happening in the other examples, that is, what *anuk* is negating is the non-verbal predicates of the implicit

subject: (Who went to Pavuru) was not us; (The hammocks that I bought) were not two;
 (The coffee that I made) is not much; (My sister) is not tall.

- **Noun**

(65) [*Kumaru yi*] *anuk*.

Kumaru YI Neg

‘(It is) not Kumaru.’ (somebody is coming, but it is not Kumaru)

- **Pronoun**

(66) *ha wan* *anuk*.

1 PL Neg

‘(It was) not us.’ (somebody went to Pavuru, but it was not us)

- **Numeral**

(67) *huch* *anuk*.

two Neg

‘(It was) not two.’ (I bought hammocks, but it was not two, only one)

- **Quantifiers**

(68) *a’di* *anuk*.

many Neg

‘(It was) not many.’ (I bought knives, but not many)

(69) *pix* *anuk*.

much Neg

‘(It was) not much.’ (I made coffee, but not much)

- **Adjective**

(70) *atuk* *anuk*.

tall Neg

‘(She’s) not tall.’ (my sister has many attributes, but she is not tall)

Examples (68-69) above seems a little strange at first sight, because we would expect the occurrence of [*a’di tak*] ‘a few (lit: not many)’ or [*pix tak*] ‘a little (lit: not much)’, instead of Quantifier + *anuk*. A possible account for these examples would be to say that [*pix tak*] and [*a’di tak*] are lexicalized as ‘a few’ and ‘a little’, respectively (a

point already mentioned in chapter 3, section 3.3.2). In this case, a separate negation construction would be necessary for contrastive negation. If this hypothesis is accurate, we would expect the combinations [*a'di tak*] *anuk* 'it is not a few' and [*pix tak*] *anuk* 'it is not a little' to be possible. If they are, then we indeed have a case of lexicalization. This is a point to be checked in future field work.

Back to the negation of pieces of information, what about when the piece being negated involves an adverb or a verb? In the case of an adverb, the negative word used is *hahak*, which means 'no' and which can be the answer to a yes/no question (example 71). *Hahak* does not modify the adverb directly; the adverb is presented, followed by a pause, and then *hahak* comes, negating apparently a presupposed question that includes the adverb: [(Am I going to sleep) here? No.]. In the case of a verb, we have the Negation particle *tak*, modifying the verb (example 72). It is also possible to have the whole clause repeated, but now in the negative modality (73).

- **Adverb**

- (71) *nina*, *hahak*
 here, no
 'Here, no.' (I am going to sleep, but not here)

- **Verb**

- (72) *kuhmu tak ka_in*.
 throw Neg Foc/Tens
 'not throw away.' (I am going to keep the clothes, not throw (them) away.)
- (73) *sa tak ka_in ha chi*.
 dance Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 '(No) I am not going to dance.' (I am going to sing, not dance.)

6.3.6. Other negative words ('nobody', 'nothing', 'never')

As Givon (1984:323-328) points out, negative sentences normally are not used by the speaker to convey new information about the verb or its arguments, but rather to deny information that the speaker thinks the listener has in mind. Any negative act has a presupposed (or backgrounded) portion and an asserted (or foregrounded) portion. The background portion means that there is some shared knowledge between speaker and listener, who have a kind of communication contract. The negation denies the asserted portion of the corresponding affirmative sentence, but the presupposed portion is not denied. So, when a speaker negates an event involving an entity, he may deny that the event happened, or that the entity was involved in the event, but he does not deny the existence of the entity, which is assumed by the speaker. As Givón says, the negation of the referentiality of the entity is coded by other forms, such as the negative words nobody and nothing.

In Trumai, there are no special words like English 'nobody' or 'nothing', but there are ways of expressing the same idea. Let's see how the negation of referentiality is expressed in Trumai.

- nobody

The idea of 'nobody' is expressed through the negation of the verb plus the use of the noun *yaw*, which literally means 'people', but when in a negative clause, has the opposite meaning: 'no people'. For example:

- (74) *hu'tsa tak chĩ_in ha chĩ yaw-as.*
 see Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop human.being-Dat
 'I did not see anybody.'

(75) *midoxos tak ka_in hai-ts yaw chi.*
 call Neg Foc/Tens 1-Erg people Cop
 ‘I did not call anybody.’

(76) *hu'tsa tak yaw chi ine-tl.*
 see Neg people people 3-Dat
 ‘Nobody saw him.’

In existential clauses, the idea of ‘nobody’ is expressed through the use of the postposition *nik* ‘without’, which modifies the noun *yaw*:

(77) *yaw nik ka_in.*
 people without Foc/Tens
 ‘There is nobody.’

- nothing

The idea of ‘nothing’ is implied by the negative modality of the clause, plus the fact that there is no “patient” mark in the clause: in the case of an Extended Intransitive verb, the complement is completely omitted (example (78)); in the case of a Transitive or Extended Transitive verb, there is no 3Abs enclitic in the clause (example (79)).

V Neg S Cop
 (78) *ma tak chi_in ha chi.*
 eat Neg Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I did not eat (anything).’ [no complement for ma]

DAT V Neg O A
 (79) *hai-tl de kiŋi tak iyi ine yi-k.*
 1-Dat already give Neg IYI 3 YI-Erg
 ‘He did not give me (anything).’ [no 3Abs enclitic]
 [if the enclitic were present, the clause would be: *haitl de kiŋi tak iyi-n ine yi-k*]

In existential clauses, the idea of ‘nothing’ is expressed through the negation of the locative, plus the use of the word *tsifan*, which usually means ‘thing’, but when in a negative clause, has rather the meaning of ‘nothing’:

- (80) *mesa yi-n tak ka_in tsifan yi.*
 table YI-Loc Neg Foc/Tens thing YI
 ‘There is nothing on the table.’ (lit: There is not a thing on the table.)

- never

The use of the word *t(a)ke* ‘Privative’ implies the sense of ‘never’. Apparently, the idea is that the subject is deprived of something not temporarily, but actually because s/he never has had it. For instance:

- (81) *waṭkan take ke ka_in ha chi.*
 cry Priv KE Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 ‘I have never cried.’

- (82) *tako-tke ke ka_in ha chi kodechich-ek.*
 bite-Priv KE Foc/Tens 1 Cop snake-Erg
 ‘I have never been bitten by a snake.’ (lit: Snakes have never bitten me.)

6.4. Imperative construction

In this section, we will re-elaborate some points already mentioned in chapter 3, with respect to the Imperative construction in Trumai.

In the affirmative modality, the imperative construction requires the use of the particles *wana*, *wa* or *waki*, which precede the verb. The particles are selected depending on the kind of verb being modified - Transitive (*wa*, *waki*) or Intransitive (*wa*) - and for Transitive verbs, depending on the semantic characteristics of the patient: animate (*wa*) or inanimate (*waki*); cf 3.4.4 for examples.

For nominal predicates, the imperative construction uses the particle *wanach*, which follows the predicate (cf 3.4.4). Attributive predicates can use both *wana*, preceding the predicate, or *wanach*, following it (cf. 2.2.4).

The characteristics of the affirmative Imperative constructions in Trumai are summarized below:

Verbal Predicate:

<i>(Extended) Intransitive</i>	<i>wana</i> V
<i>(Extended) Transitive - animate O</i>	<i>wa</i> V
<i>(Extended) Transitive - inanimate O</i>	<i>waki</i> V

Nominal Predicate:

Pred *wanach*

Attributive Predicate:

wana Pred
Pred *wanach*

In some examples we observe that a DAT argument can be included in the imperative construction, coming before the Imperative particle or after the verb. O can also be included, but notice that this occurs more often with body part terms; we believe that the body part term occurs in the imperative construction because it is actually incorporated into the verb (cf. chapter 9, section 9.1.2.2). The S and A arguments are never attested in the imperative construction. Examples:

- (83) *ine-tl waki kiŋi*
3-Dat Imp give 'Give (it) to him.'
- (84) *wana waimi hai-tl*
Imp tell 1-Dat 'Tell me.'
- (85) *wa kud tete.*
Imp up.hair make.beautiful 'Comb his hair.'

The imperative constructions in the negative modality present a more complex scenario. The construction with **Intransitive** verbs involves the use of the Negation particle *tak* modifying the verb, followed by the Imperative particle *wanach*. The construction with Transitive verbs employs the same particle used in the affirmative modality, *waki*, with the difference that now the particle follows the verb modified by the Negation particle *tak*.

Nominal and **attributive** predicates also employ the Imperative particle *wanach*, which follows the negated predicate. The predicate is modified by the Negation particle *tak*, not *anuk*, as we would expect for nominal predicates.

The characteristics of the negative Imperative constructions in Trumai are summarized below:

Verbal Predicate:

(Extended) Intransitive

V Neg *wanach*

(Extended) Transitive - animate O

no data

(Extended) Transitive - inanimate O

V Neg *waki*

Nominal Predicate:

Pred Neg *wanach*

Attributive Predicate:

Pred Neg *wanach*

As we can see, Intransitive verbs - both simple Intransitive and Extended Intransitive - present one kind of pattern, while Transitive verbs present another one. When modified by the Negation particle *tak*, Intransitive verbs align with nominal predicates (both use the particle *wanach*). On the other hand, nominal predicates align with verbs when the Negation particle *tak* is employed in the negative Imperative

construction.⁷ Even the Transitive verbs show certain alignment with to nominal predicates, if we take into account the fact that the Imperative particle follows the negated Transitive verb, like it does with nominal predicates.

In the case of attributive predicates, the possibility of choosing a nominal or a verbal Imperative particle, observed in the affirmative modality, is lost in the negative construction, where only *wanach* - the same particle used for nominal predicates - is observed. Therefore, the Imperative construction in the negative modality has an asymmetrical system, with the boundaries between the different kinds of predicates becoming a little fuzzier.

Finally, there is one alternative way for the expression of the negative Imperative with verbs. Actually, this alternative way is not really an imperative construction, but rather a simple clause, with the [Verb + Negator] in first position, followed by the adverb *nuk* 'then'.⁸ This alternative way of expressing negative commands is possible both with Intransitive and Transitive verbs. As example, we have:

(86) *ofa tak nuk hi chi kasoro-s*
hit/kill Neg then 2 Cop dog-Dat
'You do not beat the dogs!'

(87) *mapa tak nuk atlat chi.*
break Neg then pan Cop
'(You) do not break the pan.'

⁷ However, as already mentioned in chapter 3, this point needs to be rechecked with other Trumai consultants.

⁸ Despite the similarity in the phonological form, the adverb and the negator *anuk* are not the same morpheme. Their syntactic behaviors are different.

It is interesting to observe that the Imperative constructions with verbs can also employ the adverb *nuk*, as well as the adverb *hen*, translated as ‘then’ too (the semantic differences between *hen* and *nuk* are explained in chapter 3, footnote 12). The adverb *hen* is usually used in the affirmative modality (88-89), while *nuk* is more often used in the negative (examples (90-91)). However, this is just a tendency, not a rule, since *nuk* can also be found in affirmative imperative constructions (92).

- (88) *wana ma hen*
Imp eat then ‘Then, eat!’⁹
- (89) *waki kuhmu hen*
Imp throw then ‘Then, throw it!’
- (90) *sone tak nuk wanach.*
drink Neg then Imper ‘Then, do not drink!’
- (91) *kiŋi tak nuk waki.*
give Neg then Imper ‘Then, do not give (it)!’
- (92) *wana fa'tsa nuk ik ha ami-ki hi-tl.*
Imp listen then first 1 speak-Dat 2-Dat
‘Then, first listen to what I say to you!’

⁹ In this context, the adverb *hen* ‘then’ seems to have an exasperation sense (‘Then, eat!’) rather than a temporal sense (‘Eat then!’, as opposed to ‘Eat now!’).

CHAPTER 7

Case-Marking Alignment and Grammatical Relations

In this chapter, the case system of Trumai is described. The alignments observed in the data show that this language has an Ergative-Absolutive system, and that there are four verb classes in Trumai. This language has three kinds of obligatory arguments (Ergative, Absolutive, Dative) and these argument types are very important in describing the system of the language. The traditional grammatical relations (Subject, Object, Indirect Object) do not play a central role in Trumai grammar. There are no syntactic behaviors that support establishing a cross-cutting category of either ‘Subject’ (grouping A and S) or ‘Object’ (grouping O and DAT). It seems that this language works on the basis of another principle: ‘Core’ versus ‘Peripheral’ arguments, with different degrees of core/peripherality.

Section 7.1. presents the clause types and the verbal classes found in Trumai, with characterization of the case system. There is a special discussion with regard to one verbal class, the Extended Intransitive verbs (section 7.1.3).

Section 7.2. describes each argument type in detail; the interplay among the three Dative markers is also discussed (section 7.2.3.1). The final section of this chapter (7.3) is dedicated to the discussion of grammatical relations in Trumai. There is a discussion about the traditional relations (7.3.1), followed by the presentation of an alternative way of describing the Trumai system (section 7.3.2).

7.1. Verb classes and obligatory participants

Trumai has four clause types: Intransitive, Transitive, Extended Intransitive and Extended Transitive¹. Each type takes as required participants some combination of three argument types: the Ergative, the Absolutive, and the Dative, each with its unique case-marking and each with distinct word order/constituency behavior.

7.1.1. Syntactic-semantic primitive relations

Before starting our discussion, we present the syntactic-semantic primitives that are the basis for our analysis (the symbols below were already introduced in chapter 2, footnote 5):

- S - for the single obligatory argument of prototypical Intransitive clauses (e.g. a clause with a verb such as ‘jump’)
- A - for the obligatory agent-like argument of prototypical Transitive clauses (e.g. a clause with a verb such as ‘break’)
- O - for the obligatory patient-like argument of prototypical Transitive and Ditransitive clauses
- DAT - for the recipient-like argument of prototypical Ditransitive clauses (e.g. a clause with a verb such as ‘give’)

S, A, O, and DAT are labels for the arguments that a clause can possibly have, and we will use them to describe the Trumai case-marking alignments. We prefer to use these labels instead of using purely semantic terms (such as ‘agent’, ‘patient’, ‘recipient’) because these labels can be applied not only to typical Transitive events (such as ‘break’,

¹ We are talking here about verbal predicates.

which has an agent and a patient), but also to other events that are not exactly like the prototypical ones (such as ‘see’, which does not have an agent) .

Comrie (1989:111) also proposes the use of labels. He adopts the labels S, A and P, which are mnemonic for ‘subject’ (of Intransitive clauses), ‘agent’, and ‘patient’. According to Comrie, “...the advantage of having arbitrary labels A and P rather than actually using agent and patient is that we can continue to use the arbitrary symbols even when we pass beyond the prototypical Transitive situation (i.e. actions) to other constructions in the language that have similar morphology and syntax... A and P are thus syntactic terms, whose prototypes are defined in semantic terms.” (our emphasis).

Although the label P proposed by Comrie has an advantage (it is mnemonic for ‘patient’), we prefer to adopt the label O in our study, because O is more often used in the linguistic literature, according to Dixon (1994:6). We also introduced the label DAT, which is relevant to characterize the Trumai case-marking system.

7.1.2. Clause types and verb classes

Now, let us analyze the clause types observed in the language. We first will compare simple Intransitive, Transitive, and Ditransitive clause types.

I. Type 1 (Intransitive clause): the case marking of S is -∅. When the S noun phrase is not lexically present in the clause due to discourse (i.e. referential) continuity, the last element of the VP (usually, the verb) receives the 3rd person enclitic *-n/-e*. Examples:

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------|------------------|
| S | V | |
| (1) | <i>pet'ew-∅</i> | <i>achikida.</i> |
| | frog-Abs | jump |
| | ‘The frog jumps.’ | |

- (2) S V
 a. *ha-∅ achikida.*
 1-Abs jump
 'I jump.'
- S V
 b. *ine-∅ achikida.*
 3-Abs jump
 'He jumps.'
- V-s
 c. *∅ achikida -n*
 jump-3Abs
 'He jumps.'

A lexical S comes immediately before the verb; if it is not in this position, the morpheme *ke* appears after the verb:

- (3) S Foc/Tens V *ke*
dinoxo yi-∅ [ka_in] achikida ke.
 young.lady YI-Abs Foc/Tens jump KE
 'The young lady jumped.'

II. Type 2 (Transitive clause): A is marked by -(V)k, while the case-marking of O is -∅

(4a). When O is not lexically present in the clause because of discourse continuity, the 3rd person enclitic *-n/-e* occurs at the end of the VP (4b); when A is absent, there is no additional mark on the verb, as shown in (5). Examples:

- (4) A O V
 a. *ine-k atlat-∅ mapa.*
 3-Erg pan-Abs break
 'He broke the pan.'
- A V-o
 b. *ine-k ∅ mapa-n*
 3-Erg break-3Abs
 'He broke it (a valuable pan).'

- (5) A O V
 a. *ine-k hi-∅ hotaka.*
 3-Erg 2-Abs deceive
 ‘He deceived you.’
- A O V
 b. *∅ tsi-tle-∅ hotaka de.*
 3Poss-mother-Abs deceive already
 ‘(He) already deceived his mother.’

If present, O precedes the verb directly, as in (4a-5); if it comes in other positions, the morpheme *ke* appears after the verb. A precedes the VP;² it can have different positions in the clause without any extra morphology on the verb.

- (6) O Foc/Tens A V *ke*
Kandida yi-∅ [ka_in] hai-ts wa-padi ke.
 Cândida YI-Abs Foc/Tens 1-Erg WA-wait KE
 ‘I am waiting for Candida.’
- (7) A Foc/Tens O V
hai-ts [ka_in] atlat-∅ mapa.
 1-Erg Foc/Tens pan-Abs break
 ‘I broke the pan.’

III. Type 3 (Ditransitive clause): we have here the same kind of scenario observed with Transitive clauses: A is marked by -(V)k and O is marked by ∅. If O is lexically absent due to discourse continuity, the 3rd person enclitic *-n/-e* appears on the last element of the VP. A can be absent without any special marks on the verb.

The third argument, DAT, is marked by -(V)tl, -ki, or -(V)s, depending on the characteristics of the head of the NP (cf. section 7.2.3.1). DAT can be absent when it is recoverable by context; the verb does not receive any special mark. Examples:

² For the characterization of the VP in Trumai, cf. chapter 3.

- (8) A O V DAT
kiki-k atlat-∅ kiŋi hai-tl.
 man-Erg pan-Abs give 1-Dat
 ‘The man gave the pan to me.’
- (9) A O V DAT
hai-ts aros-∅ kiŋi kasoro-s.
 1-Erg rice-Abs give dog-Dat
 ‘I gave rice to the dogs.’
- (10) A V-o DAT
kiki-k ∅ kiŋi-n ha wan-ki.
 man-Erg give-3Abs 1-Dat
 ‘The man gave it to us.’
- (11) A O V DAT
hai-ts chī(in) de oke yi-∅ kiŋi ∅.
 1-Erg Foc/Tens already medicine YI-Abs give
 ‘I already gave medicine (to her).’

O occurs preverbally, otherwise *ke* appears after the verb. A comes before the VP, but it can change order without special morphology after the verb. DAT comes after the VP; it can also change positions without the appearance of extra morphology. Examples:

- (12) O Foc/Tens A V *ke* DAT
oke yi-∅ [chī-in] hai-ts kiŋi ke atsiwe-tl.
 medicine YI-Abs Foc/Tens 1-Erg give KE mother-Dat
 ‘I gave medicine to my mother.’
- (13) A Foc/Tens O V DAT
Yakuta-k [chī-in] oke yi-∅ kiŋi inatl-etl.
 Yakuta-Erg Foc/Tens medicine YI-Abs give 3-Dat
 ‘Yakuta gave medicine to her.’
- (14) DAT Foc/Tens A O V
ha ayen-atl [chī-in] hai-ts oke yi-∅ kiŋi.
 1Poss grandf-Dat Foc/Tens 1-Erg medicine YI-Abs give
 ‘I gave medicine to my grandfather.’

Comparing the three clause types described above, we can see that Trumai exhibits an Ergative-Absolutive alignment: S and O receive the same treatment, while A is treated in a different way. The Ergative-Absolutive pattern is manifested through case-marking, verb-marking, and word order, as summarized below:

a. Case-marking on the arguments:

INTRANSITIVE		S- \emptyset	V
TRANSITIVE	A-(V) <i>k</i>	O- \emptyset	V
DITRANSITIVE	A-(V) <i>k</i>	O- \emptyset	V DAT-(V) <i>tl / -ki / -(V)s</i>

b. Person marking on the verb/last element of the VP:

INTRANSITIVE	[[\emptyset]	V]- <i>n/e</i>
TRANSITIVE	A [[\emptyset]	V]- <i>n/e</i>
DITRANSITIVE	A [[\emptyset]	V]- <i>n/e</i> DAT

c. Basic word order:

INTRANSITIVE	[[S]	V]
TRANSITIVE	A [[O]	V]
DITRANSITIVE	A [[O]	V] DAT

d. Changes in order and extra morphology

INTRANSITIVE	S	[Foc/Tens]		V	<i>ke</i>
TRANSITIVE	O	[Foc/Tens]	A	V	<i>ke</i>
	A	[Foc/Tens]		O	V
DITRANSITIVE	O	[Foc/Tens]	A	V	<i>ke</i> DAT
	A	[Foc/Tens]		O	V DAT
	DAT	[Foc/Tens]	A	O	V

There is one more clause type observed in Trumai. This type is required for verbs such as *fa* 'hit/kill', *some* 'drink', *chuda* 'make', etc. It presents two arguments, one agent-like, another patient-like. The agent-like argument aligns with S in terms of case-marking and word order/constituency behavior. The patient-like argument aligns with the DAT

argument of Ditransitive verbs. We call this clause type Extended Intransitive, a term used by Dixon (1994).³

IV. Type 4 (Extended Intransitive clause): the agent argument is marked by \emptyset ; the patient-like argument is marked by $-(V)tl$, $-ki$, or $-(V)s$. If the agent-NP is lexically absent because of discourse continuity, the last element of the VP receives the 3rd person enclitic $-n/-e$. The absence of the patient-like arguments does not require special marking on the verb.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| | S | V | DAT |
| (15) | <i>kiki-\emptyset</i> | <i>fa</i> | <i>ine-tl</i> |
| | man-Abs | hit/kill | 3-Dat |
| | 'The man beat/killed him.' | | |

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| | S | V | DAT |
| (16) | <i>kiki-\emptyset</i> | <i>fa</i> | <i>kodechich-ki</i> |
| | man-Abs | hit/kill | snake-Dat |
| | 'The man killed a snake (one).' | | |

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| | S | V | DAT |
| (17) | <i>kiki-\emptyset</i> | <i>fa</i> | <i>kodechich-es</i> |
| | man-Abs | hit/kill | snake-Dat |
| | 'The man killed snakes (several).' | | |

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| | | V- <u>s</u> | DAT |
| (18) | \emptyset | <i>sone-n</i> | <i>kafe-ki</i> |
| | | drink-3Abs | coffee-Dat |
| | 'He drank coffee (a little).' | | |

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| | | V- <u>n</u> | DAT |
| (19) | \emptyset | <i>sone-n</i> | <i>kafe-s</i> |
| | | drink-3Abs | coffee-Dat |
| | 'He drank coffee (a big portion).' | | |

³ "...a canonical intransitive verb has one core role mapped onto S syntactic relation. There may also be a subset of the intransitive class, which we can call 'extended intransitive', that involve two core roles - one is mapped onto S relation and the other is marked in some other way, e.g. by dative case. A fair number of languages show an 'extended intransitive' subclass..." (Dixon 1994:122-123).

- (20) S V DAT
ha-∅ sone de ∅
 1-Abs drink already
 'I already drank (it).'

The agent argument comes right before the verb; the patient-like argument follows the VP. If the agent argument is not adjacent to the verb, the morpheme *ke* occurs after the verb. The patient-like argument can change position without extra morphology being necessary.

- (21) S Foc/Tens V *ke* DAT
axos yi-∅ [ka_in] dama ke [piɕik asix yi-ki].
 child YI-Abs Foc/Tens pull KE monkey tail YI-Dat
 'The child is pulling the monkey's tail.'

- (22) DAT Foc/Tens S V
misu-s [ka_in] ha-∅ sone.
 water-Dat Foc/Tens 1-Abs drink
 'I drank water.'

Below, we present a comparison between this clause type and the Intransitive and Ditransitive clauses. Then, we can see more clearly that the agent argument of this kind of clause aligns with S and the patient-like argument aligns with DAT.

a. Case-marking on the arguments:

INTRANSITIVE		S-∅	V
DITRANSITIVE	A-(V)k	O-∅	V DAT-(V)tl/-ki/(V)s
EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE		S-∅	V DAT-(V)tl/-ki/(V)s

b. Verbal person marking on the verb:

INTRANSITIVE		[[∅] V]-n/e
DITRANSITIVE	A	[[∅] V]-n/e DAT
EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE		[[∅] V]-n/e DAT

c. Basic word order:

INTRANSITIVE		[[S] V]
DITRANSITIVE	A	[[O] V] DAT
EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE		[[S] V] DAT

d. Changes in order and extra morphology

INTRANSITIVE	S	[Foc/Tens]		V	<i>ke</i>	
DITRANSITIVE	O	[Foc/Tens]	A	V	<i>ke</i>	DAT
	A	[Foc/Tens]		O	V	DAT
	DAT	[Foc/Tens]	A	O	V	
EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE	S	[Foc/Tens]		V	<i>ke</i>	DAT
	DAT	[Foc/Tens]	S	V		

Extended Intransitive verbs are neither Transitive nor merely Intransitive. They are not simple Intransitive verbs because they have an obligatory second argument; however, they cannot be called Transitive, because their morphosyntax is different from that observed with Transitive verbs and because their second argument is clearly marked as Dative.

Additional evidence that these verbs are basically Intransitive is the kind of particle that they require in the Imperative construction. The use of the Imperative particles shows that Extended Intransitive and Intransitive verbs are of the same type, while Ditransitive verbs align with Transitive verbs:

INTRANSITIVE	wana
TRANSITIVE	waki (inanimate O), wa (animate O)
DITRANSITIVE	waki (inanimate O), wa (animate O)
EXTEND. INTRANSITIVE	wana

Thus, Trumai verbs can actually be classified into two main classes: Intransitives - with two subclasses: simple Intransitives and Extended Intransitives - and Transitives - again, with two subclasses: simple Transitives and Extended Transitives (i.e., the Ditransitives). These four classes of verbs give us the obligatory roles of Ergative (A), Absolutive (S/O) and Dative (DAT).

The class of Extended Intransitive verbs is further analyzed in the next section. The three obligatory arguments found in Trumai (Absolute, Ergative, and Dative) are described more carefully in section 7.2.

7.1.3. The Extended Intransitive verbs

There are several Extended Intransitive verbs in Trumai. As examples, we can mention: *ma* ‘eat’, *sonə* ‘drink’, *hu'tsa* ‘see’, *fa'tsa* ‘hear’, *fa* ‘hit/kill’, *xom* ‘suck/smoke’, etc. We could wonder why the category of Extended Intransitive verbs exists, that is, what might motivate the separation of this class of verbs. If the event they express involves two participants, why are they not codified as Transitive verbs? Why is the second participant always codified as DAT?

Guirardello (1992) proposes an analysis of the Extended Intransitive verbs in terms of the semantic characteristics of the agent of the event they refer to. More recently (Guirardello 1993), a new analysis was proposed, now taking into consideration the characteristics of the “patient” (i.e. the second participant). Some languages of the world present patterns that are parallel to the one attested in Trumai, and what is observed in these languages is that the characteristics of the second participant are very important to understand the patterns; more specifically, the semantic and the pragmatic characteristics of this participant. The same is valid for the Extended Intransitive verbs found in Trumai; that is, the semantic and pragmatic characteristics of the second participant motivate the existence of the category of Extended Intransitive verbs:

(i) Semantic Characteristics: for some verbs, such as *fa* ‘hit’, *xom* ‘suck’, the second participant is not a patient being affected by the action, but rather a kind of location (or location/goal) where the action is performed or the contact with the agent is created (cf. Fillmore 1970, DeLancey 1992, Guirardello 1993). Notice that the Dative markers *-ki* and *-Vs* sometimes are used with Intransitive verbs to indicate concrete goal of movement or purpose (abstract goal) of action: *misu-ki* ‘to the river’; *ole-s* ‘(going) for manioc’. See 7.2.3. for more information about the Dative functions.

Other languages of the world are also sensitive to the difference between a second participant that is a patient and a second participant that has a locative/goal nature. English, for example, marks this difference through syntactic variation: in English, it is possible to say I hit him or I hit at him, given that ‘to hit’ is a verb whose second participant is a kind of location. When the verb has a second participant that is a patient, the syntactic variation mentioned above is not possible. So, for a verb like ‘to kill’, it is possible to say I killed him, but not I killed at him (Fillmore 1970).

(ii) Pragmatic Characteristics: for verbs such as *ma* ‘eat’, *soné* ‘drink’, the second participant is relatively predictable and not so important in terms of discourse. The events codified by these verbs are in general habitual actions whose second participant can be inferred by the kind of action itself (‘eat’ obviously involves something edible). Also, the second participant very often is indefinite and unindividuated. Given that this participant is not so identifiable and has no great importance, it can be marked as a peripheral participant. That is what is observed in Trumai.

In some languages of the world, when the second participant of an event is predictable, indefinite or has reduced topicality, an antipassive construction is used, codifying the second participant as Dative or Oblique and marking the verb as Intransitive. We have something similar in Trumai, but with one difference: in this language, verbs such as ‘eat’, ‘drink’, etc., are always codified as Intransitive with a Dative complement ; the expression of antipassive voice in Trumai occurs with the total omission of the DAT argument from the clause, which happens when the second participant is not important at all (cf. chapter 9, section 9.1.3 on the issue of Dative suppression). In other words, Trumai exhibits the same principle observed in other languages, but the principle here works in a more radical way (i.e. the second participant of ‘eat’, ‘drink’, etc., is always marked as peripheral).

Below, we have more examples of Extended Intransitive verbs in Trumai. The verbs of the set (a) are the ones whose second participant has a locative-goal nature; the verbs of the set (b) are the ones whose second participant is relatively predictable or has reduced topicality:

(23) a.	<i>make</i>	‘bite’	b.	<i>ma</i>	‘eat’
	<i>xom</i>	‘suck’		<i>sone</i>	‘drink’
	<i>hu’tsa</i>	‘see/look’		<i>maska</i>	‘sew’
	<i>fa’tsa</i>	‘hear/listen’		<i>olem</i>	‘cook’
	<i>fa</i>	‘hit/kill’		<i>dakchi</i>	‘make w/ hands’
	<i>laxod</i>	‘smell’			(or, more often: ‘make.manioc.bread’)

7.2. Patterns associated with each argument type

Next, we present the characteristics of the three obligatory kinds of arguments found in the Trumai clause types: Absolutive, Ergative, and Dative.

7.2.1. Absolutive

As already seen in section 7.1.2., the Absolutive argument has no case-marking (or, saying it in a different way, its marking is \emptyset). This argument type occurs inside the VP, preceding the verb. When fronted, extra morphology is required after the verb (the morpheme *ke*).

The Absolutive argument occurs in all clause types and is an obligatory argument; that is, the Absolutive has to be always present in the clause, either lexically realized or in the form of the enclitic *-n/-e*. If the Absolutive is not present and it is not recoverable by the context, its omission provokes changes in the semantics of the clause: if S is omitted, the clause has a generic/impersonal reading (cf. chapter 9, section 9.1.1). If O is omitted, the clause has an anti-passive interpretation (cf. 9.1.1).

As mentioned in chapter 3 (section 3.1.3), Trumai has a construction that some linguists would call “possessor ascension”: when the complement of Transitive verbs involves body part terms, the third person “possessor” of the body part is codified as an O argument on the verb, that is:

A body part V + 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e*

This construction is analyzed in chapter 9, section 9.1.2.2.

Another interesting fact observed in Trumai is that in Absolutive-Complement clauses (analyzed in chapter 10, section 10.2.2), the Absolutive argument of the complement clause is marked not on the subordinate verb, but on the main verb (i.e., it is a case of Absolutive raising). When we compare complement clauses (Absolutive and Dative clauses) with simple NPs with body parts, we can see parallels, which are better observed when anaphoric morphemes, such as *-ea* '3Poss' and *-n/-e* '3Abs', are used:

Extended Intransitive clause:

NP:	S	V	[	body part	+	<i>-ea</i>	]-Dative marker
Complement clause:	S	V	[	V _{subordinate}	+	<i>-ea</i>	]-Dative marker

Transitive clause:

NP:	A	[	body part	]	V	+	<i>-n/-e</i>
Complement clause:	A	[	V _{subordinate}	]	V	+	<i>-n/-e</i>

For a detailed description of NPs with possessed nouns, see chapter 2, section 2.4. For complement clauses, see chapter 10, section 10.2.

7.2.2. Ergative

The Ergative argument is marked by *-(V)k*, with special allomorphy for the 1st person singular (cf. chapter 2, section 2.2.2). This argument occurs outside the VP, preceding it. It is freely fronted.

The Ergative argument occurs in Transitive clauses only (i.e. Transitive and Extended Transitive). In this kind of clause, the Ergative is a main argument of the verb, being always required. It can be absent because of discourse continuity, but if this

argument type is omitted under other conditions, the semantics of the clause is different: it has a passive or middle voice interpretation (cf. chapter 9, section 9.1.2).

7.2.3. Dative⁴

The Dative argument can be marked by *-(V)tl*, *-ki*, or *-(V)s*. This argument type occurs outside the VP, following it. It is freely fronted.

The Dative occurs obligatorily only in clauses of the Extended type (i.e. Extended Intransitive, Extended Transitive). In this kind of clause, the Dative is a main argument of the verb.

In Guirardello (1992, 1994), it was said that the Dative argument of Extended Intransitive clauses is optional rather than obligatory, since this argument is not always present in the clause. This statement is not correct. The Dative is an obligatory argument of Extended Intransitive clauses; its “optionality” is due to context conditions: the Dative can be absent from the clause because of discourse continuity (zero anaphora). If it is omitted for pragmatic reasons, the clause has an anti-passive voice interpretation (cf. chapter 9, section 9.1.3).

As said above, *-(V)tl*, *-ki*, and *-(V)s* are the markers of a Dative argument. What conditions the choice of these markers? The next two sub-sections are devoted to this issue. First, we will see the use of *-(V)tl*, *-ki*, and *-(V)s* marking obligatory participants. Then, we have their use with non-obligatory goal participants.

⁴ As we will see in section 7.2.3.2, non-obligatory goal participants (such as the benefactive) can also be marked as Dative, but these participants are not arguments required by the verb. Here, we are talking about **obligatory** Dative participants, that is, arguments that constitute part of the valence of the verb. In section 7.2.3.2, we discuss ways of distinguishing an obligatory Dative NP from a non-obligatory Dative NP.

7.2.3.1. Choice of Dative markers with obligatory participants

The case-marking of the arguments required by a Trumai verb is rigid and cannot be changed. That is, if a verb requires its arguments to be marked as Ergative and Absolutive (or as Absolutive and Dative), that will be the only way they will be marked; consultants do not accept changes in the case-marking. Only two verbs in Trumai exhibit flexibility in this regard: *xoxan* ‘wash’ and *tiami* ‘squeeze’. These verbs allow both Transitive and Extended Intransitive marking. For instance:

(24) a. *hait-s ha mut xoxan.*
 1-Erg 1 dress wash
 ‘I wash my dresses/clothes.’

b. *ha xoxan ha mut-as.*
 1 wash 1 dress-Dat
 ‘I wash my dresses/clothes.’

(25) a. *hai-ts kamisa tiami.*
 1-Erg shirt squeeze
 ‘I squeeze the shirt.’

b. *ole sati-ki ha tiami.*
 manioc root-Dat 1 squeeze
 ‘I squeeze the manioc root.’

Xoxan and *tiami* are exceptions. The other Trumai verbs allow only one kind of marking, and if a verb requires its second participant to be marked as Dative, that fact cannot be changed. However, the choice of the Dative marker is something that can be manipulated, depending on the semantic and pragmatic characteristics of the NP that receives it.

As already mentioned in chapter 2 (section 2.3), the Dative markers are selected according to the kind of head that the NP has: 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person pronouns; proper nouns; nouns referring to animate entities (with human/non-human subdivision); nouns referring to inanimate entities; and possessed versus nonpossessed nouns. Number also has some influence in the choice.

Some kinds of NPs have only one option for the Dative marker, while some have two; none allow the choice of all three markers. We first will present the possible marker(s) for each kind of head, with examples. After that we will discuss the cases where more than one option is available:⁵

• **Pronouns**

1/2 Sg:	-(V)tl
3/Demonstr Sg:	-(V)tl or -ki
1/2/3/Demonstr Du/Pl:	-ki

As examples, we have:⁶

- (26) *hi fa-tke-a hai-tl?*
 1 kill/hit-Des-Quest 1-Dat
 'Do you want to kill me?'⁷ PR, 1, SG
- (27) *ha fa-tke ka_in hi-tl.*
 1 kill/hit-Des Foc/Tens 2-Dat
 'I want to kill you.' PR, 2

⁵ Unfortunately, we do not have enough information about: (i) possessed-noun Animate Non-Human, SG/Du/PL; (ii) possessed-noun Human Dual; (iii) possessed-noun Inanimate Dual, with anaphoric possessor.

⁶ For these examples, a code will be used:

PR	- pronoun	PN	- proper nouns
Dem	- demonstrative	I	- inanimate
N	- noun	H	- human
SG	- singular	PL	- plural
Du	- dual	Pss	- possessed
NH	- non-human	UPss	- unpossessed

⁷ The fact that the verb here is in the Desiderative mood has no influence on the case marking of the pronoun, which will always be the same if the pronoun is 1st person singular.

- (28) *ha fa-tke ka in ine-tl.*
 1 kill/hit-Des Foc/Tens 3-Dat
 'I want to kill him.' PR, 3, SG
- (29) a. *ha fa fa chī_in ine-tl.*
 1 kill/hit kill/hit Foc/Tens 3-Dat
 'I beat him (somebody that I know well).'⁸ PR, 3, SG
- b. *ha fa fa chī_in ine yi-ki.*
 1 kill/hit kill/hit Foc/Tens 3 YI-Dat
 'I beat him (somebody that I do not know; he is a stranger).' PR, 3, SG
- (30) *ni'de-tl hat'ke ha amikpi.*
 this.one-Dat in future 1 ask
 'I will ask this one.' Dem, 3, SG
- (31) *ha falkamu ka_in ni'de yi-ki.*
 1 believe Foc/Tens this.one YI-Dat
 'I believe in this one.' Dem, 3, SG
- (32) *Aria hu'tsa chī_in ha ana-ki.*
 Aria see Foc/Tens 1 Dual-Dat
 'Aria saw us (2).' PR, 1, Dual
- (33) *ha hu'tsa chī_in hi ana-ki.*
 1 see Foc/Tens 2 Dual-Dat
 'I saw you (2).' PR, 2, Dual
- (34) *ha hu'tsa chī_in inak ana-ki.*
 1 see Foc/Tens 3 Dual-Dat
 'I saw them (2).' PR, 3, Dual
- (35) *wan fa-tke-n ka_in ha wan-ki.*
 PL kill-Des-3Abs Foc/Tens 1 PL-Dat
 'They want to kill us (pl).' PR, 1, PL
- (36) *ha fa-tke ka_in hi wan-ki.*
 1 kill/hit Foc/Tens 2 PL-Dat
 'I want to kill you.' PR, 2, PL

⁸The verb *fa* can be translated as both 'hit' or 'kill'. When the speakers want to make clear that is 'hit/beat' that they mean, they reduplicate the verb: *fa fa*. However, they do not do always that; therefore, *fa* can sometimes be ambiguous. The same is true for *disi* 'hit, kill'.

- (37) *ha fa-tke ka_in inak wan-ki.*
 1 kill/hit Foc/Tens 3 PL-Dat
 'I want to kill them.' PR, 3, PL
- (38) *ha falkamu ka_in ni'dak wan-ki.*
 1 believe Foc/Tens this.one PL-Dat
 'I believe in this one.' Dem, 3, PL

• **Nouns possessed by non-anaphoric possessors**⁹

possessed entity:	Human, Sg:	-(V)tl or -ki
	Human, Du:	-----
	Human, Pl:	-ki
	Inanimate (Sg/Du):	-ki
	Inanimate (Pl):	-(V)s

- (39) *ha waimi hen ha atle-tl.*
 1 told hen 1 mother-Dat
 'Than I told my mother.' N, Ps, H, SG
- (40) *ha hu'tsa hi adifle herothen yi-ki.*
 1 see 2 sister beautiful YI-Dat
 'I saw your beautiful sister.' N, Ps, H, SG
- (41) *hi dat wan yi-ki hi hu'tsa-kmu-ktsi?*
 2 relative PL YI-Dat 2 see-Dir-Dir
 'Did you come downriver to see your relatives?' N, Ps, H, PL
- (42) *axos yi ka_in ma ke pişik kuça yi-ki.*
 child YI Foc/Tens eat KE monkey head YI-Dat
 'The child is eating the head of the monkey.' N, Ps, I, SG

⁹ We wondered if the alienable-inalienable distinction wouldn't be the factor involved in the selection for the Dative marker. However, we believe that this not the case, but rather it is the Animate-Inanimate distinction that matters, because: (i) the Animate-Inanimate distinction is manifested with the non-possessed nouns too; (ii) alienables and inalienables can receive the same Dative marker when they are both inanimate entities (cf. examples (42-43)).

Another point: as mentioned in chapter 2, pluralizers are not used with Inanimate nouns (in any kind of NP) and with Animate Non-Human nouns in Dative NPs. Therefore, the Dative NPs with Inanimate or Animate nouns presented here are not dual or plural, morphologically speaking. They are dual or plural semantically speaking. We are using the labels SG and PL for these nouns in order to compare them with Human nouns, which do present morphological differences in number (i.e. Human nouns are modified by pluralizers).

- (43) *ha falpuchu ka_in hai-kte pasta yi-ki.*
 1 forget Foc/Tens 1-Gen paste YI-Dat
 'I forgot my tooth paste.'¹⁰ N, Ps, I, SG
- (44) *huch karaiw mut yi-ki ha hu'tsa .*
 two non.Indian dress YI-Dat 1 see
 'I saw two dresses.' (lit: I saw two non Indian's dresses.) N, Ps, I, Dual
- (45) *Tsikaw kik wan yi pu'dits Kayulu-kte i'a t'oxox-as.*
 Txikão individual PL YI like Kayulu-Gen bowl oval-Dat
 'The Txikão women like Kayulu's bowls.' N, Ps, I, PL

• **Nouns possessed by third person anaphoric possessors**

possessed entity:	Human Sg:	-(V)tl
	Inanimate Sg:	-tl
	Human, Du:	-----
	Human Pl:	-ki
	Inanimate, Du:	-----
	Inanimate Pl:	-(V)s

- (46) *ayets chafa pine-a-tl.*
 old.woman call friend-3Poss-Dat
 'The old woman called her friend.' N, Ps, H, SG
- (47) *hu'tsa-n ale t-adif wan-ki.*
 see-3Abs hearsay 3Poss-brother PL-Dat
 'He saw his brothers.' N, Ps, H, PL
- (48) *Yakairu-k Atawaka wawa dat-ea-tl.*
 Yakairu-Erg Atawaka carry house-3Poss-Dat
 'Yakairu took Atawaka to her (Yakairu) house.' N, Ps, I, SG
- (49) *wamu kawa-n ale hen wan hilaka-a-tl.*
 go.downriver go-3Abs hearsay then PL village-3Poss-Dat
 'She went downriver, to their village.'¹¹ N, Ps, I, SG

¹⁰ Observe in this example that the fact that the object is alienably possessed does not matter. What matters is that it is inanimate, as in the previous example.

¹¹ Observe in this example that the possessor is PL, but the possessed entity is SG, so the Dative mark used is *-(V)tl*, the same as singular NPs. In other words, what matters here is the number of the possessed entity.

- (50) *wan dat-ea-s wan yi chuda-n.*
 PL house-3Poss-Dat PL YI make-3Abs
 ‘They make their houses.’ N, Ps, I, PL
- **Unpossessed nouns**
- Proper noun: -(V)tl or -ki
 Human, Sg: -(V)tl or -ki
 Animate, Non-Human, Sg: -(V)tl or -ki
 Inanimate, Sg: -ki
- Human, Du: -ki
 Animate, Non-Human, Du: -ki or -(V)s
 Inanimate, Du: -ki or -(V)s
- Human, Pl: -ki or -(V)s
 Animate, Non-Human, Pl: -(V)s
 Inanimate Pl: -(V)s
- (51) a. *ha fa fa chi_in Atawaka-tl.*
 1 hit/kill hit/kill Foc/Tens Atawaka-Dat
 ‘I beat Atawaka.’ PN
- b. *ha fa fa chi_in Atawaka yi-ki.*
 1 hit/kill hit/kill Foc/Tens Atawaka-Dat
 ‘I beat Atawaka.’ PN
- (52) a. *ha hu'tsa chi_in paye-tl.*
 1 see Foc/Tens shaman-Dat
 ‘I saw the shaman.’ N, UPs, H, SG
- b. *ha hu'tsa chi_in paye yi-ki.*
 1 see Foc/Tens shaman YI-Dat
 ‘I saw a shaman /the shaman (I don't know him so well).’ N, UPs, H, SG
- (53) *huch kiki a yi-ki ha hu'tsa.*
 two man Dual YI-Dat 1 see
 ‘I saw two men.’ N, UPs, H, Du
- (54) a. *ha hu'tsa chi_in di wan yi-ki.*
 1 see Foc/Tens woman PL YI-Dat
 ‘I saw the women (women that I know).’ N, UPs, H, PL

- b. *ha hu'tsa chī_in di wan yi-s.*
 1 see Foc/Tens woman PL YI-Dat
 'I saw women (I saw quickly, I do not know them).' N, UPs, H, PL
- (55) *ha pudits ka_in adis t'axer wan-ki.*
 1 like Foc/Tens Indian wild PL-Dat
 'I am liking the Indians (that are participating in a event).' N, UPs, H, PL
- (56) *ha hu'tsa chī_in yupun adis t'axer-as.*
 1 see Foc/Tens all Indian wild-Dat
 'I saw all the Indians.' N, UPs, H, PL
- (57) a. *ha hu'tsa chī_in kasoro-tl.*
 1 see Foc/Tens dog-Dat
 'I saw the dog (I know it).' N, UPs, NH, SG
- b. *ha hu'tsa chī_in kasoro yi-ki.*
 1 see Foc/Tens dog YI-Dat
 'I saw a dog/the dog (I do not know it well).' N, UPs, NH, SG
- (58) a. *ha fa chī_in fe'de-tl.*
 1 kill/hit Foc/Tens jaguar-Dat
 'I killed the jaguar.'
 (the one that was doing noise all night long) N, UPs, NH, SG
- b. *ha fa chī_in fe'de yi-ki.*
 1 kill/hit Foc/Tens jaguar YI-Dat
 'I killed a jaguar (I went to hunt and got a jaguar).'¹² N, UPs, NH, SG
- (59) *iyi fa-n huch kuṭa facha facha-k yi-ki.*
 IYI kill/hit-3Abs 2 head perforated-Nzr YI-Dat
 'He killed two pirararas (a kind of fish).' N, UPs, NH, Du
- (60) *iyi fa-n ka_in huch karakarako-s.*
 IYI kill/hit Foc/Tens 2 chicken-Dat
 'He killed two chickens.' N, UPs, NH, Du
- (61) *ha hu'tsa chī_in kasoro-s.*
 1 see Foc/Tens dog-Dat
 'I saw dogs.' N, UPs, NH, PL

¹² In many examples of this section, the Dative NP that receives *-ki* also has the morpheme *yi*. However, that does not mean that a NP without *yi* cannot receive *-ki*, as we can see in the example below:

(i) *kasoro make kodechich-ki.*
 dog bite snake-Dat
 'The dog bit a/the snake.'

- (62) a. **ha hu'tsa chi_in tahu-tl.*
 1 see Foc/Tens knife-Dat
 (I saw the knife)
- b. *ha hu'tsa chi_in tahu yi-ki.*
 1 see Foc/Tens knife YI-Dat
 'I saw a/the knife.' N, UPs, I, SG
- (63) *ha hu'tsa huch asi yi-ki.*
 1 see 2 star YI-Dat
 'I saw two stars.' N, UPs, I, Du
- (64) *ha elka ka_in huch tahu-s.*
 1 buy Foc/Tens two knife-Dat
 'I bought two knives.' N, UPs, I Du
- (65) *ha hu'tsa chi_in tahu-s.*
 1 see Foc/Tens knife-Dat
 'I saw some knives.' N, UPs, I, PL
- (66) *ha sone-tke misu-ki.*
 1 drink-Des water-Dat
 'I want to drink water (a little/a glass).' N, UPs, a more
 specific amount
- (67) *ha sone-tke misu-s.*
 1 drink-Des water-Dat
 'I want to drink some water.' N, UPs, a non precise
 amount

Now, let us bring all the information together in a single chart, adding to it a scale of topicality:

	Most Topical	-----			Least Topical
	<i>-(V)tl</i>	<i>-(V)tl/-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki/-(V)s</i>	<i>-(V)s</i>
Pronouns:	1Sg 2Sg	3Sg Demonstr	1Dl 1Pl 2Dl 2Pl 3Dl 3Pl Dem-Dl Dem-Pl	∅	∅
Nouns with Anaphoric Possessor:	Hum.Sg Inan.Sg	∅	Hum.Pl	∅	Inan.Pl
Nouns with Nonanaphoric Possessor	∅	Hum.Sg	Inan.Sg Inan.Dl Hum.Pl	∅	Inan.Pl
Unpossessed Nouns	∅	Proper Nouns Hum.Sg Anim.Sg	Inan.Sg Hum.Dl	Anim.Dl Inan.Dl Hum.Pl	Anim.Pl Inan.Pl

Individuation is a strong conditioning factor in the choice of the Dative marker. Note in the chart above that no dual is ever higher than a singular, and no plural is ever higher than a dual.

Identifiability is also an important conditioning factor. For the NPs that have two options for Dative markers, the choice of one marker or the other depends on the identifiability of the entity being referred to. When the entity is less identifiable, the second option of each pair is used (cf. examples (54) and (58)). Observe that the question of identifiability is not a matter of polar choice (i.e. definite/identifiable [+], indefinite/non-identifiable [-]), but rather it is a matter of degree (i.e. very identifiable, less identifiable, even less identifiable, non identifiable). It is possible to see this in example (52), where the NP [*paye yi*] is marked by *-ki*, and the consultant translates the

NP as ‘a shaman’ or ‘the shaman’; although the entity being referred to can somehow be identified (the shaman), the identification is not so complete because the speaker does not know the shaman well (then, the translation ‘a shaman’ can also be possible).

Therefore, individuation and identifiability are important key factors in the selection of the Dative marks. When an entity is very individuated, it has more chance of being identified; this does not mean that the entity necessarily will be so, but it has more chance, since it is the only goal of the listener’s attention. On the other hand, when the entity is not individuated, the chances of being identified decrease a little, given that there are more elements now to be observed by the listener.

The question of identifiability raises the issues of topicality and discursive importance. The identification of an entity (or group of entities) may depend on how relevant the entity is for the event that is being described. If the entity is not one of the central participants of the event, the speaker probably will not offer much information about it, and therefore, the listener will be less able to identify it. Conversely, if the entity is not so identifiable, it almost certainly is not so relevant or has no great importance in the discourse, and therefore it will not be the goal of the listener’s attention.

Another important conditioning factor in the choice of the Dative markers is animacy, with Human outranking other Animates (for unpossessed DI and PI nouns), Animate outranking Inanimate (for unpossessed Sg nouns), and Human outranking Inanimate (for unpossessed Sg/DI/PI; anaphorically possessed PL; and non-anaphorically possessed Sg/PI nouns). Animacy interacts with identifiability: animate entities are more likely to be identified than inanimate ones, because they are more salient and have

inherent topicality (Givón 1984:371). Inanimate entities are often unimportant for the event and do not necessarily need to be identified.

All these factors work together in conditioning the choice of a Dative marker: if the NP refers to a participant highly individuated, highly identifiable, and high in discourse salience (animate), the enclitic *-(V)tl* is used. If the participant is less individuated, or it is individuated but not so identifiable or not so salient, the enclitic *-ki* is used. If the participant is even less individuated, less identifiable and even less salient, the Dative mark will be *-(V)s*. Therefore, we can say that there is a hierarchy involved in the use of the Dative marks:

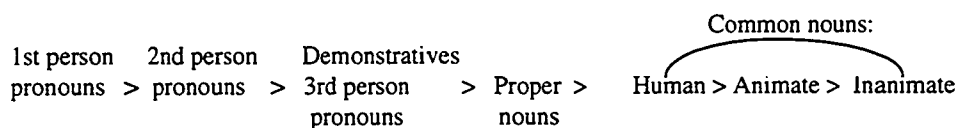
<i>-(V)tl</i> * individuated * identifiable * salient	>	<i>-ki</i> * individuated but not identifiable * individuated but not salient * non individuated, identifiable	>	<i>-(V)s</i> * non individuated, not identifiable * non individuated, not salient
----------------------------------------------------------------	---	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

The only exceptions to this hierarchy are:

- (i) the NP with a SG inanimate possessed noun, whose possessor is anaphoric. Even though the noun is inanimate (therefore, less salient), it receives the mark *-(V)tl*. It might be that the nature of the possessor has some influence here, given that anaphoric possessors are more definite;
- (ii) proper nouns, which are highly individuated, highly identifiable, salient, and yet they can choose between *-(V)tl* or *-ki*, instead of receiving only *-(V)tl*. Perhaps the use of *-(V)tl* with proper nouns expresses more intimacy of the speaker in relation to the person being referred to (something like the use of definite article with proper nouns in Portuguese, which imply more closeness of the speaker in relation to the person

mentioned).¹³ So, *-(V)tl* would indicate more proximity in relation to the individual being referred to, and *-ki* less proximity. This proximity in some sense can be correlated with the question of identifiability: a more identifiable entity is better known by you, and being better known, it is closer to you, too.

Finally, before we close this section, we would like to mention that a participant hierarchy is involved in the choice of the Dative markers, and this hierarchy is similar to the one observed in the languages that have split Ergativity (Silverstein 1976, Dixon 1994). In languages of this kind, the split is conditioned by the semantic nature of the head of the core NPs, which can be organized in a nominal hierarchy, such as the one proposed by Dixon (1994: 85):



¹³ For example, in Portuguese if somebody is talking about St. Mary (the mother of Jesus Christ), the person can say:

- (i) *Maria era uma pessoa virtuosa.*
 Mary be.3sg.Impf a person virtuous
 'Mary was a virtuous person.'

If the person is talking about a close friend named Maria, the person can say:

- (ii) *A Maria era uma pessoa virtuosa.*
 the Mary be.3sg.Impf a person virtuous
 'Mary was a virtuous person.'

The use of definite article in the second example is fine, but in the first example it sounds strange, because it implies some intimacy with St. Mary. A similar example:

- (iii) *Jesus irá me ajudar.*
 Jesus go.3sg.Fut me help
 'Jesus (Christ) will help me.'

?*Q Jesus irá me ajudar.*

[the example is strange if it is referring to Jesus Christ, but it is OK if it is referring to a close friend whose name is Jesus.]

The nominal hierarchy observed in Trumai is similar to the one presented above, although not exactly the same: individuation/number is also a crucial component in the Trumai hierarchy (i.e. SG > Dual > Plural); another difference is that the hierarchy in Trumai works only with respect to the choice of Dative markers, not for the whole case system. Despite the differences, it is interesting to observe that basically the same kind of nominal hierarchy is found again and again as the organizing principle for some linguistic systems.

7.2.3.2. The uses of the Dative to mark non-obligatory goal participants

This section presents Dative markers with non-obligatory participants, that is, NPs that are not necessarily required by the verb. First, we will present examples of each kind of non-obligatory participant. Then, we will offer an account of why the Dative markers also occur with these kinds of NPs.

One type of non-obligatory participant marked by the Dative enclitics is the benefactive. For example:

- (68) *ha katnon chi_in kiki yi-ki.*
 1 work Foc/Tens man YI-Dat
 'I worked for the man.'

The Dative markers can also be used with Intransitive verbs to indicate the 'location-goal' of a movement or the 'purpose' (the abstract goal) of an action. Only *-ki* and *-(V)s* are attested in this use. For instance:

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| | S | V | | Goal | |
| (69) | <i>ha</i> | <i>kawa</i> | <i>ka_in</i> | <i>misu-ki.</i> | |
| | 1 | go | Foc/Tens | water-Dat | |
| | 'I am going to the river.' | | | | [river: location-goal] |

- (75) *ni'de pak-(k)i*
 this month-Dat
 'in this month'
- (76) *xodaka-ki*
 next.day-Dat
 'in the next day (or: tomorrow)'
- (77) *k'awixu-s*
 rain-Dat
 'in the rainy season (lit: in the (time of) rains)'

The non-obligatory arguments presented above can all be analyzed as a kind of goal, either more concrete - as the goal of a movement - or more abstract, as the purpose of an action or the benefactive (which is an indirect goal of the event). The NPs that refer to 'being in a time' can be seen as an extension of the location-goal (with the "location" here being temporal).

So, in some sense, the occurrence of the Dative markers with these non-obligatory participants is parallel to their occurrence with the second participant of verbs such as 'hit' or 'suck' (as mentioned in section 7.1.3, the second participants of such verbs have a location-goal nature).

In other words, the function of the markers *-(V)tl*, *-ki*, and *-(V)s* is to mark elements that are semantically a kind of goal for the event, independent of whether the element is obligatory or not. Therefore, semantically speaking, the occurrence of the Dative markers with non-obligatory participants is not problematic, since they can be also be seen as 'goal' participants. The problem is with regard to the obligatory status of the

NP: when a clause presents more than one NP marked as Dative, how can we determine which NP is an obligatory argument, and which one is not? For example:

- (78) *tsul* *iyi ka_in* *chamlo ma ke* *sida-s* *miso-es*.
 river.turtle IYI Foc/Tens early eat KE leaf-Dat full.river-Dat
 ‘In the time of full river, the river turtle eats leaves early.’

It seems to us that the best strategy for that is to compare the clause in question with other clauses where the same verb is used. By the comparison, we can see which subtype of Dative participant is consistently required by the verb; the participant that is obligatory will be the one that is consistently present in all the clauses.

However, as already mentioned, sometimes obligatory participants can be absent from the clause because of discourse continuity (i.e. zero anaphora) or because of pragmatic questions (i.e. the participant is suppressed because it is indefinite or has low discourse importance; cf. chapter 9 on voice manipulation). Thus, if the Dative participant under investigation is not present in some clauses, we have to analyze the conditions that motivate its absence: is the participant absent because of discourse/pragmatic questions? Or is the participant omitted because it was just extra information that can be dropped anyway? A ‘goal’ participant that is obligatory will be omitted only in certain circumstances, while the one that is not obligatory can be omitted in any case.

Of course, the strategy presented above is not the most desirable one, because it involves some interpretation from the linguist in deciding if a ‘goal’ participant is obligatory or not. The ideal situation would be to have a clear way of distinguishing the two (such as a different marking for ‘goal’ participants that are not obligatory). However,

when we are describing a natural language, we do not always find ideal situations; on the contrary, we often find scenarios that are a little fuzzy. In order to avoid incoherence in our description of the Trumai case-marking system (presented in section 7.1.2), we used the best exemplars of clauses typically Intransitive and Transitive, because in these examples the usage is clear. For the fuzzy cases like the ones presented in this section, we need a more careful analysis. For the present work, that is the possible account that we can offer for the occurrence of the Dative markers with participants of the kind ‘benefactive’, ‘purpose’, etc.

7.3. The evidence for Grammatical Relations

In this section, we discuss the issue of grammatical relations in Trumai, taking into consideration the various patterns discussed in the preceding sections.

7.3.1. Traditional grammatical relationships (‘Subject’, ‘Object’, etc)

We begin our discussion about grammatical relationships in Trumai with a citation from Dixon (1994:11): “Turning our attention now to syntax, we can first of all note the confusion concerning the identity of the ‘subject’ in ergative languages”. That is indeed a complicated issue. In the linguistic literature, several authors have discussed the notion of Subject, such as Keenan (1976), Comrie (1989), Li (1976), Dixon (1994), and Givón (1984, 1997), among others. There is some controversy about how to define Subject, especially with regard to the Subject of Ergative languages; we will see why.

According to Givón (1984:138), Subject would be the grammaticalized discursive-pragmatic role of topic; that is, Subject would be the codification of the primary clausal topic, while Object would be the codification of the secondary clausal topic.

The codification of the primary clausal topic - the Subject - is done through several devices, such as word order, verb agreement, nominal case-morphology, etc. Looking at these coding devices, we could identify the category of Subject in a specific language.

Among the coding devices proposed by Keenan (1976), we have:

- word order
- verb agreement (i.e. the Subject controls person-marking on the verb)
- nominal case-morphology (in general, the Subject receives the unmarked case)
- behavior-and-control properties (such as control of coreference; reflexivization; control of coreference in relativization, etc.)
- indispensability (the Subject is the NP necessarily present in a clause. All clauses have a Subject)
- agentivity (the agent often is the topical participant)
- addressee phrase of the Imperative construction

The coding properties presented above work very well for identifying the Subject of languages whose case system is Nominative-Accusative. For these languages, the properties coincide in a way that results in a coherent notion of Subject: S and A, which are “...the NPs which refer to functions that can be the initiating/controlling agents”

(Dixon 1994:124-125), aligned both in morphology and in syntax. Therefore, for these languages, Subject would be the grouping {S, A}.

The scenario is more complex when we use the same properties for identifying the Subject of languages whose case system is Ergative-Absolutive, because the morphological properties and the behavior-and-control properties can conflict. Many languages are Ergative in the morphology (with S and O aligning), but their syntax works on a Nominative-Accusative basis (i.e. for syntactic operations, S and A align). Then, how do we define the category of Subject for these languages? Which coding property is more crucial for characterizing their Subject?

Other Ergative languages have a consistent system, being Ergative-Absolutive both in morphology and syntax (these languages have “deep ergativity”). For languages of this type, some authors propose that the Absolutive NP would be the Subject; Keenan (1976) suggests this with regard to Dyirbal. Dixon (1994:112) does not agree with this analysis, because if the Absolutive is the Subject, then the category of Subject in Dyirbal would be the grouping {S,O}; however, there are semantic differences between S and O. The grouping {S,A} as ‘Subject’ is understandable because, as Dixon points out, S and A refer to functions that can be the agent. In contrast, the grouping {S,O} as ‘Subject’ is problematic because O is not semantically an agent, it is a patient.¹⁴ Therefore, to say that the Absolutive is the Subject of a language with deep ergativity - such as Dyirbal - may not be the best analysis. However, if in a language with deep ergativity S and A do not

¹⁴ The discussion presented here is especially concerned about clauses in the active voice. If we have a Transitive clause with two arguments, A and O, which one will be the ‘Subject’ of the clause?

align, how can we still group them together as the Subject of the language? Again, which coding property is relevant for characterizing the Subject of a language?

According to Givón (1997:29), behavior-and-control properties would reflect grammatical relations more faithfully than morphology, because they are more directly motivated by pragmatic factors, while morphology is not: “Being the most grammaticalized, ritualized or automated feature in grammar, morphology has a higher potential for dissociation from semantic or pragmatic function, in this case the topicality function of subjects and objects”.

Givón also points out that the Subjects of the languages of the world can present different degrees of grammaticalization: “...languages with fewer subject properties have a less prototypical - less grammaticalized - subject.” (Givón, 1997:29). In other words, a Subject that is very grammaticalized exhibits properties in all levels: case marking, word order, syntactic behavior, etc.. When the Subject of a language is little grammaticalized, it exhibits few properties, most likely in the syntactic behavior-and-control (which is more directly influenced by pragmatic factors) and less likely in the morphology.

Thus, for an Ergative language, the coding device that “least safely” leads us to identify the category of Subject is the morphology, and that behavior-and-control properties can be more helpful. However, even in this case we need to be careful, because the Subject of the language under study may be little grammaticalized and may therefore not show many properties even at the syntactic level.

Let us now turn our discussion to Trumai. If we use the coding properties presented above for identifying the category of Subject in Trumai, what results do we get?

In an Intransitive clause (both simple and Extended), S is the NP that is semantically agentive; in a Transitive clause (again, both simple and Extended), A is the agent NP. However, in terms of formal characteristics, S and A do not coincide. S receives the unmarked case (i.e. $-\emptyset$), whereas A is marked (by $-k$). S can present person-marking on the verb (the enclitic $-n/-e$), but A has no marking on it. S occurs preverbally, inside the VP, while A occurs preverbally, but outside the VP.

In terms of control-and-behavior properties, S and A do not coincide either. The strategies for reflexivization and relativization used in Trumai do not show alignment between S and A (cf. chapters 8 and 10, sections 8.2 and 10.4 respectively). The control of anaphoric elements (coreference) is not helpful either. For the anaphoric possessive marker *tsi-* and *-ake*, the antecedent is not obligatorily S or A; it is the NP that for logical or other pragmatic questions is the best candidate (cf. chapter 2, section 2.4.2; cf. chapter 8, section 8.2.6).

In the case of the enclitic $-n/-e$, some examples suggest that when two clauses are linked/coordinated, the S or the A argument of the first clause is the controller of the anaphoric enclitic of the second clause:

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| (79) | S | V | S | V-s | |
| | <i>[kiki]_i</i> | <i>otl lotne-s</i> | \emptyset _i | <i>pita-n_i</i> | . |
| | man | wake-S | | go.out-3Abs | |
| | 'The man woke up and left.' (lit: When the man woke up, he left) ¹⁵ | | | | |

¹⁵ With regard to coordination of clauses in Trumai, see chapter 10, section 10.1.

- (80) A O V S V-s
 [kiki-k]_i [di]_j pit'a-s ø_i pita-n_j .
 man-Erg woman call-S go.out-3Abs
 'He called her and (he) left.'

- (81) Abs V-Abs S V-s
 ø_j pit'a- n_j -es ø_j pita-n_j .
 call- 3Abs-ES go.out-3Abs
 'She was called and left.'

[the Ergative NP in the first clause is suppressed, leading to a 'passive effect'. The Absolutive would be now 'S', the 'Subject' of the first clause and therefore the controller of the anaphoric enclitic of the second clause]

However, other examples show that the antecedent of the enclitic *-n/-e* is not necessarily S or A. It can be also O, depending on logical or pragmatic factors:

- (82) A O V S V-s
 [kiki-k]_i [axos]_j disi disi-kma-s [iyi]_j xuy-e_j .
 man-Erg child hit/kill hit/kill-Perf-S IYI run.away-3Abs
 'Then the man_i beat the boy_j and ø_j ran away.'

- (83) A O V S V-s
 [kiki-k]_i [axos]_j disi-kma-s [iyi]_i xuy-e_j .
 man-Erg child hit/kill-Perf-S IYI run.away-3Abs
 'The man_i killed the boy_j and ø_i ran away.'¹⁶
[the boy couldn't run away; he was dead]

- (84) A O V S V-s Dat
 [kiki-k]_i [di]_j husa husa-kma-s hen ø_? hu'tsa-n_? tsi_?-tle-tl.
 man-Erg woman tie tie-Perf-S then see-3Abs 3Poss-mother-Dat
 'The man_i tied the woman_j and ø called ø's mother.'
[out of context, this example is ambiguous, according to the consultants]

The same scenario is observed in coreference across sentence boundaries, as in the examples below:

¹⁶See footnote 8 about *disi* 'kill' versus *disi disi* 'hit/beat'.

- (85) A O V S V-s DAT
 [Mayahiri-k]_i [Atawaka]_j kuhmu. in-is hen \emptyset_j wita wita-n_j \emptyset_i .
 Mayahiri-Erg Atawaka throw it-Dat then scold-3Abs
 ‘Mayahiri shoved Atawaka. And then (she) scolded (him).’
[Atawaka was upset; she is the one who most likely would scold]

- (86) A O V S V-s DAT
 [inatl-ek]_i [kasoro]_j husa. in lots' \emptyset_i hu'tsa kawa-n_j televisawn yi-ki.
 3-Erg dog tie it Ablat see go-3Abs TV YI-Dat
 ‘She tied up the dog. And then (she) went to see TV.’
[it is not likely that the dog would go to see TV, especially because it is tied]

Therefore, although there are examples that show an alignment of S and A in the control of the anaphoric enclitic *-n/-e*, there are other examples in which the alignment is disfavored.

The only syntactic symmetry between S and A is that both are the addressee phrase of the Imperative constructions, since both are agent. However, it is important to remember that in Trumai the Imperative construction that has S as addressee - *wana* V - is different from the one that has A as addressee - *waki* V (cf. chapter 6, section 6.4). Therefore, even here the symmetry is not complete.

Given all these facts, we have no language-internal reason to group S and A together as the Subject category of Trumai. On the other hands, S and O are symmetrical in several ways: both receive the unmarked case; both can have person-marking on the verb (the enclitic *-n/-e*); both are pre-verbal. There are several constructions where S and O behave in the same way:

- (i) reflexive construction with suppression of arguments: the Absolutive is the argument always present in this construction. The Ergative and the Dative arguments are the suppressed elements (cf. chapter 8, section 8.2.2);

- (ii) causative: the Absolutive is the argument that can be marked on the end of the VP (cf. chapter 8, section 8.1);
- (iii) raising in completive subordinate clauses: in a subordinate clause that is the complement of a Transitive main verb, the Absolutive argument of the subordinate verb can be marked on the main verb (cf. chapter 10, section 10.2.2);
- (iv) relative clauses: when the relativized NP (NP_{REL}) in the relative clause is S or O, one kind of construction is used (with *ke*). When it is A or DAT, another construction is employed (with *chi-k(e)*) (cf. chapter 10, section 10.4).

Given that S and O align in many ways, what should we conclude? Should we say that the Subject in Trumai is the grouping {S,O}? There are problems with this position as well:

- (i) as already mentioned, the O argument is prototypically a patient, while S is an agent. If we group S and O together, what is the category Subject in Trumai after all?

Semantically, S and O are different; they do not share a common role.

And if we say that O is the Subject (i.e. the primary topic) of a clause, what is then the A argument? The Object (i.e. the secondary topic)? In this case, we would have a language in which O is always codified as being more topical than A, even though A is agent, a very salient participant of the event, and a strong candidate to be the primary topic of any Transitive clause. As we see, it is problematic to say that O is the Subject of a clause. Even if we say that A is not the Object, but rather an ‘Oblique’, there will be complications (cf. item (iii)). Another problem is that the suppression of the S argument in a clause produces semantic effects that are different from the suppression of the O argument (cf. chapter 9, section 9.1.1). This being so, how much sense does it make to

group S and O together as the ‘Subject’ of this language? To us, it seems that to group S and O as the Subject category of Trumai is to let the formal criteria override semantic and pragmatic factors that are also important.

(ii) to say that the grouping {S,O} is the Subject in Trumai forces the language to satisfy the necessity of having grammatical relations. Is really necessary to talk about Subject or Object in order to describe the Trumai grammar? No. We can describe the system and the syntax of the language only on the basis of the argument types (*Absolutive*, *Ergative*, *Dative*) that are found in a clause. The use of the labels introduced in section 7.1.1. is also enough to describe the Trumai grammar;

(iii) one could suggest that in a clause with A and O arguments, the O argument (the NP-patient, marked by $-\emptyset$) is the Subject, and the A argument (the NP-agent, marked by $-k$) is actually an ‘Oblique’. Thus, a clause with a verb such as *mapa* ‘break’ would have the following configuration:

<u>Agent</u>	<u>Patient</u>				<u>Agent</u>	<u>Patient</u>	
NP-k	NP- \emptyset	V	>		‘Oblique’	Subject	V

in other words, the clause would have a passive voice configuration, with the patient marked as Subject (the primary clausal topic) and the agent marked as ‘Oblique’ (a peripheral function). An important detail here is that this “passive” clause has no active counterpart, in which the NP-agent would be codified as Subject (primary topic) and the NP-patient would be codified as Object (secondary topic). There is obviously a problem

with this analysis. It is strange that a language would have “passive” clauses without having active ones, considering that the passive voice is cross-linguistically more restricted in discourse (this kind of voice is generally used for special purposes, such as demoting the agent and promoting the patient to primary topic). Therefore, to say that {O, S} (the Absolutive) is the Subject category of Trumai does not help us to understand the system of the language; on the contrary, it leads us to characterize it in a strange way;

(iv) one could say that the grouping {S,O} would be the Subject category in Trumai because, according to the coding properties presented above, every sentence has a Subject, and in Trumai the Absolutive is always present in a clause. However, this is not exactly true. The Absolutive argument in Trumai occurs in all clause types, that is, the canonical Intransitive and Transitive clauses. However, not every individual clause necessarily has an Absolutive mark. Sometimes the Absolutive argument is suppressed because of pragmatic reasons (cf. chapter 9 on voice).

As we can see, in Trumai we do not have reasons to group {S,A} together as the category of Subject, and to say that the Subject of this language is actually the grouping {S,O} is not a good solution either. The same can be said with regard to the category of Object: there are no reasons to group O and the DAT argument of Extended Intransitive verbs together, given their differences in case-marking (O is marked by $-\emptyset$, DAT by $-tl$, $-ki$, $-s$), word order (O is preverbal, DAT follows the VP), and syntactic behavior (O aligns with S rather than with DAT).

Again, we have the question: why do we need the traditional grammatical relationships of Subject, Object, etc., to talk about Trumai? We do not. For the purpose of describing the grammar of this language, such relations are not necessary. They would be interesting for the purpose of doing typological studies, that is, if we want to compare Trumai to other languages of the world. However, there is not much to say about the category of Subject in Trumai. If we consider Givón's idea that a language with few subject properties has only a slightly grammaticalized subject, then we can say that the grouping {S,A} could be considered the Subject of Trumai, but it would be a Subject in the very first steps to grammaticalization. It may be showing its first manifestations in the control of anaphoric elements, as examples (79-81) above suggest, but there are still tremendous limitations. Perhaps in future research, careful analysis of texts can bring to light facts that help us to better define a category of Subject for Trumai.

The relationship among the obligatory arguments types of Trumai may be better understood if we do not talk about them in terms of Subject, Object, Indirect Object, but rather if we talk in terms of 'Core' versus 'Peripheral' arguments. In the next section, we present an alternative way of analyzing this relationship.

7.3.2. An alternative analysis: "Core" versus "Peripheral" arguments

The relationship among the three kinds of obligatory arguments (Ergative, Absolutive, Dative) could be analyzed in terms of a Nucleus-Periphery organization, as proposed by Davis (1994). According to Davis, the semantic configuration of a proposition has a **nucleus** and a **periphery**. In the nucleus, we have the event itself and

the central participant(s), that is, the participant(s) that is/are crucial for the event. In the periphery we have the other participant(s), which is/are not so involved in the event.

A specific participant can be located in the nucleus or in the periphery, depending on how important this participant is. There is a continuum from the central to the peripheral relation, and the participant can be situated at any point on this continuum. In other words, it is possible to have a gradation of this location, based on the contentive properties of the participant and/or the contentive properties of the event (i.e. the characteristics of the event can have an influence on how the participant is being affected and therefore involved in the event).

We could apply these ideas to the analysis of Trumai. The fact that the characteristics of the event can have influence on the affectedness of the participant is clear in this language, as we already have seen in the discussion of Extended Intransitive verbs, whose second participant has a “locative-goal” nature. It is also clear in this language that the contentive (i.e. the semantic) properties of the participant may influence its treatment as more peripheral or less peripheral, as seen in the section on the choice among the Dative markers.

Thus, following Davis’ ideas (with our personal interpretation), we could propose that the participants marked as Ergative and Absolutive are in the nucleus of the proposition. The Absolutive would be the most core argument type, since it occurs in all clause types. The Ergative would be less core, but it still would be in the nucleus, since the kind of clause where this argument occurs is Transitive (i.e. the clause codifies an event where two participants are involved).

The participants marked as Dative are all peripheral: the second participants of Extended Intransitive verbs are peripheral because they are not topical or are not so affected (cf. section 7.1.3), therefore, they are not so involved in the event. Also, the Extended Intransitive verbs are codified as basically Intransitive (i.e. they codify an event where only one participant is effectively involved; the other one has less involvement). The participant that is the ‘recipient’ of Extended Transitive verbs (such as *kīī* ‘give’) is peripheral not because of topicality, since this participant in general is animate and therefore salient, but because of affectedness: the involvement of a ‘recipient’ in the event of ‘giving’ is more indirect than the involvement of the ‘patient’. Therefore, it also occupies a position in the periphery.

However, the position in the periphery can be modulated, and that is achieved through the selection of the Dative markers. In other words, although the NPs marked as Dative are all peripheral, some are more peripheral than others: *-(V)tl* would be closer to the nucleus of the proposition than the NPs marked by *-ki* and *-(V)s*, because the participants referred to by these NPs are very individuated, identifiable and affected by the action performed on them, which means that these participants have some involvement in the event, even though they are not so nuclear as the participants marked as Absolutive or Ergative.

At the other extreme, we would have the participants marked by *-(V)s*, which would be less involved in the event and therefore far from the core of the proposition; but not so far as the participants marked as Locative, Instrumental, Allative, etc., which

would be the most peripheral participants, since they are not even obligatory arguments (if omitted, they do not provoke any change in the semantics of the clause).

The “benefactive, “location-goal”, and “purpose” participants marked as Dative are the complicated cases. They cannot be less peripheral than the obligatory Dative arguments, since they are not obligatory participants (i.e. they are not really required for the event). However, since they are marked in the same way as obligatory Dative arguments, they cannot be considered so peripheral as the participants marked as Locative, Instrumental, etc. (at least, their marking suggests this). Therefore, we propose that the “benefactive, “location-goal”, and “purpose” participants should be located between the obligatory Dative arguments and the other kinds of NPs.

In sum, the semantic configuration of the propositions in Trumai would be the following:

$$[[\quad]_{\text{NUCLEUS}} [\quad]_{\text{PERIPHERY}}]$$

the nucleus would be composed by:

$$[[\text{event} + \text{Abs}]_{\text{core}} \text{Erg}]_{\text{NUCLEUS}}$$

and the periphery would be:

$$[[\text{Dat-tl} \text{Dat-ki} \text{Dat-s}] [\text{non-obligatory Datives}] [\text{Instrum, Allat, etc.}]]_{\text{PERIPHERY}}$$

This configuration would be a kind of organizing principle for the relationship among the types of argument found in Trumai. The schema presented above would

actually be the canonical configuration, which can be changed through voice manipulation. Anyway, this is just an alternative proposal for describing the relationship in question.

CHAPTER 8

“Valence Changing” Devices

In this chapter, we will present constructions that in some way involve changes in the valence of the verb: the Causative construction, which allows the inclusion of one more agentive participant in the event (so, an Intransitive verb can now “behave” as a Transitive one); and the Reflexive and Reciprocal constructions, whose agents and patients are coreferential.

8.1. Causation

First, we describe the structure of the causative construction in Trumai. Next, we analyze it using the approach proposed by Comrie (1989) and the one proposed by Kemmer and Verhagen (1994). As we will see, these approaches offer different perspectives for analyzing the causative construction of Trumai.

The Trumai causative construction involves the use of the particle *ka* - described in chapter 3 - which occurs after the verb. The use of this particle is productive; it can modify any kind of verb. The causativization of Intransitive and Extended Intransitive verbs is simple: causee is marked as Absolutive, causer is marked as Ergative; in other words, the causative construction is similar to a simple Transitive clause. The only difference is that in the causative construction, the Absolutive enclitic goes on the particle rather than on the verb (it seems that the verb plus the particle form a larger predicate; that is, we could say that the verb in the causative construction has been “extended” by the particle *ka* into a larger predicate).

causer-Erg causee-Abs V ka [similar to a simple Transitive clause]
 causer-Erg causee-Abs V ka Dat [similar to a simple Extended Transitive clause]

- (1) a. *hai-ts Yakairu-∅ sa ka.*
 1-Erg Yakairu-Abs dance Caus
 'I made Yakairu dance.'¹ [Intransitive verb]
- b. *hai-ts sa ka-n.*
 1-Erg dance Caus-3Abs
 'I made her dance.'
- (2) a. *hai-ts Kumaru-∅ sone ka wirix-es.* [Ext. Intransitive verb]
 1-Erg Kumaru-Abs drink Caus manioc.porridge-Dat
 'I made Kumaru drink manioc porridge.'
- b. *hai-ts sone ka-n wirix-es.*
 1-Erg drink Caus-3Abs manioc.porridge-Dat
 'I made her drink manioc porridge.'

The causativization of Transitive verbs is a little different: the causer is marked as Ergative, as well as the causee. The causer always precede the causee, and often is followed by the Focus/Tense particle.²

causer-Erg causee-Erg O-Abs V ka

¹ Although not required, the Focus/Tense particles can occur in some examples:

- (i) a. *hai-ts ma ka-n.*
 1-Erg eat-Caus-3Abs
 'I made him eat.' [simple causative]

- b. *hai-ts ka_in ma ka-n.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens eat-Caus-3Abs
 'I (focus) made him eat.' [use of Foc/Tens particle]

² Even though the Focus/Tense particles occur in many of the examples of this section, they are not necessarily required in the causative construction with (Extended) Transitive verbs. It is possible to have causative clauses without *ka_in* or *chi_in*:

- (i) *Alaweru-k hai-ts axos-∅ disi ka.*
 Alaweru-Erg 1-Erg child-Abs hit/kill Caus
 'Alaweru made me beat the child.'

- (3) a. *hai-ts chī_in Atawaka-k atlat-∅ mapa ka.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens Atawaka-Erg clay.pan-Abs break Caus
 ‘I made Atawaka break the clay pan.’
- b. *hai-ts chī_in inatle-k atlat-∅ mapa ka.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens 3-Erg clay.pan-Abs break Caus
 ‘I made her break the clay pan.’
- c. *hai-ts chī_in inatle-k mapa ka-n.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens 3-Erg break Caus-3Abs
 ‘I made her break it (a valuable pan).’

The causativization of Extended Transitive verbs is similar to the causativization

of Transitive verbs: causer-Erg causee-Erg O-Abs V ka Dat

- (4) *Amati-k chī_in Tata-k karakarako taf-∅ kiŋi ka ha wan-ki.*
 Amati-Erg Foc/Tens Tata-Erg chicken egg-Abs give Caus 1 PL-Dat
 ‘Amati made Tata give us chicken eggs.’

As we can see, in the causativization of (Extended) Transitive verbs, there are two NPs marked as Ergative in the construction, the causer (the “external” agent) and the causee (the “internal” agent, the one who effectively performs the event). We know which NP is the causer, which one is the causee on the basis of the position that the NPs occupy in the construction, but the ideal scenario would be that the marking of the causer and the causee were completely different, in order to avoid the risk of ambiguity with regard to the role of each NP. This is what is observed in many languages: in the typological literature, there are many examples of languages where the causee is marked as Dative or Instrumental, while the causer has a different marker. Thus, the causative construction in

suggests that the causee is not only a causee, but a recipient as well (i.e. causer gives the patient to the causee and demands that the action be performed).

- (7) a. *hai-ts chī_in inatl-ek atlat-∅ mapa ka.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens 3-Erg clay.pan-Abs break Caus
 ‘I made her break the clay pan.’ (intentionally or not)
- b. *hai-ts chī_in inatl-etl atlat-∅ mapa ka.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens 3-Dat clay.pan-Abs break Caus
 ‘I gave her the clay pan in order for her to break it.’ (I forced her)
- c. *?hai-ts chī_in inatl letsi atlat-∅ mapa ka.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens 3 Instr clay.pan-Abs break Caus
 ‘?I made her break the clay pan with her body.’

It is important to say here that sentences (b) and (c) above have never been encountered in text nor have speakers offered such sentences spontaneously. There were presented in elicitation, and then interpreted by the consultants, but they are not really used by the speakers. Example (b) is not the construction generally employed to show less autonomy of the causee in the event. Rather, the speakers use another construction, a special kind of cleft/focus construction observed with causativized verbs, illustrated in (8b); perhaps the emphasis on the causer creates the idea that the causer forced the causee to do the action: Yaka extinguished the fire, but it was me who made her to do it = I forced her to do it:

- (8) a. *hai-ts chī_in Yaka-k so-∅ (o)pi ka.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens Yaka-Erg fire-Abs extinguish Caus
 ‘I made Yaka extinguish the fire.’ (I asked her to do it)
- b. *hai-ts chī_in ke Yaka-k so-∅ (o)pi ka.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens Yaka-Erg fire-Abs extinguish Caus
 ‘I made Yaka extinguish the fire.’ (I forced her to do it)

On the other hand, in order to express more autonomy of the causee (in the sense that the causer is giving permission to the causee to carry out an activity; thus, the causee has some choice), the speakers use *mit'* 'leave' **in conjunction** with the causative construction. *Mit'* is a verb, but in the causative construction, it behaves rather as an adverb, as the ordering shows in (12):

- (9) *wana mit' hen* [mit' as a verb]
 Imp leave then
 'Leave (it)!'

 (10) *mit' de hai-ts Atawaka- \emptyset pa ka.*
 leave already 1-Erg Atawaka-Abs marry Caus
 'I already let Atawaka marry.'

 (11) *hai-ts chi(in) mit' Atawaka- \emptyset xom ka mawmaw-s.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens leave Atawaka-Abs suck Caus papaya-Dat
 'I let Atawaka eat papayas.'

 (12) a. *mit' hai-ts Atawaka- \emptyset sa ka.*
 leave 1-Erg Atawaka-Abs dance Caus
 'I let Atawaka dance.'

 b. **hai-ts [Atawaka- \emptyset sa] mit'*
 1-Erg Atawaka dance leave
 (I let Atawaka dance.) [not as a Transitive main verb]

Besides the causative particle *ka*, the Transitive verb *tao* 'order/give order' can also be used to express the idea of causing somebody to do something. The semantic difference between the use of *tao* and use of the Causative particle *ka* is that with *tao*, it is explicit how the causer made the causee execute the action (i.e. through an order). The Causative particle is neutral with regard to means of causation; its semantics is more abstract.

- (13) *hait-s iyi tao-n.* [tao is a main Trans. verb]
 1-Erg IYI order-3Abs
 ‘I order him (give him an order).’
- (14) *tao ke ka_in hai-ts Atawaka- \emptyset huma.*
 order KE Foc/Tens 1-Erg Atawaka-Abs take.bath
 ‘I always order Atawaka to take a bath.’
 [*tao* is a main verb. It can occur in first position]
- (15) a. *hai-ts ka_in [Atawaka- \emptyset pa] tao.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens Atawaka-Abs marry order
 ‘I ordered Atawaka to marry.’
- b. *hai-ts ka_in [pa] tao-n.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens marry order-3Abs
 ‘I ordered her to marry.’
- (16) a. *Alaweru-k chi_in [hai-ts axos- \emptyset disi] tao.*
 Alaweru-Erg Foc/Tens 1-Erg child-Abs hit/kill order
 ‘Alaweru ordered me to beat the child.’
- b. *Alaweru-k chi_in [hai-ts disi] tao-n.*
 Alaweru-Erg Foc/Tens 1-Erg hit/kill order-3Abs
 ‘Alaweru ordered me to beat her.’
- (17) *Amati-k chi_in [hai-ts karakarako taf yi- \emptyset kiŋi] tao hi wan-ki.*
 Amati-Erg Foc/Tens 1-Erg chicken egg YI-Abs give order 2 PL-Dat
 ‘Amati ordered me to give chicken eggs to you (pl).’

However, while *tao* exhibits verbal properties, *ka* does not. As already mentioned in chapter 3 (section 3.3.3), *ka* is never found as the main verb of a clause. It does not have lexical meaning; its meaning is grammatical (i.e. the abstract sense of ‘causation’). The closest lexical counterpart is the Transitive verb *kapan* ‘make’. *Ka* cannot occur in the first position of a clause (example 18), while *tao* ‘give order’ and other main verbs can (cf. 14 above).

- (18) **ka ke ka_in hai-ts Atawaka- \emptyset huma.*
 Caus KE Foc/Tens 1-Erg Atawaka take.bath
 (I habitually/always make Atawaka take a bath.)

- (19) *homne ke ka_in hai-ts kiki yi-ø otl tsula.*
 find KE Foc/Tens 1-Erg man YI-Abs sleep lie
 'I always/habitually find the man sleeping (lying down).'

Further, the occurrence of the morpheme (*i*)*yi* between the causativized verb and *ka* is not possible (example (20)), while it is possible to have this morpheme between a main Transitive verb and the verb of a subordinate clause that is the complement of the main verb (example (21)).

- (20) **hai-ts ka_in Kumaru-ø sa yi ka.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens Kumaru-Abs dance YI Caus
 (I made Kumaru dance.)

- (21) *hai-ts chi_in [axos-ø waʔkan yi] homne.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens child-Abs cry YI find
 'I found the child crying.'

In other words, *ka* is indeed the morpheme specialized in the sense of causation; the use of *tao* represents an alternative way of expressing causative events, making explicit how the causing event is brought about (i.e. through an order).

Now, bringing theoretical considerations to our study, how can we analyze the causative construction in Trumai? First, let us see the approach proposed by Comrie. As Comrie (1989:166-167) points out, languages can exhibit analytical or morphological/synthetic causative constructions. The **analytic** causative has two verbs, one expressing the predicate of causation, the other expressing the effect; causative constructions of this type involve the use of verbs such as *cause*, *make*, etc. The **morphological/synthetic**

causative has one verb, and special morphology relates the causative predicate to the non-causative one.

The marking of the causee in morphological causatives is an important issue for Comrie, especially when a Transitive verb is causativized. Given that in morphological causatives there is only one verb, and that the introduction of the causer brings one more participant to the event, the valency of the verb has to be rearranged (theoretically, analytical causatives would not have this problem, because there are two verbs in the construction, and each verb would have its own set of arguments).⁴

According to Comrie (1989:175), “cross-linguistically, this problem of valency increase is almost invariably solved by altering the expression of the causee”. In many languages, when a Transitive verb is causativized, the causer is marked as subject and the causee (the original subject) is marked indirect object (Dative) or Instrumental; in some languages, the causee can be marked as object (Accusative). What would not be observable in languages of the world is the marking of the causee as subject, because then the causativized verb would have two subjects.

To account for the marking of the causee observed in the languages of the world, Comrie proposes a hierarchy of grammatical relations: Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Other Oblique. His idea is that after all the other participants have been assigned cases from the beginning of the hierarchy, the causee would receive the next case down

⁴ “The morphological causative normally has a valency one higher than that of the corresponding non-causative, since in addition to the arguments of that non-causative predicate there is also the causer. With analytic causatives this introduces no problems, since each of the two predicates, expressing cause and effect, retains its own set of arguments” (Comrie, 1989:175).

on the hierarchy. Therefore, the motivation for the marking of the causee would merely formal: the causee would receive the marking on the hierarchy that is available to it.

Comrie observes that some languages allow doubling on one of the positions in the hierarchy (i.e. in some languages, in the causative of a Transitive verb the causee can be marked as Accusative, resulting in a construction with two Accusatives). However, the doubling respects the patterns observed elsewhere in the language (that is, doubling on object would be possible for a language that allows other clauses to have two Accusative objects). According to Comrie, the possibilities for doubling of a specific grammatical relation would depend on its position in the hierarchy: the lower the position, the higher the possibilities of doubling. As he points out (Comrie 1989:178), “doubling on subjects is unknown in causative constructions; doubling on direct objects is attested, but restricted; doubling on indirect object is very widespread”.

Considering Comrie’s ideas, the causative construction in Trumai would represent a complicated case. If we consider the characteristics of the morpheme ka, we cannot call the Trumai causative construction analytical, since ka is not a verb (it does not present verbal properties). Thus, we would have to say that the Trumai causative construction is morphological rather than analytical. However, if we say this, there will be problems. As shown above, in the causativization of Transitive verbs, the NP-causee is marked as Ergative, as well as the NP-causer. If the causative construction in Trumai involves only one verb, then we have doubling on “subjects” in the construction;⁵ that is, we have two

⁵ We are using the term ‘subject’ here in order to relate our discussion to the observation made by Comrie, who uses this term in his work. However, to be more precise, what we have in the Trumai causative construction is doubling on the A argument.

A arguments for the same verb. In no other construction in Trumai a single verb can have two A arguments.

One could suggest that *ka* can still be considered a verb, just like *tao* ‘order/give order’ is; in this case, one Ergative NP (the causer) would be an argument of *ka*, while the other Ergative NP (the causee) would be an argument of the causativized verb. However, if *ka* does not present verbal properties, how can we call it a verb? If we say that *ka* is a main Transitive verb (like *tao*), it would be a very strange kind of verb. Therefore, the “solution” of classifying the Trumai causative construction as analytical does not present any advantage; it only forces an inappropriate analysis onto the Trumai data in order to preserve a typological claim.

In any case, the Trumai causative construction with Transitive verbs is problematic for Comrie’s approach:

1. if we say that the Ergative marking marks Transitive subjects in Trumai, then the causative construction of this language clearly violates his hierarchy;
2. if we say that the Ergative marking does not mark Transitive subjects, we still cannot explain the doubling on A: if the marking of the causee is formally motivated, why is the causee in the causative of Transitive verbs marked as Ergative? Why not as Dative, since doubling on Dative is observed in other parts of the language (cf. example (78) in chapter 7), while doubling on Ergative with the same verb is not?
3. actually, as discussed in chapter 7, we cannot talk about the traditional grammatical relations of ‘Subject’ or ‘Object’ for Trumai, given that there are no syntactic behaviors to support establishing these categories. Therefore, the marking of the

A		O		V
b. <i>hai-ts</i>	<i>chi_in</i>	<i>[inatl-ek</i>		<i>mapa]</i>
1-Erg	Foc/Tens	3-Erg		<i>homne-n.</i>
				break find-3Abs

I found her breaking it (a valuable clay pan).'
 (more "literally": I found it being broken by her.)

As we can see, the configuration of a bi-clausal sentence like example (23) and configuration of the causative construction are very similar: presence of two Ergative NPs, 3Abs enclitic at the end of the VP. Therefore, it is reasonable to think that *ka* came from a main Transitive verb whose object was a clause. Since the causative construction had a biclausal origin, it is not surprising that both causer and causee are marked as Ergative, because they were A arguments of different verbs. However, the construction cannot be considered biclausal anymore, because of the current behavior of *ka*, which can no longer classified as a verb.

Thus, the causative construction in Trumai would be an intermediate type between an analytical and a morphological causative. It probably started as analytical and it would be evolving to become morphological, but it is not completely morphological yet, since the causee still would preserve its case-marking from the original construction. Comrie (1989:169) points out that the distinction between analytical and morphological causatives is not clear-cut, but it is rather a continuum, and that languages can have intermediate causative systems:

Although there are many instances in languages that instantiate these ideal types, or come very close to doing so, there are also many constructions that fall between the adjacent types on the continuum. An excellent example of a type intermediate between analytic and morphological is the French construction with *faire*, as in *j'ai fait courir Paul* 'I have made Paul run.' At first sight, this would seem to be a straightforward analytic causative, since we have separate predicates... However, as soon as one

compares this construction with other constructions where there are clearly two predicates, the apparent clarity of this example dissolves... In our example, the phrase *faire courir* behaves as a single complex, and *Paul* is the direct object of this whole complex. (Comrie:169).

We are not proposing that the Trumai causative construction is parallel to the French, since there are differences between them (the French *faire* presents verbal morphology, while Trumai *ka* does not show verbal properties). What we want to highlight in Comrie's idea is that languages can have intermediate causative types, and this would be the case of Trumai. Anyway, the main point in the hypothesis presented above is that the Ergative marking of the causee in the causative of Transitive verbs would be due to the historical developments that occurred in the language, and not because of the existence of a formal hierarchy that needs to be respected.

There is another way of accounting for the marking of the causee: it is to analyze the causative construction in Trumai using the approach proposed by Kemmer and Verhagen (1994). As these authors point out, the approach used by Comrie and other authors is based on the idea that causative constructions are reductions of more complex underlying structures. We would have different degrees of reduction of the constructions (ranging from a more complex (or more "biclausal") construction to a simpler one).

Kemmer and Verhagen's approach is based in a different perspective: the causatives constructions are extensions of simple structures. That is, instead of having a complex structure and then reducing it to have the causative construction, we have the opposite: we start with simple structures as the basis, and the causative constructions are build up from these simple structures.

Transitive clause **schemas** are the structural and conceptual model for causative constructions. These schemas are “...abstracted from clauses with simple lexical predicates” (Kemmer and Verhagen: 146) and are the model for elaborating the causative constructions. Simple Transitive clause schemas are the models for the causativization of Intransitive verbs, while Ditransitive clause schemas are the models for causatives with Transitive verbs.

The causative construction inherits some properties from the model; that is, the semantic facets of the model motivate the patterns found in the causative construction, such as the case-marking of the causee. Thus, in this approach, the case-marking of the causee is not formally but semantically motivated. A causee receives a specific marker, such as Dative or Instrumental, because of the semantics of the marker, which indicates the degree of conceptual integration of the causee in the event. Explaining it better: in simple clauses, the participants “...differ from one another in terms of the degree of integration in the event as a whole” (Kemmer and Verhagen: 134). In causative constructions, which are built up from simple clause schemas, we have a similar situation: the causees have different degrees of integration in the event, and that would be signaled by the marker. In many languages, a causee that is more integrated in the event and less autonomous is marked as Dative, while one that is more autonomous and less integrated is marked as Instrumental. For Kemmer and Verhagen (1994:138), “high degree of integration correlates with high degree of affectedness and topicality and low degree of autonomy of the causee”.

Bringing these ideas to Trumai, we can see that Transitive clause schemas are clearly the model for the causativization of Intransitive verbs: as mentioned above, the Trumai causative construction with Intransitive verbs is similar to a simple Transitive clause.

In the case of the causative construction with Transitive verbs, the model would be not the Ditransitive clause schema, as proposed by Kemmer and Verhagen, but still the Transitive clause schemas, with the difference that now the causer inherits properties from the agent participant in the model, not from the patient. That is, the causee now is marked as Ergative, not as Absolutive. Below, we have the correspondences between simple Transitive clauses and causative clauses with Transitive verbs:

simple Transitive clause:	<u>agent</u> NP-ERG		<u>patient</u> NP-ABS	V
Transitive causative clause:	<u>causer</u> NP-ERG	<u>causee</u> NP-ERG	<u>affectee</u> NP-ABS	V <i>ka</i>

In the causative clauses with Transitive verb, the causee shares the ‘agent’ role with the causer, since both are initiators and controllers of the activity that is affecting another entity, the affectee.⁶ Thus, it is not strange that the causee is marked in the same way as the causer; on the contrary, semantically speaking, there is a motivation for the marking of the causee as Ergative. However, causer and causee have different degrees of responsibility in the event; the causee is less responsible than the causer, who is the main initiator of the event. Observe in examples (5-6) above that the causee does not

⁶ This term is used by Kemmer and Verhagen.

necessarily need to be mentioned, while the causer does (in other words, the absence of the causee in examples (5-6) would be motivated not by the fact that there are two Ergative NPs in the construction, but by the overall structure of the event).

However, a question arises: why does the causee in the causative construction with an Intransitive verb not share the ‘agency’ with the causer as well? Why is it not also marked as Ergative? Perhaps because this causee cannot be considered an agent, given the nature of the event expressed by the Intransitive verb: a typical Intransitive event has only one participant; there is no patient in an Intransitive event. Thus, the causee of a causativized Intransitive verb is not an agent, since there is no affectee; rather, the causee is also the participant affected by the event. Therefore, since the causee of causativized Intransitive verbs is the patient-like participant in the event, it makes sense that this causee is marked in the same way as patients of simple Transitive clauses, i.e., as Absolutive.

The case of Extended Intransitive verbs is a little more complicated, because these verbs express events that have a second participant, marked as Dative. However, as mentioned in chapter 7 (section 7.1.3), this second participant in many cases is not a patient, but rather it is constructed as a kind of a goal/location; thus, this second participant cannot be the affectee when the verb is causativized. For other Extended Intransitive verbs (such as *ma* ‘eat’), the second participant is patient-like, but it is relatively predictable, lacking high topicality (cf. chapter 7, section 7.1.3). Thus, when the verb is causativized, the causee (which has importance in this case) is the one marked as Absolutive, while the other participant keeps being marked as Dative.

If we think about the degree of conceptual integration of the causee in the event, we could say that a causee marked as Ergative is less integrated than a causee marked as Absolutive. This can be seen in the optionality of the causee marked as Ergative, versus the obligatory presence of the causee marked as Absolutive. Observe that these facts correlate with the core-peripheral hierarchy proposed in chapter 7, section 7.3.2, in which participants marked as Absolutive are analyzed as being more core than the ones marked as Ergative.

An advantage of the approach proposed by Kemmer and Verhagen is that their account is inherently functional: the case marking of the causee in the causative constructions is semantically motivated; it makes sense in terms of what it means (even if the meaning of the marker is abstract). Another advantage of Kemmer and Verhagen's account is that it offers a unified treatment of analytical and morphological causatives: since the marking of the causee is semantically motivated, the kind of causative construction under analysis does not really matter. Thus, their approach has the additional advantage that we do not have to categorize a causative construction as analytical or morphological.

The advantage of Kemmer and Verhagen's account for Trumai is that the status of the morpheme *ka* is not an object of concern. Given that the case-marking of the causee is not analyzed as being formally motivated, it does not really matter whether *ka* is a verb or a particle or whether the causee marked as Ergative can be considered an argument of *ka* or not. The Ergative marking is accounted for in a different way (and the problem of doubling on A arguments dissolves). As a consequence of this, it is possible to have a

uniform treatment for the causative constructions with *ka*, the construction with *mit'*, and the clauses with *tao*; with Comrie's approach, we would have to distinguish them, since *tao* is a verb and *ka* is a particle, and the construction with *mit'* is a little different from the simple causative constructions.

Kemmer and Verhagen's approach seems to be more advantageous than the Comrie's, which faces problems in accounting for the causative constructions in Trumai. The only disadvantage of Kemmer and Verhagen's approach for Trumai is that it is difficult to reconcile it with the historical developments proposed above, which are also perfectly reasonable (especially when we compare the construction with *ka* to the one with *tao*). On the basis of the historical considerations presented above, we would have to say that the constraints observed in causatives of Transitive verbs came from diachronic developments and are synchronically syntacticized (i.e. the Ergative is the conventional way of marking the causee); but in this case, we lose the semantic motivations offered by Kemmer and Verhagen's account. Of course, we would prefer a middle-ground, in which we could say that some patterns come from diachronic evolution but they are not completely arbitrary (i.e. semantic motivations would still be the force "driving" the evolution of the patterns). Unfortunately, we do not know if we can propose such a middle-ground analysis of the Trumai causative constructions. For this reason, we are not deciding now for any of the two possible accounts (i.e. semantic versus historical; we are discarding the formal approach proposed by Comrie). We intend to study more the use of the Trumai causative constructions in texts, and we hope that such study can ultimately help us to decide on a viable account.

8.2. Reflexive constructions

In this section, we present the different types of reflexivization strategies observed in Trumai. For the purposes of our study, we adopted a working definition of ‘Reflexive construction’, which is: a construction where there is coreference between two obligatory arguments in clause types with more than one obligatory argument.

The coreference may be between S and DAT (in Extended Intransitive clause) or between A and O (in Transitive clauses). Unfortunately, there are no data with Extended Transitive clauses; for this reason, we cannot confirm if it is also possible to have coreference between A and DAT.

We use the working definition presented above because Trumai does not have a reflexive construction in which the ‘Subject’ (S or A) controls coreference to some special morpheme, or in which the verb receives a special marker that signals reflexive semantics. Rather, we have other reflexivization strategies:

- both arguments are pronominal, with neither argument hierarchically dominant over the other;
- simple argument suppression;
- the use of the verb *falapetsi* ‘do by oneself’ in conjunction with argument suppression.

Next, we describe each strategy with Extended Intransitive and Transitive verbs, in order to bring out the unity of the strategy and to highlight the differences between the clause types. After that, we have a short section on reflexive possession. This kind of

possession is included here because we are dealing with the issue of reflexivity, but in reality it does not involve any special strategy, only the use of the 3rd person possessive markers *tsi-* and *-ake/-ea*, which can be coreferential to any argument (their control is pragmatically driven).

8.2.1. Pronominal arguments in standard clause structure

This kind of strategy is more observed with Extended Intransitive clauses than with Transitives.

- Extended Intransitive clauses

One way of expressing reflexivization in Trumai is to have a clause where the DAT argument is coreferential with the S argument, and both are pronominal. This construction is observed with 1st and 2nd persons:

(24) *ha make hai-tl.*
 1 bite 1-Dat
 ‘I bit myself.’

(25) *hi chī_in hi-tl make ke.*
 2 Foc/Tens 2-Dat bite KE
 ‘You bit yourself.’

One consultant presented an example of this kind of strategy with 3rd person, but not the other consultants, who offered rather examples with the DAT omitted (the strategy described in 8.2.2):

(26) *iyi make-n ine-tl.*
 IYI bite-3Abs 3-Dat
 ‘He bit himself.’ (it also could be: He_i bit him_j; (another person)).’

- Transitive clauses

Here, we have a full Transitive clause, with A and O being coreferential; both are pronominal:

(27) *hai-ts ha tichì.*
 1-Erg 1 scarify
 ‘I scarified myself (with ritual scars).’

(28) *hai-ts chì_in ha faptì fatla.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens 1 ear pierce
 ‘I ear-pierced myself.’⁷

However, this strategy is rarely employed. Its use is not possible with 3rd person, because the clause will not have a reflexive reading. For 3rd person, speakers use the strategies described in 8.2.2. and 8.2.3.

(29) *inatl-ek tichì-n.*
 3-Erg scarify-3Abs
 ‘She_i scarified her_j (another person).’

(30) *faptì fatla-n chì_in ine-k.*
 ear pierce-3Abs Foc/Tens 3-Erg
 ‘He_i ear-pierced him_j (another person).’

8.2.2. Argument suppression

As we will see in chapter 9, suppression of obligatory arguments leads to changes in voice. One of the possible semantic effects of the suppression of DAT or A is that the clause can have a reflexive interpretation.

⁷ Body parts are incorporated in Transitive verbs. Cf. chapter 9.

- Clauses with Extended Intransitive verbs

When a clause with an Extended Intransitive verb has no DAT argument, it usually has an antipassive reading (cf. chapter 9). However, sometimes it can also have a reflexive interpretation. This interpretation is probably motivated by pragmatic factors, and not because of the structure of the clause itself, which has no special marker of reflexivity. This strategy occurs with all persons:

- (31) *ha make.*
 1 bite
 ‘I bit (something)’ or ‘I bit myself.’
- (32) *hi make.*
 1 bite
 ‘You bit (something)’ or ‘You bit yourself.’
- (33) *make-n.*
 bite-3Abs
 ‘He bit (something)’ or ‘He bit himself.’
- (34) *wan make-n.*
 PL bite-3Abs
 ‘They bit themselves.’

- Clauses with Transitive verbs

When a clause with a Transitive verb does not present an Ergative NP and zero anaphora is not involved, the clause can have a reflexive interpretation:

- (35) *ha tichi ka_in.*
 1 scarify Foc/Tens
 ‘I scarified myself.’ or ‘I got scarified.’
- (36) *tichi-n.*
 scarify-3Abs
 ‘She scarified herself.’ or ‘She got scarified.’

- (37) *ha fap̄ti fatla.*
 1 ear pierce
 ‘I ear-pierced myself.’ or ‘I got ear-pierced.’
- (38) *fap̄ti fatla-n.*
 ear pierce-3Abs
 ‘He ear-pierced himself.’ or ‘He got ear-pierced.’

Examples (35-38) are actually ambiguous: maybe the person performed the action on herself/himself, maybe somebody else performed the action, and the person only received its effects; that is, the person now is scarified, but perhaps s/he herself/himself did not perform the action of scarifying. The ambiguity of examples (35-38) has to do with the fact that the construction illustrated above has a broader use, and it can have reflexive, middle, and passive voice interpretations; cf. chapter 9, section 9.1.2 for detailed analysis of voice functions of this construction.

8.2.3. Use of *falapetsi* ‘do by oneself’

Falapetsi is an Intransitive verb which has independent meaning. This verb is translated by the consultants as ‘do by oneself/alone’, but perhaps a better translation for it would be: ‘do (an action) without participants other than the agent(s)’. As an example, we have:

- (39) *ha falapetsi ka_in.*
 1 do.alone Foc/Tens
 ‘I made (it) by myself.’

Apparently *falapetsi* has been conventionalized in conjunction with the omission of arguments to indicate reflexivization, because when coordinated with another clause,

falapetsi forces a reflexive reading. This form is found in two distinct construction types: in one, *falapetsi* behaves as a main verb; in another, *falapetsi* is a nominal form. Both types are described below.

The difference between the reflexivization strategy with *falapetsi* and the one presented in section 8.2.2 (i.e. suppression of obligatory arguments) is that the strategy with *falapetsi* clearly indicates reflexive action, while the one in 8.2.2 has other possible semantic effects, as already mentioned.

8.2.3.1. Falapetsi as main verb

In this strategy, *falapetsi* occurs as the main verb of a clause that is juxtaposed to the clause in which the content V occurs; that is, [S *falapetsi*] [clause with contentV]. Sometimes the clause with *falapetsi* follows rather than precedes the clause with the content V.

If the content verb is Extended Intransitive, the Dative NP may occur in the clause, but in general it is omitted. If the content verb is Transitive, the Ergative NP is omitted. Only the Absolutive NP is consistently preserved in the two clause types.

- Clauses with Extended Intransitive verbs

S performs an action which usually entails a second participant (marked as Dative), but with *falapetsi*, S is understood to be the only participant, filling both roles:

- (40) *ha falapetsi ha make (hai-tl).*
 1 do.alone 1 bite 1-Dat
 'I bit myself. (lit: I did (it) alone, I bit (myself)).'

Observe in the example above that both *falapetsi* and the content verb have an explicit argument S; the DAT argument may optionally be explicit. The effect of *falapetsi* is semantic rather than syntactic; that is, there are clearly two separate clauses here, and the effect of the juxtaposition is to inform the listener that S of the second verb is coreferential with the DAT of the same verb (whether or not DAT occurs explicitly).

[Abs;*falapetsi*] [Abs;*V (Dat;)*]

Apparently, this construction is avoided with 3rd person. According to one consultant, this use is possible, such as in the example below:

- (41) *iyi falapetsi-n make-n.*
 IYI do.alone-3Abs bite-3Abs
 ‘He bit himself. (lit: He did (it) alone, he bit (himself)).’

However, other consultants offer examples with another construction, in which *falapetsi* behaves as a noun (cf. 8.2.3.2).

- Clauses with Transitive verbs

Again, we have two separate clauses, one with the verb *falapetsi*, another with the content verb (sometimes the order of the clauses is reversed). For instance:

- (42) *ha falapetsi ka_in ha tichi.*
 1 do.alone Foc/Tens 1 scarify
 ‘I scarified myself. (lit: I did (it) alone, I scarified (myself)).’
- (43) *ha fapti fatla chi_in ha falapetsi.*
 1 ear pierce Foc/Tens 1 do.alone
 ‘I ear-pierced myself.’ (lit: I did (it) alone, I ear-pierced (myself)).’

The effect of the juxtaposition is to inform the listener that the O argument of the content verb is coreferential with the A of the same verb (which it does not occur explicitly). In the examples in our corpus, the Ergative NP is always suppressed; we wonder if it would be possible to insert it, parallel to the possibility of having a Dative NP in the construction with Extended Intransitive verbs:

Ext. Intr.	[Abs; _i <i>falapetsi</i>]	[Abs; _i V (Dat; _i)]
Trans	[Abs; _i <i>falapetsi</i>]	[Abs; _i V (<u>Erg;_i ?</u>)]

In any case, what is clear from the examples above is that the Absolutive is the only required NP in the clause with the content verb, and this NP is coreferential with the Absolutive NP of *falapetsi*.

8.2.3.2. Falapetsi as object of the Instrumental postposition

With 3rd person reflexives, *falapetsi* is almost exclusively attested behaving as a noun modified by the Instrumental postposition. The suffix *-(e)a* ‘3 Poss’ indicates the nominal status of *falapetsi*.

For clauses with Extended Intransitive verbs, *falapetsi* can come in different positions. The Dative NP is not present in the clause:

- (44) *iyi make-n falapetsi-a letsi.*
 IYI bite-3Abs do.alone-3Poss Instr
 ‘He bit himself.’ (lit: he bit (himself), with his act of doing (it) alone.)
- (45) *falapetsi-a letsi iyi make-n.*
 do.alone-3Poss Instr IYI bite-3Abs
 ‘He bit himself.’ (lit: with his act of doing (it) alone, he bit (himself).)

When the 3rd person is plural, the clause can have both reflexive and reciprocal readings (although for reciprocal events, speakers usually use another construction; cf. section 8.3):

- (46) *wan falapetsi-a letsi wan hu'tsa-n.*
 PL do.alone-3Poss Instr PL see-3Abs
 'They saw themselves (in the mirror).'
 'They saw each other.'

For clauses with Transitive verbs, the Ergative NP is omitted. Again, *falapetsi* can occur in different positions:

- (47) *falapetsi-a letsi t̄ichī-n.*
 do.alone-3Poss Instr scarify-3Abs
 'She scarified herself.' (lit: with her acting of doing (it) alone, she scarified (herself))
- (48) *fapti fatla-n chī_in falapetsi-a letsi.*
 ear pierce-3Abs Foc/Tens do.alone-3 Instr
 'He ear-pierced himself.'
 (lit: he ear-pierced (himself) with his acting of doing (it) alone)
- (49) *falapetsi-a letsi axosualta fapti fatla.*
 do.alone-3Poss Instr young.man ear pierce
 'The young man ear-pierced himself.'
 (lit: with his act of doing (it) alone, the young man ear-pierced (himself))

8.2.4. Imperative

This short section is presented here as additional information on the issue of reflexivization. As already mentioned in previous chapters, the standard Transitive imperative requires the use of the particles *wa* or *waki*. However, when the imperative refers to a reflexive event, the particle used is *wana*, the same employed in the Imperative for (Extended) Intransitive verbs. For example:

- (50) a. *wa tichi.*
 Imp scarify
 ‘Scarify her.’
- b. *wana tichi.*
 Imp scarify
 ‘Scarify yourself.’
- (51) a. *waki husa*
 Imp tie
 ‘Tie it’
- b. *wa husa*
 Imp tie
 ‘Tie him/it (alive)’
- c. *wana husa*
 Imp tie
 ‘Tie yourself’

In other words, the reflexive Imperative construction has an addressee that is not an A, but rather of an S. This seems to be the same principle observed in the other reflexivization strategies: in reflexive constructions, the Absolutive is the relevant case and the Ergative seems to be “dismissed”. However, we cannot draw further conclusions here, because Imperative is not like the other moods with regard to argument structure (we cannot talk about suppression of the A argument, since this argument never occurs in the Imperative construction; cf. chapter 6, section 6.4); the “dismissing” of the Ergative NP is just suggested by the use of the Intransitive Imperative particle.

8.2.5. Conclusion: comparing the different strategies

In sum, in Trumai there are 3 different strategies for expressing reflexivization: (i)

both arguments are pronominal, (ii) non-Absolutive argument suppression; (iii) use of *falapetsi*. Below we contrast the 3 strategies:

- (52) a. NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} V
hai-tš ha kud tete.
 1-Erg 1 up.hair make.beautiful
 'I combed my hair.'
- b. NP_{Abs} V
ha kud tete.
 1 up.hair make.beautiful
 'I combed myself.' or 'I got combed (by somebody).'
- c. NP_{Abs} V
ha falapetsi ha kud tete.
 1 do.alone 1 up.hair make.beautiful
 'I combed myself.'

The first strategy is the one least used, especially in the case of Transitive verbs. The second and the third are more frequently attested, but the third strategy (use of *falapetsi*) is the most effective of all, because it specifies unambiguously that the event is reflexive. With the second strategy, there is always a risk of having not a reflexive reading, but rather an antipassive (for Extended Intransitive verbs) or a passive/middle interpretation (for Transitive verbs); the use of *falapetsi* eliminates this risk.

8.2.6. Reflexive possession

For the expression of reflexive possession in Trumai, the markers *tsi-* (for kinship terms) and *-ake/-ea* (for body part terms and related items)⁸ are used. In chapter 2 (cf. section 2.4.2), we saw that the control of these anaphoric possessive markers is

⁸ As already mentioned, body parts can be incorporated in the Transitive verb. See examples (37-38), with the term for 'ear'. We are not treating this case here, only the cases where the possessed NP is clearly independent from the verb.

pragmatically driven; that is, depending on contextual information, the marker can be coreferential to any of the arguments of the clause. For example:

• both A and O can be the antecedent

- (53) A O V
 [Yakairu]_i-k [Atawaka]_j etsi tsi_?-tle-tl.
 Yakairu-Erg Atawaka carry 3Poss-mother-Dat
 ‘Yakairu took Atawaka to her mother.’
[some listeners understand that the mother is Yakairu’s; others say that it is Atawaka’s]

• sometimes S is the antecedent; sometimes DAT

- (54) S V DAT
 [Yakairu yi]_i chi_in chafa ke [Atawaka]_j-tl dat-ea_i-tl.
 Yakairu YI Foc/Tens call KE Atawaka-Dat house-3Poss-Dat
 ‘Yakairu_i called (inviting) Atawaka_j to her_i house.’

- (55) S DAT
 pudits ke ka_in [adis pa wan yi]_i [kurapuu]_j-s [wan aton -ea_i hak].
 like KE Foc/Tens Indian collect PL YI hawk-Dat PL pet-3Poss Purp

 dat-ea_j-s hen wan yi chuda-n_i.
 home-3Poss-Dat then PL YI make-3Abs
 ‘Indians_i like hawks_j for their_i pets. They_i make their_j houses.’
 [example from chapter 2, recalled]

However, speakers have some special ways to clarify which argument is the possessor:

- In the case of clauses with Transitive verbs, speakers omit the Ergative NP, which may lead to passive interpretation (then, only the Absolutive NP will be the antecedent):

- Erg V-abs**
 (56) a. [*ine*]_i -k *etsi-n_j* *dat-ea_i -tl.*
 3-Erg carry-3Abs house-3Poss-Dat
 ‘He took her to his house.’

- V-abs**
 b. *dat-ea_j -tl* *etsi-n_j.*
 house-3Poss-Dat carry-3Abs
 ‘She was taken to her house.’

- use of demonstrative pronouns to point that the possessor is non-reflexive:

- (57) a. *iyi_i hu'tsa-n_i tsi_j -tle-tl.*
 IYI see-3Abs 3Poss-mother-Dat
 ‘He_i saw his_i mother.’
- b. *iyi hu'tsa-n k'anatl atle-tl.*
 IYI see-3Abs that.one mother-Dat
 ‘He_i saw his_j (that one’s) mother.’

- (58) a. *t_j -adif amidoxos inatl-ek_i.*
 3Poss-brother call 3-Erg
 ‘She_i called her_j brother.’
- b. *k'anatl adif amidoxos inatl-ek.*
 that.one brother call 3-Erg
 ‘She_i called her_j (that one’s) brother.’

- finally, the most radical change: spelling out the possessor in a full noun phrase

- (59) *Yakairu yi chi_in chafa ke Atawaka-tl Atawaka dat (h)ita.*
 Yakairu YI Foc/Tens call KE Atawaka-Dat Atawaka house Allat
 ‘Yakairu_i called (inviting) Atawaka_j to Atawaka’s house.’

8.3. Reciprocal constructions

As said before, the use of *falapetsi* with a plural subject may result in the sense of reciprocal action, but this is not the construction typically used to express reciprocity.

There is another construction, which involves one of two verbs: *iatla* (used with a dual

subject) and *eatla* (used with a plural subject). The content V and *iatla/eatla* come in separate clauses, each with its own Absolutive NP. The DAT argument of the Extended Intransitive verb and the A argument of the Transitive verb are understood to be coreferential with the Absolutive NP, but neither is attested as occurring explicitly.

Examples:

- (60) *wan fa fa-n wan eatla-n.* [Ext. Intrans. verb]
 PL hit/kill hit/kill Pl -3Abs
 ‘They hit each other.’
- (61) *a hu'tsa-n a iatla-n.* [Ext. Intrans. verb]
 Dual see-3Abs Dual -3Abs
 ‘They two saw each other.’
- (62) *wan hu'tsa-n wan eatla-n.* [Ext. Intrans. verb]
 PL see-3Abs PL -3Abs
 ‘They saw each other.’
- (63) *wan k'ad lan-e wan eatla-n.* [Transitive verb]
 PL hand cut-3Abs PL -3bs
 ‘They cut each other (lit: They hand-cut each other).’⁹

According to a consultant, the verbs *eatla* and *iatla* indicate that the participants perform the action on each other. However, it is a little hard to grasp the exact semantic content of these two forms. See the example below, taken from a text (note that the example contains three clauses in sequence; *eatla* is the verb for the second):

⁹ *lan* is a Transitive verb, but when in a reflexive (or reciprocal) use, the Ergative NP is absent from the clause:

- (i) *ine-k ha lan.*
 3-Erg I cut
 ‘He cut me.’
- (ii) *ha k'ad lan.*
 I hand cut
 ‘I cut myself.’ (lit: I hand-cut (myself))

- (64) *wan ami-n hen, wan eatla-n hen, wan ami-n hen.*
 PL speak-3Abs then PL -3Abs then PL speak-3Abs then
 ‘Then they talk **among themselves** (they are planning a trick).’
 (lit: They talk then; they act among themselves; they talk then)

An example like this suggests that the action is performed by a group of participants, is shared by them, and apparently it does not go beyond the group (i.e. it stays among the participants of the group). So, it makes sense that *eatla* and *iatla* can be used to express reciprocal events: they indicate that the experience is shared by a group/pair of individuals and is applied inside of the group/pair. However, we still lack a satisfactory verbal gloss for them. In future research, we will investigate further the semantics of these two verbs, and also check on the possibility of using the construction with *eatla / iatla* for reciprocal events involving first and second persons.

Chapter 9

Voice

In this chapter, we present the issues of voice manipulation in Trumai. Active Transitive clauses constitute the unmarked voice. The question is to determine how the marked voices (i.e. passive, antipassive) are expressed in Trumai.

Voice manipulation here (for the marked types) is defined as the pragmatic suppression of an otherwise obligatory argument, a definition based on proposals by Shibatani (1985) and Givón (1994). We adopted this definition in our study because, while Trumai does not present prototypical passive and antipassive constructions, the language does have strategies that create the same effects, that is, demotion of the agent (in passive) and demotion of the patient (in antipassive). The main strategy is simply to suppress one of the obligatory arguments.

The suppression of obligatory arguments is described in section 9.1, which is organized on the basis of the kind of argument that is omitted. Section 9.2. presents an alternative way of manipulating voice, without suppressing arguments. Finally, Section 9.3. analyzes the morpheme *wa-*, which may be linked to the expression of middle voice.

The presentation made in this chapter is just an overview of the facts observed in our data; it does not intend to explore in depth the issue of voice in Trumai, a task reserved for future studies, where we intend to better analyze the relationship between the reflexive and the middle voice constructions.

9.1 Simple argument suppression

9.1.1 Suppression of Absolutive

As showed in chapter 7, all clause types have an Absolutive NP. If the NP is not lexically present in the clause due to discourse (i.e. topic) continuity, the last element of the VP receives the 3rd person enclitic *-n/-e*. For example:

Intransitive clause

- (1)

NP _{Erg}	NP _{Abs}		NP _{Abs}	V-Abs
<i>dinoxoxo-k</i>	<i>Atawaka</i>	<i>tichi.</i>	<i>in-is</i>	<i>hen</i> \emptyset <i>pita-n.</i>
girl-Erg	Atawaka	scarify	it-Dat	then
				go.out-3Abs

 ‘The young lady scarified Atawaka_i. And then, she_i left.’

Extended Intransitive clause

- (2)

NP _{Abs}	V		Allat
<i>kiki</i>	<i>lax</i>	<i>kahmi</i>	<i>anewte (hi)'ta.</i>
man	hunt	Direc	woods

ina	hen	\emptyset	NP _{Abs}	V-Abs	NP _{Dat}
			<i>fa-n</i>	<i>kodetl-es.</i>	
there	then		V-3Abs	animal-Dat	

 ‘The man goes to hunt in the woods. There, (he) then kills animals.’

Transitive clause

- (3)

NP _{Abs}		V
<i>Ese yi</i>	<i>chi_in</i>	<i>akap ka'chi-ksi ke,</i>
Ese	YI	Foc/Tens

NP _{Erg}	NP _{Abs}	V-Abs
<i>tsi-tle-k</i>	\emptyset <i>iyi</i>	<i>midoxos-e.</i>
3Poss-mother-Erg		call-3Abs

 ‘Ese arrived here, and her mother called (her).’

Extended Transitive clause

- (4) a.

NP _{Erg}		NP _{Abs}	V	NP _{Dat}
<i>Atawaka-k</i>	<i>chi_in</i>	<i>Moro</i>	<i>kiyi</i>	<i>tsi-tle-tl.</i>
Atawaka-Erg	Foc/Tens	Moro	give	3Poss-mother-Dat

 ‘Atawaka gave Moro_i (a child) to her_i mother.’

	NP _{Erg}		NP _{Abs}	V _{-Abs}	NP _{Dat}
b.	<i>Atawaka-k</i>	<i>chi_in</i>	\emptyset	<i>kiŋi-n</i>	<i>tsi-tle-tl.</i>
	Atawaka-Erg	Foc/Tens		give-3Abs	3Poss-mother-Dat
	'Atawaka gave her _i to her _i mother.'				

However, there are instances in which the Absolutive is absent not because of discourse continuity; rather, its absence is due to pragmatic suppression of the argument. The suppression of the Absolutive argument produces different semantic effects, depending on the clause type and the semantic role that the Absolutive would have if it were lexically present.

For clauses with Intransitive or Extended Intransitive verbs, when there is no lexical subject and the 3rd. person enclitic is omitted, the clause has a generic sense, with the idea that some event is happening, but we cannot tell which entity is performing it (the event is described in a very vague way):

	NP _{Abs}	V	
(5)	<i>iyi</i>	<i>ami ka_in.</i>	
	IYI	speak Foc/Tens	
	'There is something speaking.' or '(It, something not identified) is speaking.'		

	NP _{Abs}	V	
(6)	<i>iyi</i>	<i>ora ka_in.</i>	
	IYI	crying Foc/Tens	
	'There is something crying.' or '(It) is crying.'		

	NP _{Abs}	V	
(7)	<i>iyi</i>	<i>sone ka_in.</i>	
	IYI	drink Foc/Tens	
	'There is something drinking.' or '(It) is drinking.'		

The examples above could be analyzed as producing an effect similar to the passivization that demotes Intransitive subjects, observed in some languages of the world

(such as Sanskrit or Dutch, which allow passivization of Intransitive verbs); that is, instead of describing that an entity is performing an event ('something is speaking'), the clause would rather be a statement that an event exists: 'there is speaking (by some indefinite entity)'. Notice that clauses that express natural phenomena or negative existential clauses also do not present a lexical subject nor the 3Abs enclitic:

(8) *tsi-xu'tsa ka_in iyi.*
 TSI-cold Foc/tens IYI
 'It is cold.' (the weather)

(9) *misu nik ka_in iyi.*
 water without Foc/Tens IYI
 'There is no water.'

[if the clause had the Abs enclitic, its semantics would be different: 'He does not have water.']

So, in some sense, examples (05-07) above are similar to negative existential clauses or natural phenomena clauses in that neither has S morphology. However, they are not the same; examples (05-07) cannot present the same word order as negative existential clauses (i.e. Pred Foc/Tens *iyi*):

(10) **ami ka_in iyi.*
 (There is something speaking.)

(11) **sone ka_in iyi.*
 (there is something drinking.)

We still need to understand better the relationship between existential clauses and examples such as (05-07). At the moment, what we can say with regard to the suppression of the Absolutive argument in clauses with (Extended) Intransitive verbs is that this kind

of suppression produces a clause that has a generic sense, not providing information about the agent of the event that is described.¹

The suppression of the Absolutive in clauses with Transitive or Extended Transitive verbs has a different semantic effect: antipassivization. Sometimes the verb does not present any sign of the Absolutive argument (i.e. no lexical Abs NP, no 3rd. person enclitic in the verb). This omission is observed when the patient/second participant is not relevant for the main discourse, not definite, unimportant; therefore, it does not need to be mentioned. Examples:

- (12) *wan sa-tke-n-es, wan tete-n hen.*
 PL dance-Des-3Abs-ES PL make.beautiful-3Abs then
 ‘When they want to dance, they get painted.’
- *ma nuk hen! - ina hen, midoxos midoxos hen.*
 let’s.go so then - there then call call then
 ‘Let’s go!’ - then, in this occasion, they call (other people, not defined here).’

If the patient was definite or important, the clause would be:

- (13) *ina hen, wan midoxos midoxos-e hen.*
 there then PL call call-3Abs then
 ‘Then, then, in this occasion, they call them.’ [3p Absolutive enclitic is present]

¹ Another possible way of not expressing who is exactly the agent - giving the clause a generic/indefinite sense - is to use the expression [*yaw paine*], which literally means ‘group of people’. A clause with [*yaw paine*] can be translated as ‘they (indefinite) do X’:

- (i) *yaw paine sone wirix-ki.*
 human.being group drink manioc.porridge-Dat
 ‘They (indefinite) drank the manioc porridge.’ or
 ‘The porridge was drunk (by somebody we do not know or do not want to say).’

However, even though the construction above could generate semantic effects similar to passivization, it is formally a clause in the active voice, with all its components, including the semantic agent.

We also observe the absence of the Absolutive enclitic *-n/-e* when the

patient/second participant is an inanimate entity:

- (14) *ha adif-atl chi_in hai-ts kiṭi.*
 1 brother-Dat Foc/Tens 1-Erg give
 ‘I gave gifts to my brother.’ (lit: I gave (something, not defined here) to my brother).
[it does not matter what I gave; what matters is my acting of giving gifts to my brother]
- (15) *hay chi_in hai-ts iyi husa.*
 already Foc/Tens 1-Erg IYI tie
 ‘I already tied (it).’

If the patient was salient or important, the clauses above would be:

- (16) *ha adif-atl chi_in hai-ts kiṭi-n.*
 1 brother-Dat Foc/Tens 1-Erg give-3Abs
 ‘I gave it/her (e.g. a child) to my brother.’ [3p Absolutive enclitic is present]
- (17) *hay chi_in hai-ts iyi husa-n.*
 already Foc/Tens 1-Erg IYI tie-3Abs
 ‘I already tied him/it (an animal).’ [3p Absolutive enclitic is present]

As already mentioned in chapter 7 (section 7.2.3.1), inanimate entities are not salient, so they are naturally good candidates to be omitted. An inanimate entity can become very salient if it is unique (for example, if it is the only exemplar found in a place). In this case, the inanimate Absolutive argument is marked in the clause:

- (18) *hele de hai-ts iyi puchu ka-n?*
 how/why already 1-Erg IYI disappear Caus-3Abs
 ‘Why did I lose it?’
[speaker is lamenting the loss of a knife, which was the only one he had in his house]

However, in texts and conversation, inanimate Absolutive arguments tend not to be formally expressed; that is, it is often the case that the 3 Abs enclitic is omitted when

argument has three possible semantic interpretations: passive (i.e. agent is demoted from the scene); reflexive or middle-grooming action (i.e. the entity performs the action on him/her/itself); middle-spontaneous event (i.e. there is no external agent). Each of these effects is described in the next subsections.²

9.1.2.1. Suppression of Ergative: passive effect

When the agent of a Transitive verb is indefinite or unimportant, it is omitted from the clause. More specifically, the Ergative argument is suppressed when the speaker does not know exactly who is performing the event (therefore, s/he cannot provide information about the agent), or when the agent is not relevant at all for what is being described (i.e. only the event itself matters). The Ergative argument can also be suppressed when the speaker does not want to tell who the agent is. Examples:

- (21) NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} $\text{V}_{\text{-Abs}}$
 Ø *iyi* *tako-n.*
 IYI bite-Abs
 ‘He was bitten.’ (by what? Something, not defined or identifiable).’

- (22) NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} $\text{V}_{\text{-Abs}}$
 Ø \emptyset *midoxos-e*, *ini-is* *hen* *pita-n.*
 call-3Abs, it-Dat then go.out-3Abs
 ‘She was called, then she left (the house).
 [it does not matter who called her. What matters is that she was called, and then left.]’

- (23) *ha ʔe werew de:*
 1 think a.little already

 “*pike t’ox alata tsile*”, *kale*,
 house ? ready hearsay like.that

² For the middle-grooming and middle-spontaneous event effects, we will present examples only with Transitive verbs, not with Extended Transitives, since in our corpus such effects were never attested with those verbs.

NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} V
 “ \emptyset ha wan midoxos tsile ”.
 1 PL call hearsay

I thought: “the house is ready”, (I thought) like that, “and we were called”.
 [who called? The speaker does not mention exactly who. He only suggests that the ones who called them would be some friends.]

NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} V
 (24) \emptyset ha hotaka de.
 1 deceive already

‘I was deceived.’ (by somebody, whose name I do not want to mention)

NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} V NP_{Dat}
 (25) *inatl yi-k* *chi_in* \emptyset *oke* *yi kiŋi* *ka* *ine-tl.*
 3 YI-Erg Foc/Tens medicine YI give Caus 3-Dat

‘She sent medicine to him.’ (lit: She made (somebody) give medicine to him.)

[she made somebody take the medicine and give it to him. It does not matter who was the giver (he was just an intermediary)]

9.1.2.2. Suppression of Ergative: reflexive or middle-grooming action

As already mentioned in chapter 8 (section 8.2.2), it is possible to express reflexivization of Transitive verbs through the suppression of the Ergative NP:

NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} V
 (26) a. *hai-ts* *Atawaka* *tichi.*
 1-Erg Atawaka scarify
 ‘I scarified Atawaka.’³

NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} V
 b. \emptyset *Atawaka* *tichi.*
 Atawaka scarify
 ‘Atawaka scarified herself.’ or ‘Atawaka got scarified (by somebody).’

³ The event of scarifying usually involves two participants, one performing the action on the other one (especially for scarifying the back part of the body).

The omission of the Ergative argument is also observed in the expression of events that are classified by Kemmer (1993a) as middle situation types, such as the grooming action of ‘combing hair’:

- (27) a. NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} V
 a. *inatl-ek* *ha* *kud* *tete.*
 3-Erg 1 up.hair make.beautiful
 ‘She combed my hair.’
- b. NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} V
 b. \emptyset *ha* *kud* *tete.*
 1 up.hair make.beautiful
 ‘I combed my hair.’ or ‘I got combed (by somebody).’⁴
- (28) a. NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} V
 a. *inatle-k* *ha* *mut* *tsitsu.*
 3-Erg 1 dress put
 ‘She dressed me.’
- b. NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} V
 b. \emptyset *ha* *mut* *tsitsu.*
 1 dress put
 ‘I dressed/got dressed.’

One could wonder why Trumai treats these two kinds of events - reflexive and grooming actions - in a similar way. In order to talk about this question, we first have to understand the relationship between these events.

Reflexive and middle situations are similar in one regard and different in another. The similarity is that in both kinds of event, the actor performs the action and undergoes its effects. The difference is that reflexive situation types involve events that prototypically encode two participants, one that performs the action (agent/executor), the

⁴Example (27b) is actually ambiguous: the person got combed in some way, probably by herself/himself (since this kind of event usually is performed on one’s own body), but also possibly by somebody else who is not important here. Apparently, the idea is that the event of combing simply happens, without much importance about who performed it. The same is true for example (28b).

other one that undergoes it (patient); in the case of the reflexive situation, the two participants are the same entity, but there is still the idea that the “basic” event involves two participants. Middle events are prototypically carried out on the executor himself/herself, not on a different entity; that is, in the “basic” event, only one participant is involved.

Because of their nature, middle situation types can be categorized in the languages of the world as Intransitive events (focusing on the fact that it is a one-participant event) or as reflexive events (taking into account that the executor both performs the action and undergoes it, similar to the reflexive situation).

Some of the events described by Kemmer (1993a) as middle situation types are categorized in Trumai as basic Intransitive events, and in order to express the Transitive sense (that is, when the action is being performed by one entity on another one), a causative construction is required. This is the case of ‘stand up’ and other changes in body posture:

- (29) a. *ha lakida ka_in.*
 1 stand.up Foc/Tens
 ‘I stood up.’
- b. *hai-ts axos lakida ka.*
 1-Erg child stand.up Caus
 ‘I lifted the child.’

Other events that are also of the middle kind, such as grooming actions, are categorized in Trumai as basic Transitives (that is, they are categorized as being an action that is carried out by one entity on another one), and in order to express the middle sense,

it necessary to “intransitivize” the verb through the omission of the Ergative NP. This is the case of *kud tete* ‘comb hair’, and other actions performed on body parts, such as:

	<i>mut tsitsu</i>	‘dress’
	<i>mut pupe</i>	‘undress’
	<i>tete</i>	‘paint (the body)’
	<i>piṭ kitikitiw</i>	‘scrub the body’
‘wash body parts’: ⁵	<i>pits’ xoxan</i>	‘wash the foot’
	<i>k’ad xoxan</i>	‘wash the hand’
	<i>kud xoxan</i>	‘wash the hair’

However, it is important to say that this strategy may lead to a passive reading, too (as in examples (2b) and (28b) above), because the suppression of the Ergative NP is also employed for demoting the agent, as exemplified in 9.1.2.1. We will return to this point later.

A final remark in this sub-section is that there is a problem of analysis with regard to example (28b): how should we analyze it? There are two possibilities:

- (i) ha [**mut tsitsu**] ‘I dress-put’
- (ii) [**ha mut**] tsitsu ‘My dress got put’

In the first option, we have noun incorporation (*mut* would be incorporated in the verb *tsitsu*). In the second analysis, there is no incorporation; *mut* ‘dress’ is part of the NP [*ha mut*], which as a whole is the Absolutive argument of the clause.

Clauses with 3rd person favor the first analysis. See the example below:

- (30) *fapṭi fatla-n* *chi(_in) ine-k.*
 ear pierce-3Abs Foc/Tens 3-Erg
 ‘He is piercing his (somebody else’s) ear.’

⁵ As mentioned before (chapter 7, section 7.2.3.1), *xoxan* ‘wash’ is one of the rare verbs that can be used both as Transitive and Extended Intransitive.

- (31) *fapfi fatla-n*.
 ear pierce-3Abs
 'He pierced his ear.'

The 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e* occurs on the verb when the Absolutive is not lexically present. If we say that *fapfi* 'ear' is part of the Absolutive NP, then in examples (30-31) there is a lexical item in the Abs NP; in this case, how can we explain the presence of the enclitic on the verb? One could say that example (30) is an instance of possessor raising and that the enclitic is on the verb because the possessor is not lexically present; but if that is the case, what is then the status of *fapfi* 'ear'?

A better solution would be to say that in examples (30)-(31) we have noun incorporation, and that the verb is actually [*fapfi fatla*] 'ear-pierce'; then, it makes sense that the enclitic *-n* occurs on the verb, since the Absolutive is not lexically realized. So, a more adequate translation for example (30) is 'He is ear-piercing him', while for example (28b) a better translation is 'I cloth-put'.

Another argument in favor of the first analysis is that in Imperative constructions with Transitive verbs, the O argument almost never occurs when it is a noun that refers to material objects; but when O is a body part or related term, it is always present in the construction:

- (32) a. *wana kud tete*
 Imp up.hair make.beautiful
 'Comb yourself!'
- b. *wa kud tete*
 Imp up.hair make.beautiful
 'Comb her (a child)'

(33) a. *wana mut pupe*
 Imp dress take.out
 'Undress yourself!'

b. *wa mut pupe*
 Imp dress take.out
 'Undress her (a child)!'

(34) *wana k'ad xoxan*
 Imp hand wash
 'Wash your hands!'

(35) *wana hon dima*
 Imp eye close
 'Close your eyes!'

Incorporation of body part terms is observed in many other languages of the world. (e.g. Paraguayan Guarani; Oluta Popoluca). This is a pattern already attested in human languages; therefore, it would be reasonable to say that Trumai also has the same phenomenon.

However, there is still a problem to be solved: the pattern observed in examples (30-31) also occurs with non-verbal predicates, like the ones below; in other words, this pattern is not exclusive to Transitive verbs in a middle/reflexive construction. Could we say that the examples below are also cases of noun incorporation?

(36) a. *ha lax mox.*
 I nose swollen
 'My nose is swollen.'

b. *lax yi mox-e.*
 nose YI swollen-3Abs
 'His nose is swollen.
 [perhaps: He is swollen (at) the nose. [external possessor ?]
 [perhaps: He has [a swollen nose]. [incorporation: [swollen nose]_v] ?]

- (37) *xop iye-n*
 mouth big-3Abs
 ‘His mouth is big.’
 [perhaps: He is big (at) the mouth. [external possessor ?]
 [perhaps: He has [a big mouth]. [incorporation: [big mouth]_v ?]

Velazquez (1996) describes the same kind of pattern in Paraguayan Guarani. In her analysis, the Paraguayan examples are indeed instances of noun incorporation. We believe that the same can be said for Trumai; however, we still want to investigate more the patterns observed above before having a definite analysis, because as we can see in example (36b), the morpheme *(i)yi* can occur with the “incorporated” noun. It might be that the presence of *(i)yi* can be considered a counter-argument for calling these examples cases of noun incorporation, but we cannot be certain until we identify the function of the morpheme *(i)yi* (as mentioned in chapter 2, section 2.2.7, the function of this morpheme is still not clear to us).

As we can see, there is no easy answer for the problem discussed here. In the current study, we are choosing the noun-incorporation analysis because this option seems to be more advantageous than the other one; however, we have to admit that there are still points that need to be better understood with regard to the patterns described in this section.

9.1.2.3. Suppression of Ergative: middle-spontaneous event

Events that can happen spontaneously, without any external agent, are also expressed in Trumai through the suppression of the Ergative NP. For instance:

- (38) NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} V
 a. *hait-s atlat mapa.*
 1-Erg clay.pan break
 ‘I broke the clay pan.’
- NP_{Abs} V
 b. *atlat mapa.*
 clay.pan break
 ‘The clay pan broke.’

Besides ‘break’, the pattern above is attested with the verbs ‘tear’ (*tararaw*), ‘burn’ (*tsisi*), ‘extinguish fire’ (*opi*), ‘close [door]’ (*mahan*). Events such as ‘open’, ‘dry’, ‘get wet’, ‘get dirty’, are categorized in Trumai as Intransitive events, and in order to have an event with external agent, the causative construction is required.

To summarize this section, we can say that the non-presence of the Ergative NP in a Transitive clause produces several semantic effects. All these effects have the same basic idea behind them: an event happens, an entity is affected by it (the Absolutive NP), but it is not clear who the agent of the event is, or even if there is an external agent at all. The status of the agent is very vague, and perhaps it is exactly this vagueness that allows the Ergative suppression to cover different functions:

- (i) there is no agent at all in the event: the event is spontaneous;
- (ii) there is an agent in the event, but this agent is not external; it is the same entity that is also experiencing the effects of the event. In this case, we have the middle-grooming action or reflexive interpretation. If the verb describes an event that typically requires two participants, the use of the verb *falapetsi* ‘make alone’ may be required, in order to

guarantee that the clause will have a reflexive and not a passive reading (cf. chapter 8, section 8.2.3);

(iii) the event has an agent, who is not the entity that is experiencing the effects of the event, but who is not somebody identifiable or really important for the discursive context.

In this case, we have the passive reading.

Of course, in order to distinguish one case from the others, contextual information will be necessary, telling the listener if the event happened with or without an agent. Also, the characteristics of the event itself will play a role: events that typically involve two participants are more likely to evoke a passive interpretation, and events that typically are performed on one's own body, without an external agent (such as grooming actions), probably will have a tendency for a middle/reflexive reading, since this kind of action is expected to be performed by the person herself/himself.

9.1.3. Suppression of Dative

Extended type clauses have a NP marked as Dative. This NP can be absent when recoverable by context:

(39) NP_{Abs} V
[kiki yi] hen lax pumu ke.
 man YI then hunt enter KE
 'The man entered to have a date.'

NP_{Abs} V NP_{Dat}
in-is hen, tsi-tle chi(_in) hen hu'tsa tsula ke \emptyset hen.
 it-Dat then 3Poss-mother Foc/Tens then see lie KE then
 'Then her mother, who was lying (in the hammock) saw (him).'

- (40) NP_{Abs} *ni'de esak* NP_{Erg} *chĩ_in kach hai-ts kiĩi* NP_{Dat} *ke Ø .*
 this hammock Foc/Tens later? 1-Erg give KE
 'I will give (you) this hammock.'
 [the implicit DAT here is the interlocutor, the person who asked for a hammock]

For clauses with Extended Intransitive verbs, the pragmatic suppression of the NP marked as Dative has two semantic effects: (i) antipassive interpretation (i.e. the “patient”-like participant is demoted from the scene); (ii) reflexive interpretation. The basic principle behind the suppression is that the “patient”/second participant is not explicitly expressed because it is not discursively important, or simply because there is no external second participant (the entity performs the event on him/her/itself).

The reflexive effect is observed with 1st and 2nd person subjects, and it was exemplified in chapter 8 (section 8.2.2). With regard to the antipassive effect, we observe that when a Trumai speaker is referring to an event that is habitual, and the “patient”/second participant is completely irrelevant for what is being said about the event, the “patient” can be omitted from the clause. For example:

- (41) *ha ma k'ate-ki.*
 1 eat fish-Dat
 'I ate a fish.'
- (42) *ha ma k'atsi huk'an.*
 1 eat be.seated still
 'I am still eating, being seated.'
 [it does not matter what I am eating. What matters is the act of eating]
- (43) *ha adifle yi ka_in ndakchi ke t'ak-es axos-pa wan ma hak.*
 1 sister YI Foc/Tens work.w/hand KE manioc.bread-Dat child-collect PL eat Purp
 'My sister is making manioc bread for the all the kids to eat.'
 [here, there is something to be said about the 'manioc bread' (they it will be eaten by the kids), so the Dative NP 'manioc bread' is present in the clause]

- (44) *ha adifle dakchi huk'an.*
 1 sister work.w/hand still
 'My sister is still making (manioc bread).'
[there are some activities that can be done with the hands, but the most referred to and usual one is 'to make manioc bread', so 'manioc bread' here is implicit by the cultural context. It does not need to be mentioned]

The case of the omission of the DAT argument of Extended Transitive verbs is a little more complicated. In general, the recipient NP of such verbs is omitted because it can be recovered by context. However, there are examples in which the Dative NP is omitted because apparently it does not matter who the recipient is. For instance:

- (45) V NP_{Erg} NP_{Abs} NP_{Dat}
kiŋi tak chi_in hai-ts Ø Ø .
 give Neg Foc/Tens
 'I will not give (it) away.'
 [some people were asking for my old cloth, but I decided not to give it away]
- (46) NP_{Erg} V NP_{Abs} NP_{Dat}
ine-k chi_in kiŋi tak iyi Ø
 3-Erg Foc/Tens give Neg IYI
 'He did not give (it) away.'

The question is to determine whether in the examples above there is suppression of the Dative because of pragmatic questions (i.e. recipient is unimportant), or rather because it can be recoverable by the context (i.e. a Dative NP such as 'to anybody' would be implicit in the examples). And, in case the suppression is due to pragmatic factors, how should we label the semantic effect obtained here? It could not be classified as an antipassive, since the Dative NP here is not "patient"-like. It is difficult to answer these questions; that is why the absence of the Dative NP in a Extended Transitive clause is hard to analyze. However, at least, one point can be made here: if the suppression is

indeed pragmatically driven, then we can say that the principle behind the omission of the Dative NP of a Extended Transitive verb is the same as the Dative NP of Extended Intransitive verbs: when the DAT argument is unimportant or irrelevant, it is not expressed in the clause, being taken out of the scene; that would occur independently of the semantic role of the DAT argument (i.e. “patient”-like or recipient).

To summarize section 9.1, we observe that in Trumai, voice manipulation can be achieved through the suppression of one of the arguments of the verb. Depending on the kind of argument that is omitted (Absolutive, Ergative, or Dative) and its semantic role in the clause (agent, patient), different semantic effects are obtained.

Now, let us see a different type of voice manipulation found in Trumai. This type does not involve suppression of arguments.

9.2. The “lexical Antipassive”

There are some events in Trumai that can be expressed by two possible verbs, one Transitive, the other Intransitive. Perhaps in previous stages of development of the language, the verbs had a slightly different meaning; however, nowadays they have similar meaning and in principle a speaker can choose either one or the other to express the event in question. Below, we have the pairs of verbs that can refer to the same event:

	<u>Ext. Intr.</u>	<u>Trans.</u>	
(47)	a. <i>fa</i>	<i>disi</i>	‘hit/kill’
	b. <i>make</i>	<i>tako</i>	‘bite’
	c. <i>chuda</i>	<i>kapan</i>	‘make’
	d. <i>dama</i>	<i>tuxa’tsi</i>	‘pull’
	e. <i>chafa</i>	<i>(a)midoxos/pit’a</i>	‘call’

What is interesting about these kinds of verbs is that, even though the speaker can choose either member of the pair, s/he has a tendency to choose the Extended Intransitive verb when the event has a 1st person agent performing an action on a 3rd person Patient, and a tendency to choose the Transitive verb when the agent is a 3rd person acting upon a 1st person patient. The schema below represents these tendencies, with examples following:

If 1Agt→ 3Pat:	Extended Intransitive verb	(1 S → 3 DAT)
If 3Agt→ 1Pat:	Transitive verb	(3 A → 1 O)

(48) S V DAT
ha fa-tke ka_in ine-tl.
 1Abs kill/hit-Des Foc/Tens 3-Dat
 'I want to kill/hit him.'

(49) O V A
ha disi-tke ka_in inak wan-ek.
 1Abs kill/hit-Des Foc/Tens 3 PL-Erg
 'They want to kill me.'

This tendency was originally observed in a study presented by Monod-Becquelin (1976). She points out that in a text about the murder of a Trumai individual (actually, the uncle of the narrator) by the Kayabi Indians, the Transitive verb *disi* and other Transitive verbs are often used when the narrator talks about the action of the Kayabi ('they') on the Trumai people ('we'). When the narrator tells about the revenge of the Trumai ('we') against the Kayabi ('they'), the use of Extended Intransitive verbs is more frequent.⁶

⁶ In the terminology used by Monod-Becquelin, *disi* is classified as a 'form ergatif', while *fa* is a verb with 'construction Sujet-Objet'.

This selection resembles the use of antipassive constructions. As we have already seen, Extended Intransitive verbs encode the agent as S and the “patient”/second participant as DAT, while Transitive verbs encode the agent as A and the patient/second participant as O. In some languages of the world, when the patient/second participant is high in importance, it is marked as O, and when it is not important, an antipassive construction is used, demoting the second participant to a peripheral position, such as Instrumental or Dative (cf. Givón 1994).

We have something similar occurring in Trumai: 1st person pronouns are higher in importance than 3rd person pronouns, since the first person pronoun refers to the speaker, while the third person pronoun refers to another entity, a non speech-act participant. Looking at the data above, we can see that when we have an patient high in importance (1st person pronoun), the Transitive verb is selected, marking the patient as O. However, when we have a patient low in importance (3rd person pronoun), then the Extended Intransitive verb is used, marking the Patient as DAT:

If Pat important:	Transitive verb is selected	(Pat = O)
If Pat less important:	Extended Intransitive verb is selected	(Pat = DAT)

Therefore, the choice between the pairs of verbs presented above produces an effect that is similar to that produced by Antipassive constructions, with the difference that the process here is not morphosyntactic; it is rather a matter of lexical choice, and it is limited by the number of alternating verb pairs available in the language.

However, it is important to say that the tendency described above is not observed when both agent and patient are 3rd person. Let us recall example (12) presented before:

(50) *wan sa-tke-n-es,* *wan tete-n* *hen.*
 PL dance-Des-3Abs-ES PL make.beautiful-3Abs then
 ‘They want to dance, they get painted.’

- *ma nuk hen!* - *ina hen, midoxos midoxos hen.*
 let’s.go so then - there then call call then
 “Let’s go!” - then, in this occasion, they call (other people, not defined here).’

In this example, the second participant in the event of ‘calling’ is not defined and seems to be not relevant for the event ; the important thing is the act of calling itself. Note that the verb (*a*)*midoxos* ‘call’ is a Transitive verb that has an Extended Intransitive counterpart, *chafa* ‘call’. The speaker could have selected *chafa*, following the tendency described before (i.e. when the patient is low in importance, the Extended Intransitive verb is used), but instead she chose (*a*)*midoxos* and omitted the 3rd person Absolutive enclitic, producing an antipassive effect.

Why did the speaker not select the Extended Intransitive verb? Perhaps she preferred the Transitive verb without the 3Abs enclitic because this strategy would produce a better coding of the importance of the second participant. That is, it might be that there is a gradation of importance of the patient/second participant depending on its case-marking, something like:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>Second participant Important:</i> | Transitive root with 3 Abs enclitic |
| * <i>Second participant not so important:</i> | Extended Intransitive root with DAT present (that is, second participant is still expressed in the clause, but in a peripheral position. The selection of the markers <i>-(V)tl, -ki, -(V)s</i> gives further specification on how peripheral the participant is (cf. chapter 7) |

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>Second participant even less important:</i> | Transitive root without 3 Abs enclitic (second participant is not marked/formally expressed in the clause) |
| * <i>Second participant completely unimportant:</i> | Extended Intransitive root without DAT at all (since the event is codified as basically Intransitive, the idea/presence of a second participant is even more vague here) |

This scale is just a speculation, formulated on the basis of what is known so far about the system of the language. More studies on texts will be necessary to confirm if this hypothesis is right. We also will need to check if there are other pairs of verbs like the ones described above, and to what extent their meanings overlap.

9.3. The Middle voice morpheme *wa-*

The final section of this chapter is dedicated to describing the morpheme *wa-*, which occurs on a few verbs. The classification of this morpheme is difficult. On the one hand, the kinds of verbs that can bear this morpheme suggest that *wa-* is an indicator of middle voice. On the other hand, the total number of verbs is very small, which makes it difficult to say that there is really a system behind the occurrence of *wa-*. Let us examine these points more carefully.

The majority of the verbs that can bear *wa-* are Intransitive and can be classified semantically under the middle situation type (according to Kemmer 1993a). The morpheme *wa-* may occur on the verb, but its presence is not always observed. First, we

will present the verbs that bear *wa-*; later, we will make comments on the semantic effects produced by the presence of the morpheme.

- body posture: *la* ‘be standing’

(51) a. *ha la ka_in.*
 1 be.standing Foc/Tens
 ‘I am standing.’

 b. *ha wa-la ka_in.*
 1 be.standing Foc/Tens
 ‘I am standing.’

- translational motion: *pita* ‘go out’
 chikida ‘travel’
 ka’chĩ ‘walk’
 puchu ‘disappear’
 pata ‘arrive’
 chĩ ‘go’⁷

(52) a. *ha pita ka_in.*
 1 go.out Foc/Tens
 ‘I am going out (from the house: I go out, I enter back).’

 b. *ha wa-pita ka_in.*
 1 go.out Foc/Tens
 ‘I am going out (I am moving out from the house, I am leaving it.)’

(53) a. *ha chikida de.*
 1 travel already
 ‘I am already going to travel.’

 b. *ha wa-chikida de.*
 1 travel already
 ‘I am already going to travel away.’

(54) a. *ha ka’chĩ de.*
 1 walk already
 ‘I am walking.’

⁷ The verb *chĩ* ‘go’ is different from the copula *chĩ*, as already mentioned in chapter 3, footnote 13. The semantic difference between *chĩ* ‘go’ and *kawa* ‘go’ is not clear.

- b. *ha wa-ka'chī de.*
 1 -walk already
 'I am walking/going away.'
- (55) a. *ha puchu chī(in).*
 1 disappear Foc/Tens
 'I disappeared.'
- b. *ha wa-puchu chī(in).*
 1 disappear Foc/Tens
 'I disappeared (and reappeared after a long time).'
- (56) a. *ha chī lamu de.*
 1 go Direc already
 'I am already going downriver.'
- b. *hi aton yi wa-chī de in.*
 2 pet YI -go already Foc
 'Your pet already went away.'
- (57) a. *ha wa-pata de.*
 1 arrive already
 'I already arrived.'
- b. **ha pata de.*
 (I already arrived.)
[the verb *pata* cannot occur without the prefix *wa-*]

There are also two Transitive verbs that can bear the morpheme *wa-*: *koṭkan* 'come together' and *padi* 'wait'. The classification of these two verbs under the middle type is a little more complicated, but still possible:

- naturally reciprocal-like: *koṭkan* 'come together'

- (58) a. *hai-ts sida yi koṭkan.*
 1-Erg paper YI bring.together
 'I bring the papers together.'

- b. *denetsak wa-koʃ'kan.*
 ghost/spirit bring.together
 'The ghosts are coming together.'
 [morpheme *wa-* here is required]

The verb *koʃ'kan* receives *wa-* only when the clause is not in its fully Transitive configuration; that is, *wa-* occurs on the verb when there is no Ergative NP in the clause and there is no idea of an external agent in the event (and, in this case, the occurrence of *wa-* is obligatory). In example (58b), the spirits come together naturally, by themselves; also, the spirits are carrying out the action on themselves; the relationship among the spirits is reciprocal with respect to each other. In this sense, the action of coming together can be seen as a kind of naturally reciprocal event (according to Kemmer (1993a), a middle situation type). Therefore, the occurrence of *wa-* in the example above seems to be linked to the expression of middle voice.

- mental activity-like: *padi* 'wait'
- (59) a. *hai-ts huk'an Atawaka padi.*
 1-Erg still Atawaka wait
 'I am waiting for Atawaka (it will be a quick waiting).'
- b. *hai-ts huk'an Atawaka wa-padi.*
 1-Erg still Atawaka wait
 'I am waiting for Atawaka (it takes time, so I cannot go away).'

This is the least middle-like of the verbs that receive *wa-*. Waiting is not exactly a mental activity; a person can wait for somebody physically, by standing in a place. However, we could argue that even in this situation, the event of waiting is much more a state of mind

for the one who waits than a real physical action (compare ‘wait’ with ‘dance’, ‘swim’, etc.). Also, the event of waiting affects the executor much more than the other participant, which is a kind of stimulus rather than a real patient. In this sense, *padi* ‘wait’ could be seen as similar to mental activities such as ‘remember’, ‘forget’, ‘believe’, etc. This being so, *wa-* again is occurring with a verb that expresses a middle situation type.⁸

In examples (51-59), we observe that *wa-* does not necessarily have to be present in the verb (the exceptions are *pata*, which always requires *wa-*, and *koṭ’kan*, which needs *wa-* when the clause has no Ergative NP). What is the semantic difference between the occurrence of a verb without the prefix *wa-* and the occurrence of the same verb with it? The chart below tries to show the contrast observed in these occurrences:

Table 9.1. The semantic effects of the presence of the prefix *wa-*

VERB	without prefix <i>wa-</i>	with prefix <i>wa-</i>
<i>pita</i>	‘go out’	‘go out and move away’
<i>chikida</i>	‘travel’	‘travel away’
<i>ka’chī</i>	‘walk’	‘walk/go away’
<i>puchu</i>	‘disappear’	‘disappear for a long time’
<i>chī</i>	‘go’	‘go/run away’
<i>padi</i>	‘wait’	‘wait for a long time’

When the verb has *wa-*, the event being described lasts longer (e.g. ‘disappear’, ‘wait’) or it is performed in a more radical way (e.g. ‘go out’, ‘walk’, ‘travel’). In some sense, the entity that is performing the event is more involved in it: the entity persists in

⁸ Observe that the verb *padi* remains Transitive even when the prefix *wa-* is used: in example (59b), the NP Ergative is present in the clause. Therefore, *padi* has a peculiar behavior, and the occurrence of the prefix *wa-* in this verb is probably a kind of “contamination”, because of the semantics it evokes. Kemmer (1993a) discusses many cases in Latin in which the semantics of the verb override its transitivity.

the event for more time, either because the event lasts longer or because the entity carries out the event more effectively. Given that the entity/executor is more involved in the event, it also undergoes some of its effects. In some cases, the effects seem to be more psychological than physical; at least, that is what is suggested by the restriction observed in the use of *puchu* ‘disappear’: this verb cannot receive the prefix *wa-* if the entity involved in the event is inanimate (an inanimate entity cannot undergo any psychological effect from the event of being lost for a long time):

- (60) a. *axos puchu.*
 child disappear
 ‘The child disappeared.’
- b. *axos wa-puchu.*
 child disappear
 ‘The child disappeared (for a long time).’
- (61) a. *sapaun puchu.*
 soap disappear
 ‘The soap disappeared.’
- b. **sapaun wa-puchu.*
 (The soap disappeared.)

In sum, the role of the morpheme *wa-* is to indicate stronger involvement of the executor in the event, and this involvement somehow affects the executor. As mentioned before, in middle situation types the entity performing the event is also affected by it. Therefore, the semantics evoked by the presence of *wa-* seem to be related to middle voice.

There are other arguments to say that *wa-* seems to be linked to the expression of middle voice:

- strong parallels with other languages in which similar kinds of verbs take middle markers (notice that the semantics of “away-path” created by the of *wa-* is also observed in the use of middle markers in romance languages);
- presence of at least one deponent verb (*pata* ‘arrive’), which always requires the marker *wa-*. All languages with middle voice markers seem to have deponent verbs;
- there is one case in which semantics overrides transitivity (*padi* ‘wait’). This is also observed in other middle voice languages (e.g. Latin).

However, as already mentioned, the prefix *wa-* is restricted to the verbs presented above. Other verbs that can also be classified as expressing middle situation types cannot bear *wa-*, such as:

- body posture: *aha'tsi* ‘sit’, *tsula* ‘lie’, *chumuchu* ‘lie down’
- translational: *pumu* ‘enter’, *kawa* ‘go’
- spontaneous events: *mapa* ‘break’, *tsisi* ‘burn’, *tararaw* ‘tear’
- mental activity: *hup* ‘know’; *falpuchu* ‘forget’;
falkamu ‘believe’; *falamata* ‘remember’

In other words, *wa-* is not a productive middle voice marker with broad distribution. Probably it was in the past; that is, probably in past times Trumai had a productive middle voice system, but now this system is breaking down. Thus, the distribution of the prefix *wa-* observed in the modern Trumai data is probably just a remnant of a middle voice marker that was etymologically more productive.

Chapter 10 Complex Sentences

In this chapter, we have the study of complex sentences in Trumai. First, we discuss the issue of coordination (section 10.1). After that, we present the different types of subordinate clauses found in this language. Section 10.2. presents the subordinate clauses that are arguments of the main verbs: Dative-Complements, Absolutive-Complements, and Direct Speech complements. Section 10.3. presents the subordinate clauses that are adverbials; that is, they are not an argument of the verb, but rather adjuncts that modify the VP or the entire proposition. In section 10.3.1. we have the adverbial clauses that are linked to the expression of time: (i) Temporal/Conditional clauses marked by *-is/-es*; (ii) Temporal clauses marked by *-ki/-tl*; and (iii) Simultaneity clauses. Next, we discuss the adverbial clauses that indicate the purpose and the cause/reason of a main event. These are the Purpose clauses (section 10.3.2) and the Causal/Reason clauses (section 10.3.3). The Purpose clauses are linked to the main clause through the subordinator *(a)hak*. The Reason/Causal clauses have two variants: in one, the clause is linked to the main clause through the connector *iets'*; in the other variant, the connector is *-ak*. Finally, in section 10.4., we introduce the clauses that function as the modifier of a NP of the main clause. These are the Relative clauses. As we will see, relative clauses in Trumai can come adjacent to the head NP they modify, but not necessarily.

After the characterization of each subordinate clause type, we will have a brief comparison among all them, analyzing their degree of integration with the main clause (section 10.5).

10.1. Coordinated clauses

10.1.1. Is there coordination of clauses in Trumai?

Trumai does not have a conjunction such as the English ‘and’ for the coordination of NPs or clauses. That fact is not surprising; according to Mithun (1988: 332-336), many languages do not have overt markers of coordination. Instead, they signal coordination through intonation. The clauses are combined with no intonation break, or with what Mithun calls a ‘coma intonation’, “...a pause and a special non-final pitch contour” (Mithun: 332). Juxtaposition and intonation alone are enough to signal coordination of noun phrases or clauses in these languages.

Juxtaposition and ‘coma intonation’ are used for the noun phrase coordination in Trumai (cf. chapter 2, section 2.1). In the case of coordination of clauses, the matter is more complex. There are three attested ways to combine clauses. The question is whether we can call any of them real instances of ‘coordination’.

(i) in one case, we have the strategy described by Mithun: two clauses are juxtaposed, and they are under the same intonational contour (the short pause between them is non-final). There is no explicit connector linking them, only the intonation. The relationship between the clauses is equal; each one has its own autonomy and can be used independently.

Examples:

- (1) *wan wa-koŋ'kan-e hen , wan sa-n hen.*
 PL WA-bring.together-3Abs then PL dance-3Abs then
 'They come together and dance.'
- (2) *wan kitiw kuma-n hen , wan tiami-kma-n hen.*
 PL grate Perf-3Abs then PL squeeze-Perf-3Abs then
 'They grate (all the manioc) and they squeeze (the grated manioc).'

The problem of this strategy is that in many examples from texts, the clauses that are under the same intonational countour are not really two different clauses being combined; rather, they are clauses being repeated (in some cases, the repetition leads to a refinement of the information; cf. examples (6-7)).

- (3) *wan wal-e hen, wan wal-e hen.*
 PL sing-3Poss then PL sing-3Abs then
 'They sing, they sing.'
- (4) *in-is hen husa husa-n, husa husa-n inak wan-ek.*
 it-Dat then tie tie-3Abs tie tie-3Abs 3 PL-Erg
 'Then (they) tie him, they tie him.'
- (5) *in-is hen t-eche yi hen hup ke, iyi hup-e de.*
 it-Dat then 3Poss-husband YI then know KE IYI know-3Abs already
 'Then her husband learns (it), he learns (it).'
- (6) *iyi ma'tsi-n hen, faxlo ma'tsi-n hen.*
 IYI pain/hurt-3Abs then son pain/hurt-3Abs then
 'She feels pain, she feels delivery pain.' (lit: son pain)
- (7) *pika-ki hen wan pumu kawa-n, wan sa pumu-n de.*
 house-Dat then PL enter go-3Abs PL dance enter-3Abs already
 'They enter in the house, they enter to dance.'

In other words, juxtaposition and 'coma intonation' may be used in Trumai to signal coordination of clauses, but they are not used exclusively for that purpose.

(ii) in the other strategy of combining clauses, two clauses are juxtaposed and linked by a discursive connector, such as *inis*, *in t'atske*, *in lots*'. These connectors are freely translated as 'and then', but actually each one has a specific meaning (cf. their analysis in section 10.1.2). The clauses come in sequence, and no clause is subordinate to the other; that is, they have a semantic/pragmatic relation, but they are not grammatically dependent on each other. For example:

(8) *kaina yaw ma kwache-n chi(in) wan yi waxudi-n.*
 there human.being eat tool-Loc Foc/Tens PL YI fight-3Abs

in-is hen Yakairu yi fa'tsa-tke tak wan waxudi yi-a-tl.
 it-Dat then Yakairu YI hear-Des Neg PL fight YI-3Poss-Dat
 'They (some guys) were fighting there in the kitchen. Then, Yakairu did not want to hear them fighting (or: their fight).'

The problematic point of this strategy is that there is a break between the two clauses; that is, the clauses are intonationally independent from each other. It seems that what we have here is linking between sentences rather than between clauses (in some examples, the clause with the connector *inis* follows a dialogue).¹ Thus, we cannot say that this is a strategy used for coordination of clauses in Trumai. In future research, we intend to analyze this kind of combination of clauses more carefully, in order to check whether there are differences in the length of the break between the clauses, and if that makes a difference in their combination.

¹For example:

- <i>hi oxa-a?</i>	"Are you pregnant?"
- <i>e'e - kale.</i>	"Yes" - she says.
- <i>ho'kela - kale.</i>	"Really?" - he says.

inis hen teche yi hen katmon tak.
 'Then, her husband does not work.'

(iii) finally, in the third way of combining clauses, we observe that two clauses are under the same intonational contour, and there is special morphology establishing the linking between them. This is the kind of data that consultants provide in elicitation, when asked about instances of coordination. For example:

- (9) *iyi wa-pata-n-es, iyi sone-n kafe-s.*
 IYI WA-arrive-3Abs-ES IYI drink-3Abs coffee-Dat
 ‘He arrived and drank coffee.’ (lit: When he arrived, (he) drank coffee).

The problem here is that the two clauses in the combination are not equally independent. The first clause, the one marked by *-es*, is a Temporal subordinate clause, which cannot occur by itself (cf. section 10.3.1.1). Therefore, this is not a real instance of coordination; it is just a way used by the consultant to translate examples of coordination from Portuguese (the language used for elicitation) into something parallel in their language.

In sum, the strategies described above are ways of combining clauses in Trumai, but it seems to us that none of them can be considered the typical strategy for coordinating clauses in this language (especially in the case of the third strategy, which is actually an instance of subordination). The two first strategies (juxtaposition plus ‘comma intonation’; juxtaposition plus use of discursive connectors) are kinds of combination that can be contrasted with the cases of subordination. So, rather than analyzing them as instances of ‘coordination’ (since we do not know if this term really fits here), we prefer to analyze them as instances of combination of clauses where subordination is not involved.

- (10) *ni'de pak-ki ka_in k'awixu yi xuxla pìx.*
 this month-Dat Foc/Tens rain YI rain a.lot

in-is hen pihmi tak di wan yi kut'a-ki ole-s.
 it-Dat then go.uphill Neg woman PL YI plantation-Dat manioc-Dat
 'In this month (January), it rains a lot. Then (more literally: at this), women do not go to the plantation for manioc.'

- (11) *Wari sone kafe-s. in_lots' hen wa-ka'chi-n.*
 Wari drink coffee-Dat it Ablat then WA-walk-3Abs
 'Wari drank coffee. And then he left.' (lit: From that, then he left.)

- (12) *ole-s ha wan kitìw.*
 manioc-Dat 1 PL grate

in t'atske hen ha wan tiami.
 it after then 1 PL squeeze

in-t'a lots' hen ole su yi laka.
 it-NzrEx Ablat then manioc juice YI prepare
 'We grate the manioc. Then, we squeeze (it). And then, (we) prepare the manioc juice.'
 (more literally: We grate the manioc. After that, we squeeze (it). From the end of that, (we) prepare the manioc juice).'

Another element that is used in linking of one clause to the preceding one is the adverb *ina* 'there', which refers to the place where the events are occurring. The event described in the second clause is then linked to the one in the first clause because the place where they occur is the same (therefore, the continuity of place helps to establish the link between/among the clauses). For example:

- (13) *hulaṭ (h)ita kaksu ha chi.*
 beach Allat in.past 1 Cop

ina hen ha laketsi hulaṭ oela-s.
 there then 1 have.walk beach center-Dat

ina hen ha ain ha pine wan tam.
 there then 1 play 1 friend PL Com
 ‘I went to the beach and I had a walk on the middle of the beach. And there I
 played with my friends.’
 (more literally: I went to the beach. There, then I had a walk on the middle of the beach. There,
 then I played with my friends).

However, in some examples *ina* does not refer to any physical location. It is used
 just to make the link between the clause where it occurs and the preceding one.

Apparently, this *ina* is already behaving as a discursive connector. For instance:

- (14) *tsi-tle-k* hen taf naha-n hen, taf naha-n hen.
 3Poss-mother-Erg then navel cut-3Abs then navel cut-3Abs then

ina hen huma ka-n hen...
 there then take.bath Caus-3Abs then
 ‘Then, her (pregnant woman’s) mother cuts its (baby’s) navel, (she) cuts its navel.
 And then, she baths the baby...’

10.1.3. A special case: clauses linked by the connector *ienuk tsi-(i)ets*’

This kind of combination of clauses represents a complicated case. Semantically
 speaking, the clause that has the connector *ienuk tsi-(i)ets*’ is very dependent on the
 preceding clause. Structurally speaking, the clause does not have the configuration of a
 Trumai subordinate clause. Let us see it in detail.

The clause linked by the connector *ienuk tsi-(i)ets*’ is different from the cases
 presented in section 10.1.2, because the second clause here does not express an event that
 merely comes in sequence to the preceding event; rather, it expresses an event that occurs
as a consequence of the preceding event. For instance:

- (15) *ayey ma'tsi ka_in. [ienuk tsi-(i)ets' oke-s sone-n aloke-loke].*
 grandpa sick Foc/Tens medicine-Dat drink-3Abs fast
 'Grandpa is sick, and because of that he will take medicine soon.'

A clause with these semantics (let us call it 'Consequential') would be a good candidate to be classified as a subordinate clause. Is that really the case?

When we compare the 'Consequential' clause to the Causal/Reason subordinate clause - which expresses the cause that makes the main event happen - we see that the Causal/Reason clause also employs the morpheme *iets'*, which can be glossed as 'reason' (the status of this morpheme will be discussed in section 10.3.3). For instance:

- (16) *ha xuy [[ha i'i] iets' fe'de-s].*
 1 run.away 1 be.afraid Reas jaguar-Dat
 'I run away because I am afraid of jaguars.'

However, while in the Causal/Reason clause the morpheme *iets'* comes at the end of the VP, like in the other Trumai adverbial clauses (cf. section 10.3), in the 'Consequential' clause it comes at the beginning of the clause, and it bears the morpheme *tsi-*. See the comparison:

Causal: [X] [[Z] *iets'*] 'X occurs because Z occurs'
Conseq: [Z] [ienuk *tsi-iets'* X] 'Z occurs. Because of **it**, X occurs'

What would be this prefix *tsi-*? In Trumai, there are several morphemes *tsi-*:

- as seen in chapter 2 (section 2.1), nouns can receive a morpheme *tsi-* that is an anaphoric possessor. For example:

- (17) *Karu wa-pata chi_in tsi-pine tam.*
 Karu WA-arrive Foc/Tens 3Poss-friend Com
 'Karu arrived with his friend.'

- when adjectives are not modifying a noun directly in an NP, but rather in an attributive predicate (i.e. [adjective]_{PRED} Foc/Tens [noun]_{SUBJ}), they can receive a morpheme *tsi-* (cf. chapter 2, section 2.2.4);
- when the hearsay particle *le* is not directly following the verb, it receives a morpheme *tsi-* (cf. chapter 5, section 5.4.1).

We cannot say that *tsi-* in all these cases is the same morpheme, since in nouns *tsi-* is clearly a possessor, while in the other cases *tsi-* is not. However, there is a point in common in all these cases: *tsi-*, despite its classification, seems to be indicating that the word that bears it (noun, adjective, particle) is not adjacent to the element that this word has its relationship to (i.e. the possessed noun is not adjacent to a possessor noun; the adjective is not adjacent to a modified noun; the hearsay particle is not adjacent to the verb). Perhaps the original function of the prefix *tsi-* was that (i.e., to indicate non-adjacency of two words that would usually be adjacent) and over time it assumed more specific functions, becoming a possessive morpheme in the case of nouns, and having other functions in the case of adjectives and particles.

The morpheme *tsi-* in ‘Consequential’ clauses can also be analyzed as indicating non-adjacency: the ‘Consequential’ clause describes event X; the reason Z that makes event X happen is not described in the same sentence (i.e. is not adjacent to it); rather, the reason Z is described in the preceding sentence. In other words, the morpheme *tsi-* here seems to have an anaphoric nature (it does not seem to be a possessive morpheme, but it is anaphoric):

[Z] [*ienuk tsi-iets'* X] 'Z occurs; because of it X occurs'

Thus, structurally speaking, the 'Consequential' clause cannot be considered a subordinate clause, because the antecedent and the consequence come in separate sentences. The presence of an intonational break between the two reinforces this analysis. The 'Consequential' clause is thus similar to the examples described in section 10.1.2 in the sense that this kind of clause is connected to the preceding clause by a connector that has an anaphoric element, and by the fact that this clause is not grammatically dependent on the previous clause (i.e. it can stand by itself).

However, in terms of semantic dependency, the 'Consequential' clause is a little different from the examples of the previous section, because the 'Consequential' shows a stronger semantic dependency on the preceding clause. The clauses presented in section 10.1.2. are linked to the previous discourse, but they still can be interpreted by themselves. The 'Consequential', in contrast, needs the previous clause/sentence to have its sense complete. The 'Consequential' clause is not subordinate, but is not like the clauses in section 10.1.2 (at least, not semantically speaking). It has a unique nature.

A final remark on the 'Consequential' clause is with regard to the morpheme *ienuk*. The morpheme *ienuk* is similar in form to the adverb *nuk* 'then', but it is not clear if *ienuk* is an allomorph of this adverb. The use of *nuk* is not possible, and the omission of *ienuk* is not allowed:

- (18) a.* *ayey ma'tsi ka_in [nuk tsi-(i)ets' oke-s sone-n aloke-loke]*.
 b. **ayey ma'tsi ka_in [tsi-(i)ets' oke-s sone-n aloke-loke]*.

However, although indispensable, the morpheme *ienuk* does not form a unit with *tsi-(i)ets'*, because words can be inserted between them, or *ienuk* can be in focus:⁵

(19) *k'awixu-k chï_in ha disi. ienuk de tsi-(i)ets' fad-ek ha xol.*
 rain-Erg Foc/Tens 1 hit/kill IENUK already TSI-IETS' flu-Erg 1 take?
 'The rain hit me. Because of that, the flu already took me.'

(20) *ha ʒe ka_in in lots' hi le.*
 1 imagine Foc/Tens it Abalt 2 hearsay

ienuk ka_in tsi-(i)ets' ha amikpi hi-tl.
 IENUK Foc/Tens TSI-IETS' 1 ask 2-Dual
 'I imagined that you (came) from there. Thus, I asked you (about a fact).'

So, the two morphemes must both be present in the clause, but their combination does not necessarily form a single element.

10.2. Complement clauses

A Complement clause is a clause that functions as the complement of:

- (i) an Extended Intransitive verb, such as *hu'tsa* 'see'; this is the Dative-Complement clause;
- (ii) a Transitive verb, such as *homne* 'find'; this is the Absolutive-Complement clause.⁶

These clauses are embedded in the main clause, occupying the typical position of a Dative or Absolutive argument. The subordinate verb in Dative-Complement clauses seems to be non-finite (it behaves as a possessed noun); the scenario is a little more

⁵ In Trumai, it seems that we can have only one Focus/Tense particle per sentence. In this case, example (20) confirms the fact that the 'Consequential' clause is not structurally subordinate to the preceding one, forming with it a single sentence.

⁶ By Absolutive clause, we mean here a clause that is an O argument. Cross-linguistically, it is possible to have not only a sentential O argument, but also S and A arguments. In future research, we will check to determine whether Trumai has subordinate clauses that function as S or A arguments of the main verb.

complicated for the verb of Absolutive-Complement clauses (the verb does not receive possessive morphology, but it cannot receive the 3Abs enclitic either).

10.2.1. Dative-Complement clauses

Subordinate clauses of the type described here are complements of verbs of perception - such as *hu'tsa* 'see' and *fa'tsa* 'hear' - and verbs of cognition, such as *faxla* 'think', *pudits* 'like', *mani* 'hate', *fatlod* 'wait', *hup* 'know', *falkamu* 'believe', *falpuchu* 'forget', *falamata* 'remember', and *iji* 'fear'. Other verbs that can take Dative-Complement clauses are the verbs of speech *ami* 'speak/say', *waimi* 'tell', and *hod* 'ask for'.

A Dative-Complement clause is similar to a simple independent clause with regard to argument structure and the presence of auxiliaries modifying the verb. The difference is that the verb (+ auxiliaries) of a Dative-Complement clause is not finite. As we will see, when the Absolutive is 3rd person, the verb does not receive the 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e*; instead it receives nominal morphology, the 3Poss enclitic *-(e)a*.

A clause of this kind is treated in the same way as an NP-complement of an Extended Intransitive verb: it comes after the main VP and it receives the Dative enclitic *-ki*:

S V [subordinate clause] - Dative marker⁷

⁷ However, like Dative NPs, sometimes the Dative-Complement clause can be fronted:

(i) [*tsifan atu lamu-ktsi*]-ki *chi_in ha hu'tsa*.
 thing dead come.downriver-Dir-Dat Foc/Tens I see
 'I saw a dead thing coming downriver spinning.'

- (21) *ha pudits ka_in [ha otl yi]-ki.*
 1 like Foc/Tens 1 sleep YI-Dat
 'I like sleeping.'
- (22) *iyi waimi-n chī(_in) [hi ma'tsi iyi]-ki.*
 IYI tell-3Abs Foc/Tens 2 sick IYI-Dat
 'He said that you were sick.'
- (23) *inatl yi chī_in waimi ke [kasoro disi yi]-ki.*
 3 YI Foc/Tens tell KE dog hit/kill YI-Dat
 'She said that the dog was being beaten.'
- (24) *ha hu'tsa chī(_in) [kiki-k hid etsi]-ki.*
 1 see Foc/Tens man-Erg arrow carry-Dat
 'I saw the man carry the arrow.'

However, there is a difference: in the case of NPs, the Dative marker comes at the end of the whole NP, not after one of its internal elements. Here, the Dative marker does not go on the end of the clause, but rather on the end of the VP:

- (25) *ha wan faxla [[ha wan homa homa]-ki [karaiw wan]-ek].*
 1 PL think 1 PL teach teach-Dat non.Indian PL-Erg
 'I think that the non Indian people are teaching us (how to write).'
- (26) *ha hu'tsa chī_in [[kiki yi fa fa la]-ki [fe'de yi-ki]].*
 1 see Foc/Tens man YI hit/kill stand-Dat jaguar YI-Dat
 'I saw the man killing the jaguar.'⁸

With an anaphoric third person Absolutive, instead of the expected enclitic *-n/-e*, the verb bears the third person possessive mark *-(e)a* (treated in chapter 2, section 2.4.2.2). Thus, the verb in the Complement clause appears not to be finite, behaving rather as an inalienably possessed noun.

⁸ Notice in this example that one *-ki* marks the Dative complement of the main verb 'see', which is the subordinate clause; the other *-ki* markers the Dative complement of the subordinate verb 'kill', which is the NP [*fe'de yi*].

- (27) *Yatamalu pudits ka_in [katmon-ea]-tl.*
 Yatamalu like Foc/Tens work-3Poss-Dat
 ‘Yatamalu likes (her) working.’
- (28) *ha hu'tsa chi_in [wan wal-ea-tl].*
 I see Foc/Tens PL sing-3Poss-Dat
 ‘I saw that they sang.’ or ‘I saw their singing.’
- (29) *inatl yi chi(_in) waimi ke [[disi-a]-tl axos-pa wan-ek].*
 3 YI Foc/Tens tell KE hit/kill-3Poss-Dat child-collec PL-Erg
 ‘It was her who told (me) that the kids killed it.’ (lit: told of its killing by the kids)
- (30) *pudits tak wan-e [wan tichi-a]-tl.*
 like Neg PL-3Abs PL scarify-3Poss-Dat
 ‘They do not like to be scarified.’ (lit: they do not like their scarifying)

Notice that when the 3Poss enclitic *-(e)a* occurs, the Dative marker is obligatorily *-tl* (the marker *-ki* is not possible; cf. example (31b) below). The enclitic *-(e)a* actually does not attach to the verb, but rather to the last element of the VP (32-33).

- (31) a. *Kumaru waimi chi(_in) [pa-a]-tl.*
 Kumaru tell Foc/Tens marry-3Poss-Dat
 ‘Kumaru told (me) that she married.’
- b. **Kumaru waimi chi [pa-a]-ki.*
- (32) *Matawai waimi hai-tl [[iyi alax kawa]-a]-tl.*
 Matawaki tell 1-Dat YI hunt go-3Poss-Dat
 ‘Matawai told me that he is going to hunt.’
- (33) *ha hu'tsa de [[xuy yi]-a-tl hai lots'].*
 I see already run YI-3Poss-Dat I Ablat
 ‘I saw it running away from me.’

The 3 Poss enclitic *-ea* can be co-referential with the subject of the main clause (which is S), but not necessarily:

- (34) *kiki yi iŋi ka_in [fakdits-ea-tl].*
 man YI fear Foc/Tens die-3Poss-Dat
 ‘The man_i fears he_j will die.’ or ‘The man_i fears he_j will die.’

As we can see in the examples above, the morpheme (*i*)*yi* often appears at the end of the subordinate VP, especially the ones marked by *-ki* (this is the same pattern observed with simple NPs). This morpheme does not often occur when the verb receives the 3Poss enclitic *-(e)a*, even though its occurrence in this environment is possible (again, it is the same scenario observed with simple NPs)⁹. The semantic difference between the presence or absence of the morpheme *yi* is not clear; the consultant was not able to explain it.

- (35) a. *ha hu'tsa chi(_in) [sa-a]-tl.*
 1 see Foc/Tens dance-3Poss-Dat
 ‘I saw her dancing.’
- b. *ha hu'tsa chi(_in) [sa yi-a]-tl.*
 1 see Foc/Tens dance YI-3Poss-Dat
 ‘I saw her dancing.’

A final remark with regard to Dative-Complement clauses is that tense/aspect differences in general are not expressed in the Dative clause; however, sometimes these differences can be expressed, through the use of auxiliaries or adverbs. The use of the Focus/Tense particles is not observed.

- (36) a. *Atawaka yi waimi hai-tl [pa-a]-tl.*
 Atawaka YI tell 1-Dat marry-3Poss-Dat
 ‘Atawaka told me that she got married.’

⁹ With simple NPs, the morpheme (*i*)*yi* can occur between the noun and the possessive marker:

- (i) *pan yi-a-tl.*
 food YI-3Poss-Dat
 ‘his food (Dative)’

b. *Atawaka yi waimi hai-tl [pa hat'ke-a]-tl.*
 Atawaka YI tell 1-Dat marry in.future-3Poss-Dat
 'Atawaka told me she will get married.'

[adverb]

(37) a. *Amati waimi [fakdits-ea]-tl.*
 Amati tell die-3Poss-Dat
 'Amati said that he (somebody else) died.'

b. *Amati waimi [fakdits chiketsi-a]-tl.*
 Amati tell die delayed.Incho-3Poss-Dat
 'Amati said that he (himself or somebody) is dying.'

[auxiliary]

10.2.2. Absolutive-Complement clauses

Subordinate clauses of the kind described here are complements of Transitive verbs such as *homne* 'find', *hupeka* 'show', *tao* 'give order', and *padi* 'wait'. Like the Dative-Complement clauses, an Absolutive-Complement clause is not different from a simple independent clause with regard to argument structure or the possibility of auxiliaries occurring after the verb. The difference is that with an anaphoric third person Absolutive, the subordinate verb does not receive the 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e*; instead the enclitic occurs attached to the main verb. Another difference is that at the end of the subordinate clause, it is possible to have the morpheme *(i)yi*, which follows the verb. In simple clauses, the morpheme *(i)yi* is never attested coming after the verb.

A clause that is the complement of a Transitive verb is treated in the same way its NP-complements are treated: it comes at the preverbal position and it has no marker (or: it is marked by $-\emptyset$):

A [subordinate clause] V

- (38) *hai-ts [Sula yi huma] padi.*
 1-Erg Sula YI take.bath wait
 ‘I waited for Sula to take a bath.’
- (39) *hai-ts chi(_in) [Kumaru-k Sula tichi] padi.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens Kumaru-Erg Sula scarify wait
 ‘I waited for Kumaru to scarify Sula.’

If the 3rd Absolutive NP is not lexically present in the subordinate clause, we have the occurrence of the 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e*. However, this enclitic appears on the main verb, rather than on the subordinate verb:

- (40) *hai-ts [huma] padi-n.*
 1-Erg take.bath wait-3Abs
 ‘I waited for her to take a bath.’
- (41) *hai-ts chi(_in) [Kumaru-k tichi] padi-n.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens Kumaru-Erg scarify wait-3Abs
 ‘I waited for Kumaru_i to scarify her_j.’
 (more “literally”: I waited for her to be scarified by Kumaru.)
- (42) a. *hai-ts chi(_in) [waṭkan] hupeka kawa-n Yakairu-tl.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens cry show go-3Abs Yakairu-Dat
 ‘I went to show Yakairu_i that he_j was crying.’
 (more “literally”: I went to show him crying to Yakairu.)
- b. * *hai-ts chi(_in) [waṭkan-e] hupeka kawa Yakairu-tl.*

When the Ergative argument in the subordinate clause involves 3rd person, pronouns are used (example (43b)). If the Ergative NP is not present, but the Absolutive NP is, the enclitic *-n/-e* does not occur, as expected (example (44b)).

- (43) a. *hai-ts chi(_in) [Atawaka-k atlat mapa] homne.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens Atawaka-Erg clay.pan break find
 ‘I found Atawaka breaking the clay pan.’

b. *hai-ts chī(in) [inatl-ek atlat mapa] homne.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens 3-Erg clay.pan break find
 ‘I found her breaking the clay pan.’

(44) a. *Alaweru-k chī_in [hai-ts axos disi] tao.*
 Alaweru-Erg Foc/Tens 1-Erg child hit/kill give.order
 ‘Alaweru ordered that I should beat the child.’

b. *Alaweru-k chī_in [∅ axos disi] tao.*
 Alaweru-Erg Foc/Tens child hit/kill give/order
 ‘Alaweru gave an order to beat the child.’

As we can see, there is an interesting phenomenon occurring here: in simple clauses, the enclitic *-n/-e* occurs when the Absolutive argument is not lexically present. In complex clauses like the examples above, *-n/-e* occurs not because the main Absolutive argument is not present, but because the subordinate Absolutive, which should occur inside of the main Absolutive, is not lexically present. It is a case of raising, that is, the Absolutive argument of the subordinate clause is marked not at the end of the subordinate VP, but after the main VP.¹⁰

Notice that in Absolutive-Complement clauses, the subordinate verb cannot receive the 3Poss enclitics, like the Dative-Complement clauses:

(45) * *hai-ts chī(in) [waṭkan-ea] hupeka kawa Yakairu-tl.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens cry-3Poss show go Yakairu-Dat
 (I went to show Yakairu; that he_j was crying.)

(46) * *hai-ts chī(in) [waṭkan-ake] hupeka kawa Yakairu-tl.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens cry-3Poss show go Yakairu-Dat
 (I went to show Yakairu; that he_j was crying.)

¹⁰ As mentioned in chapter 7, section 7.2.1, the verb of the Absolutive complement clause patterns with body part terms: the 3rd person “possessor” of the body part term goes on the Transitive verb; similarly, the Absolutive of the subordinate verb (which was originally the possessor of this verb, according to our hypothesis presented in chapter 5, section 5.1.3) goes on the main Transitive verb.

With regard to the morpheme (*i*)*yi*, it can occur at the end of the Complement subordinate clause - since the clause behaves as the Absolutive NP of the main verb:

- (47) *hai-ts chi(_in) [axos waṭkan yi] hupeka kawa Yakairu-tl.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens child cry YI show go Yakairu-Dat
 ‘I went to show Yakairu that the child was crying.’
- (48) *hai-ts chi(_in) [waṭkan yi] hupeka kawa-n Yakairu-tl.*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens cry YI show go-3Abs Yakairu-Dat
 ‘I went to show Yakairu that he was crying.’

However, it is not possible to have two morphemes (*i*)*yi* in the subordinate clause, that is, one (*i*)*yi* in the internal Absolutive, another one at the end of the subordinate clause, which itself behaves as an Absolutive NP:

- (49) a. *hai-ts [[iyi] sa] homne-n.*
 1-Erg YI dance find-3Abs
 ‘I found her dancing.’
- b. *hai-ts [sa yi] homne-n.*
 1-Erg dance YI find-3Abs
 I found her dancing.’
- c. **hai-ts [[iyi] sa yi] homne-n.*
 (I found her dancing).

It is not clear why the morpheme (*i*)*yi* presents this kind of restriction in its occurrence. Anyway, the possibility of occurrence of (*i*)*yi* at the end of Absolutive-Complement subordinate clauses help us to distinguish between main Transitive complement-taking verbs - which allow the presence of the morpheme - and auxiliaries - which do not allow it. Below, we can see that auxiliaries do not allow the morpheme (*i*)*yi*:

- (50) a. *ha sa hup ka_in.*
 1 dance know Foc/Tens
 ‘I can (know how to) dance.’

b. **ha sa yi hup ka_in*.

- (51) a. *pech pita-n*.
 run went.out-3Abs
 ‘He went out running.’

b. **pech yi pita-n*.

10.2.3. Direct Speech Complement clauses

As seen in section 10.2.1, when the complement of a verb of speech (such as *ami* ‘speak’ or *waimi* ‘tell’) is a subordinate clause, the clause is marked as Dative. However, these verbs have another way of expressing the complement; that is when direct speech is involved. Unlike the Dative-Complement clauses, Direct Speech clauses have a finite verb, followed by the hearsay particle. The Direct Speech clause comes after the main clause. Examples:

- (52) *ha ami chi(_in) Yatamalu-tl: Sapuya ma'tsi le*.
 1 say Foc/tens Yatamalu-Dat Sapuya sick hearsay
 ‘I said to Yatamalu: “Sapuya is sick” (quote).’
- (53) *Kumaru waimi: pa-n ale*.
 Kumaur tell marry-3Abs hearsay
 ‘Kumaru; told (me): “she; got married” (quote).’

It is interesting to observe that the cognition verb *faxla* ‘think, have in mind’ can also employ the Direct Speech clause, but this use results in semantic differences in relation to the use of the Dative-Complement clause:

- (54) a. *ha faxla chi(_in) men [iyi xuxla]-ki*.
 1 think Foc/Tens frustrative IYI rain-Dat
 ‘I was thinking of raining’. (I was wishing for rain.)

b. *ha faxla chü(in) men: iyi xuxla-n ale.*
 1 think Foc/Tens frustrative IYI rain-3Abs hearsay
 'I thought/imagined it was going to rain.' (lit: I thought: "It would rain" (quote))

(55) a. *ha faxla [pa-a]-tl.*
 1 think marry-3Poss-Dat
 'I am thinking of her marriage.' (I am remembering it, or I am planning it)

b. *ha faxla: pa-n ale.*
 1 think marry-3Abs hearsay
 'I thought/imagined she got married.' (lit: I thought: "She got married" (quote).)

The verbs *ami* 'speak/say', *waimi* 'tell', and *faxla* 'think' can use the Direct Speech clauses as an alternative way of reporting an event. However, the Direct Speech clause seems to be the only possible complement of the verb *te* 'imagine, suppose':

(56) *ha te: iyi sa-n ale.*
 1 imagine IYI dance-3Abs hearsay
 'I imagined he was dancing.' (lit: I imagined: "He was dancing" (quote).)

(57) a. *ha te: hi sa le.*
 1 imagine 2 dance hearsay
 'I imagined you were dancing.' (lit: I imagined: "You were dancing" (quote).)

b. **ha te hi sa-ki.*

Other verbs, such as the verb of perception *hu'tsa* 'see', do not allow the use of the Direct Speech clause, perhaps because of the semantic incompatibility with the hearsay particle:

(58) * *ha hu'tsa: pa-n ale.*
 1 see marry-3Abs hearsay
 (I saw her getting married/ I saw: "She got married" (quote).)

10.3. Adverbial clauses

The clauses presented in this section are not arguments of the main verb, they are just adjuncts bringing extra information. They are not embedded in the main clause; some of them are preposed to the main clause, others are postposed.

Adverbial clauses are different from simple independent clauses because they all have extra morphology at the end of the VP or at the end of the clause (when the word order is not verbal). This morphology can be a bound morpheme (such as *-is/-es*, in the Temporal/Conditional clauses, or *-ak* in the Causal/Reason clauses), or a free morpheme (such as *iets'*, in the Causal/Reason clauses, or *(a)hak*, in the Purpose clauses).

There is a difference between the subordinating morphemes found in the Adverbial clauses and the discursive connectors presented in section 10.1.2. In the internal composition of the discursive connectors, there is an anaphoric morpheme that refers to the preceding clause. The second clause is linked to the first one by this anaphoric morpheme, but is not structurally dependent on the first clause; the second clause is actually in a different sentence, and it stands by itself. The subordinating morphology found in the Adverbial clauses is not anaphoric, and the clauses do not stand by themselves; they necessarily come with a main clause, forming with it a single sentence. Another important difference is that the discursive connectors presented in section 10.1.2. come at the beginning of the clause, while the subordinating morphology of Adverbial clauses does not.

For all these reasons, we consider Adverbial clauses to be different from the cases presented in section 10.1.2. That is, they are not clauses merely linked to another one; rather, they are clauses that are dependent on a main clause.

10.3.1. Adverbial clauses linked to time

10.3.1.1. Temporal/Conditional subordinate clauses marked by -is/-es

A Temporal or Conditional subordinate clause refers to an event which is the point of reference in time for the main event (i.e. main event happens [when event X happens]), or which represents the conditions under which the main event happens (i.e. main event happens [if event X happens]).

A Temporal/Conditional clause is similar to a simple independent clause with regard to argument structure, the presence of auxiliaries modifying the verb, and the presence of the enclitic *-n/-e* when the Absolutive argument is 3rd person; in other words, this kind of subordinate clause seems finite. The difference is that the VP of a Temporal/Conditional clause receives extra-morphology, the morpheme *-(i)s* or *-(e)s*.

Subordinate clauses of this kind in Trumai come in the first position of the sentence, preceding the main clause, and often they are followed by the Focus/Tense particles or by adverbs.¹¹ For example:

¹¹ In some examples, the Focus/Tense particle does not follow the Temporal/Conditional clause, but rather it occurs inside the subordinate clause:

(i) [ka'ne tox-ki chit in ha laketsi kawa-s] ha hu'tsa hi atle-tl.
 that house-Dat Foc/Tens 1 visit go-S 1 see 2 mother
 'When I went to visit that house, I saw your mother.'

The occurrence of the Focus/Tense particle in both the Temporal/Conditional clause and the main is not attested. It seems that we can have only one Focus/Tense particle per sentence. Another kind of subordinate

- (59) *[hi wakepka-s] ka_in hai-ts mi'irau kiŋi hat'ke hi-tl.*
 2 return-S Foc/Tens 1-Erg necklace give in.future 2-Dat
 'When you come back, I will give you a necklace (made of shells).'
- (60) *[k'awixu xuxla napta-s] hen taf iyi wanpan.*
 rain rain begin-S then egg IYI crack
 'When the rain starts, the eggs crack.'

These clauses are marked by the morpheme *-(e)s* or *-(i)s*, which attaches to the end of the VP of the subordinate clause:

- (61) *[[ha sone-kma]-s] de kafe su yi-ki] t'ak yi-ki kiŋi Kumaru-k.*
 1 drink-Perf-S already coffee juice YI-Dat manioc.bread YI-Dat give Kumaru-Erg
 'When I finished drinking coffee, Kumaru gave me manioc bread.'
- (62) *[hai-ts [k'ate kuhmu-kma]-s] de Kumaru yi wa-pata.*
 1-Erg fish throw-Perf-S already Kumaru YI WA-arrive
 'When I finished throwing the fish away, Kumaru arrived.'

The allomorph *-(i)s* is used when the Absolutive argument of the subordinate clause is lexically realized (63-65); when it is not, the allomorph *-(e)s* is employed (66-68).

- (63) *[ha huma pila-s] chi(_in) moto yi pech pata.*
 1 take.bath ?-S Foc/Tens boat YI run arrive
 'When/As I was taking a bath, the boat arrived.'
- (64) *[ha olem-is] chi(_in) ha adifle wa-pata Kanarana lots'.*
 1 cook-IS Foc/Tens 1 sister WA-arrive Canarana Ablat
 'When/As I was cooking, my sister arrived from Canarana.'

clause that can also have the presence of the Focus/tense particle is the Reason/Causal clause (which, like the Temporal/Conditional, is also finite). Our hypothesis is that the occurrence of this particle is possible only for subordinate clauses that are finite.

- (65) [*Kumaru-k Alaweru tete-kma-s*] *hen hi wa-pata.*
 Kumaru-Erg Alaweru body.paint-Perf-S then 2 WA-arrive
 ‘When Kumaru finished body-painting Alaweru, you arrived.’
- (66) [*huma pila-n-es*] *chi_in moto yi pech pata.*
 take.bath ?-3Abs-ES Foc/Tens boat YI run arrive
 ‘When/As he was taking a bath, the boat arrived.’
- (67) [*olem-e-s*] *chi_in t-adifle wa-pata Kanarana lots’.*
 cook-3Abs-S Foc/Tens 3Poss-sister WA-arrive Canarana Ablat
 ‘When/As she was cooking, her sister arrived from Canarana.’
- (68) [*Kumaru-k tete-kma-n-es*] *hen hi wa-pata.*
 Kumaru-Erg body.paint-3Abs-ES then 2 WA-arrive
 ‘When Kumaru finished body-painting her, you arrived.’

In the case of the allomorph *-(e)s*, the variation between *-es* and *-s* is easy to describe: *-es* occurs when the VP receives the 3Abs allomorph *-n* (which is a consonant), as in example (66); *-s* occurs when the VP receives the 3Abs allomorph *-e* (which is a vowel), as in example (67).

The allomorph *-(i)s* is a little more complex. In the examples above, *-is* occurs when the last element of the VP ends in a consonant, and *-s* when it ends in a vowel (cf. examples (63-64)). However, if the subordinate clause presents the nominal predicate word order (i.e. Pred S), only *-is* can be used, and it goes on the last element of the clause, not at the end of the VP:

- (69) a. [*di tak huk’an Kokaro-is*] *tsi-u tam iyi mula-n.*
 have.woman Neg still Kokaro-IS 3Poss-father Com IYI share.house-3Abs
 ‘When Kokaro was not married yet, he used to live with his father.’
- b. **[di tak huk’an kokaro-s] tsi-u tam iyi mula-n.*
- (70) a. [*otl tak ka_in ha-is*] *ha demle hat’ke.*
 sleep Neg Foc/Tens 1-IS 1 get.tired in.future
 ‘If I do not sleep, I will be tired.’

b. *[otl tak ka in ha-s] ha demle hat'ke.

When the order is [S Pred], alternation between *-s* and *-is* is possible (although the use of *-s* with words ending in vowels is preferred):

(71) a. *ha ma-s ha yotl take.*
 1 eat-S 1 sleep Des
 'When I eat, I want to sleep.'

b. *ha ma-is ha yotl take.*
 1 eat-IS 1 sleep Des
 'When I eat, I want to sleep.'

A question is then raised: is the morpheme *-(V)s* here the same as the Dative marker that occurs with NPs? In terms of allomorphy, the morpheme *-(V)s* here is consistent with the Dative marker that occurs with NPs; that is, the Dative marker *-(V)s* also presents the allomorphs *-(i)s* and *-(e)s* (cf. chapter 2, section 2.3). In terms of semantics, there are also some similarities: the Dative marker *-(V)s* can also be found marking NPs that refer to time, with the sense of '(being) in the time' (cf. chapter 7, section 7.2.3.2). The problem is that, unlike the Dative-Complement clauses, the Temporal/Conditional clause is not nominalized; on the contrary, it can receive the 3Abs enclitic. There is no evidence that the clause is being treated as a NP. The morpheme *yi*, which occurs at the end of NPs, is not observed in Temporal clauses between the Verb + 3Abs and the marker -(V)s, that is, we do not find: [V-3Abs *yi*]-*-(V)s*.

Therefore, we cannot equate the marker *-(V)s* in Temporal/Conditional clauses with the Dative marker that occurs with NPs. Perhaps both markers were historically related, but in the current data, we analyze them as being different morphemes.

With regard to the time of the event expressed in the Temporal subordinate clause, we observe that it is somehow tied to the time of the event described in the main clause (i.e. they align, perhaps because the subordinate event is a point of reference in time for the main event; therefore, they have to be compatible). The time of the subordinate event will vary depending on the presence in the main clause of adverbs such as *nae* ‘always’ *kaksu* ‘in the past’, or *hat’ke* ‘in the future’:

- (72) [*iyi ma'tsi-n-es*] *iyi ora-n nae.*
 IYI sick-3Poss-ES IYI cry.shouting-3Abs always
 ‘When she is sick, she always cries.’
- (73) [*iyi ma'tsi-n-es*] *kaksu iyi pepen-e p̄ix.*
 IYI sick-3Abs- ES in.past IYI vomit-3Abs a.lot
 ‘When she was sick, she vomited a lot.’
- (74) [*hi wa-pata-s*] *kaksu ha yotl.*
 2 WA-arrive- S in.past 1 sleep
 ‘When you arrived, I slept.’
- (75) [*hi wa-pata-s*] *ka_de_in ha yotl tsula hat’ke.*
 2 WA-arrive- S Foc/Tens-already 1 sleep lie.down in.future
 ‘When you arrive, I will go to sleep.’

The “conditional” sense of the subordinate clause can occur when it refers to a habitual situation. That would be what Thompson and Longacre (1985) call ‘reality conditional’, i.e. a conditional that refers to real situations:

- (76) *yaw tichī-s yaw da iye le.*
 human.being scarify-S human.being leg big hersay
 ‘When/If a person is scarified, the person’s leg becomes big.’

The “conditional” sense can also occur when the main clause has the adverbs *hat'ke* or *ifke* ‘in future’. In this case, the subordinate clause refers to a future event, and since future events are unrealized, they are by nature more potential than real; then, the subordinate clause can have a “conditional” interpretation (that would be the ‘unreality conditional’).¹² For example:

- (77) [*wa-pata tak iyi-n-es*] *ha makdits hat'ke.*
 WA-arrive Neg IYI-3Abs- ES 1 sad in.future
 ‘If he does not arrive, I will be sad.’
- (78) [*pech pata tak afiaun yi-is*], *ayey de ha'tke chikida tak.*
 run arrive Neg airplane YI- IS grandpa already in.future travel Neg
 ‘If the airplane does not arrive, grandpa will not travel.’¹³
- (79) [*ha awe tadi pudits-is hai-tl*], *ha di ifke.*
 I uncle daughter like-IS 1-Dat 1 have.woman in.future
 ‘If the daughter of my uncle likes me, I will (perhaps) get married.’

Thompson and Longacre (1985:193) point out that in many languages there is no distinction between temporal (‘when’) clauses and conditional (‘if’) clauses. As they say, “...the distinction between *when* and *if* clauses is simply one of degree of expectability, and is a distinction which many languages do not code.”

As already said, the Temporal subordinate clause comes at the first position of the sentence. Sometimes the order can be changed, if the event in the main clause happened

¹² With regard to the kinds of unreality conditional that Thompson and Longacre mention (‘imaginative unreal’, which refers to a situation that might happen or might have happened; ‘predictive unreal’, which refers to a situation that we predict will happen), we need more research. Our hypothesis is that the difference between the imaginative unreal and the predictive real may be expressed through the use of the adverb *men* ‘frustratively’; that is, we imagine that the imaginative unreal conditional will have this adverb, because often it is the case that the clauses in which *men* occurs refer to unreal or counterfactual situations (cf. examples in chapter 3, section 3.4).

¹³ Notice that the marker used in this example is *-is*, not *-s*, which is not accepted here (the subordinate clause presents a non verbal word order):

(i) **pech pata tak afiawn yi-s*, *ayey de hat'ke chikida tak.*

before the one in the subordinate clause. In this case, the subordinate clause comes at the end of the sentence (the order is iconic: the event that happened first comes first):

- (80) *hai-ts kaksu tsinuk de yuduṭ kiṭi ine-tl [hi wa-pata-s].*
 1-Erg in.past ? already bench give 3-Dat 2 WA-arrive-S
 ‘I already had given the bench to him when you arrived.’

However, the change of order from [Temporal-Main] to [Main-Temporal] is rare.

Rather, we have a change in the event that is coded as subordinate:¹⁴

- (81) *otl-e-es chi(_in) de hi wa-pata.*
 sleep-3Abs-S Foc/Tens already 2 WA-arrive
 ‘When he slept, you arrived.’ (he slept first, then you arrived)
- (82) *hi wa-pata-s chi(_in) de otl-e.*
 2 MV-arrive-S Foc/Tens already sleep-3Abs
 ‘When you arrived, he slept.’ (you arrived first, then he slept)

Another way of indicating which event happened first is to express explicitly that the main event occurred before or after the subordinate one. For the expression of ‘after’, there is the morpheme *t’atske*, which is probably a postposition. For the expression of ‘before’, the noun *huk* ‘front’ plus a Dative marker is used.¹⁵ Unlike the Temporal/Conditional clauses, the ‘Before/After’-Temporal clauses come at the end of the sentence:

¹⁴ Actually, the event coded by the Temporal clause occurs before the event expressed in the main clause, or it occurs simultaneously with it, as in examples (63-64).

¹⁵ The noun *huk* can be found in examples like the ones below:

- (i) *iawn huk-an*
 cat front-Loc
 ‘in front of the cat’
- (ii) *pike huk-an*
 house front-Loc
 ‘in front of the house’

- (83) *ha huma-ktsu hat'ke [ha ain kuma t'atske].*
 1 take.bath-Dir in.future 1 play Perf after
 'I will take a bath after I finish playing.'
- (84) *hai-ts ka_de_in k'ate yi kuhmu hat'ke [hi wakepka huk-ki].*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens-already finish YI throw in.future 2 return front-Dat
 'I will throw the fish away before you return.'
 (lit: I will throw the fish away in front of your returning.)

We cannot tell from these examples whether we have a more nominal or a more finite subordinate clause structure. In future research, the next step will be to try these same examples with 3rd person, because then we can check if these kinds of Temporal clause are indeed functioning as NPs, that is: [NP after]; [NP in front of]-Dat.

10.3.1.2. Temporal subordinate clauses marked by -ki/-tl

Like the Temporal/Conditional clause marked by *-(V)s*, the Temporal clause presented in this section comes before the main. The difference between them is that the Temporal/Conditional clauses marked by *-(V)s* are finite, while the Temporal clauses with *-ki* or *-tl* are not.

Another difference is that the Temporal clause marked by *-ki/-tl* refers to a state rather than to an event. That is, this kind of Temporal clause indicates that the entity is already in the state that resulted from a previous event, and this state is the point of reference for the main event.

The subordinate verb receives the nominalizer *-t'a*, and it is marked by *-ki* or *-tl*

(which here are probably Dative markers, since the verb is clearly nominalized). The marker *-ki* is used when the possessor of the nominalized verb is lexically present; if the possessor is the anaphoric enclitic *-(e)a*, then the marker will be *-tl*. Examples:

- (85) *[ha pa-t'a-ki] ka_de_in hi wakepka hat'ke.*
 1 marry-NzrEx-Dat Foc/Tens-already 2 return in.future
 'When you come back, I will be already married.'
 [lit: At my being married, you will come back]
- (86) *[ha fakdits-t'a-ki] ka_de_in hi wakepka hat'ke.*
 1 die-NzrEx-Dat Foc/Tens-alredy 2 return in.future
 'When you come back, I will be already dead.'
 [lit: At my death/my being dead, you will come back]
- (87) *[fakdits-t'a-a-tl] ka_de_in hi wakpeka hat'ke.*
 die-NzrEx-3Poss-Dat Foc/Tens 2 return in.future
 'When you come back, she will be already dead.'
 [lit: At her death/her being dead, you will come back]

The use of the markers *-ki* and *-tl* with this Temporal clause makes it very similar to the Dative-Complement clause, which also receives this marking (cf. section 10.2.1). The major difference between these two types of subordinate clause is the role they have in the main clause: the Dative-Complement clause represents one of the arguments of the main verb, while the Temporal clause presented here is merely an adverbial. Also, their position in the sentence helps to separate the two kinds of subordinate clause: as said before, Dative-Complements in general come after the main verb, while Temporal clauses marked by *-ki/-tl* always come at the beginning of the sentence.

10.3.1.3. Simultaneity subordinate clauses

These clauses refer to an event that is occurring simultaneously to another one, and both events have the same agent. This kind of clause is modified by a morpheme *tam*, and in general (but not always) comes at the first position of the sentence:

- (88) [*ha pech tam*] *chi(_in)* *ha pumaŋ.*
 1 run Foc/Tens 1 scream
 ‘I run screaming.’
- (89) [*ha sa tam*] *ha wal.*
 1 dance 1 dance
 ‘I sang dancing.’
- (90) [*ha waŋkan tam*] *chi(_in)* *hai-ts axos homne.*
 1 cry Foc/Tens 1-Erg child find
 ‘Crying, I found the girl.’¹⁶

What is the morpheme *tam* that occurs in these examples? It is a little tricky to determine what this morpheme is, because in Trumai there are two morphemes *tam*: (i) a postposition with the sense of ‘Comitative’ that comes always after an NP; (ii) an adverb with the sense of ‘too’ that can come in different positions.¹⁷ For instance:

Postposition:

- (91) *Makarea tam chi_in ha sa.*
 Makarea Com Foc/Tens 1 dance
 ‘I danced with Makarea.’

Adverb:

- (92) *a'di hen tam tsul taf-es ha wan te.*
 many then too river.turtle egg-Dat 1 PL gather
 ‘We also got many river turtle eggs.’

¹⁶ If the child is the one who is crying, we have a simple complement clause:

- (i) *hai-ts [axos waŋkan] homne.*
 1-Erg child cry find
 ‘I found the child crying.’

¹⁷ Perhaps it is just a coincidence, but the adverb for ‘too’ in Portuguese is *também*.

- (93) *te yi-ki hen tam Yakuta yi chafa?*
 who YI-Dat then too Yakuta YI call
 ‘Who else did Yakuta call?’ (lit: Who did Yakuta call too?)

So, given the fact that there are two morphemes *tam* in Trumai, how can we interpret examples (88-90) above? To decide, we have to look at sentences that involve 3rd person agents, like example (94) below. Then, we can see that the verbal root *sa* ‘dance’ behaves as a noun here, receiving the 3rd Possessive enclitic *-(e)a*, which occurs when followed by a Dative mark or a Postposition. Therefore, what we have in the examples below and in examples (88-90) is the Postposition *tam*.

- (94) [*wan sa-a tam wan wal-e.*
 PL dance-3Poss Com PL sing-3Abs
 ‘They sang dancing.’ (lit: With their dancing, they sang).’
- (95) [*huma-a tam iyi waŋkan-e.*
 take.bath-3Poss Com IYI cry-3Abs
 ‘He took a bath crying. (lit: With his bathing, he cried).’
- (96) *ha adifle yi chi_in [waŋkan-ea tam] ami ke.*
 1 sister YI Foc/Tens cry-3Poss Com speak KE
 ‘My sister spoke crying.’ (lit: With her crying, my sister spoke.)¹⁸
- (97) *axos yi ka_in [manke-a tam] waŋkan ke.*
 child YI Foc/Tens feed-3Poss Com cry KE
 ‘The child ate crying.’ (lit: With her feeding, the child cried.)
- (98) *t’ak-es hen wan chuda-n [wan wal-ea tam].*
 manioc.bread-Dat then PL make-3Abs PL sing-3Poss Com
 ‘They make manioc bread singing.’ (lit: They make manioc bread with their singing.)

Observe that the Trumai speakers are able to distinguish the morpheme *tam* ‘Comitative’ from the adverb *tam* ‘too’, even though sometimes the environment where

¹⁸ Here, we can see that the Simultaneity clause can come also inside the main.

they occur can look very similar (of course, the similarity occurs only with 1st and 2nd person agents):

- (99) *ha sa tam.*
 1 dance too
 'I dance, too.'
 [in a independent clause, *tam* is interpreted as the adverb 'too']
- (100) [*ha sa tam*] *ha wal.*
 1 dance Com 1 dance
 'I dance singing.'
 [in a subordinate clause, *tam* is interpreted as the postposition 'Comitative']

In sum, to express that one event is happening simultaneously with another and that both events have the same agent, one employs the postposition *tam* 'Comitative' after the verbal root, which behaves as a possessed noun. This kind of subordinate clause is similar to the Temporal clauses that receive *-ki/(V)tl* and to the Dative-Complement clauses in the sense that the subordinate verb is not finite. However, in terms of marking, the Simultaneity clauses represent a different type of subordinate clause, since the Comitative is never a core argument.

10.3.2. Purpose subordinate clauses

A Purpose subordinate clause refers to an event which is the target of the main event. This kind of clause is like simple independent clauses with regard to argument structure, possibility of occurrence of auxiliaries after the verb, and the occurrence of the 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e*; in other words, this kind of clause is finite. What makes the Purpose clause different from independent clauses is the presence of extra morphology, the subordinating morpheme *(a)hak*, which establishes the connection between the Purpose

clause and the main clause. Purpose clauses come always at the end of the sentence, following the main clause.

The subordinating morpheme (*a*)*hak* comes after the VP (101-105). When the word order is not typical, (*a*)*hak* comes at the end of the Purpose clause (106). The allomorph *hak* occurs when the preceding word ends in a vowel, and *ahak* when it ends in a consonant (although there are exceptions, such as examples (105-106)). Examples:

- (101) *hai-ts chi(_in) k'ate yi wawa-ksi* [*[hi otle]* *hak*].
 1-Erg Foc/Tens fish YI carry-Dir 2 roast Purp
 'I brought fish for you to cook.'
- (102) *daint'a-s ha waimi axos-pa wan-ki* [*[wan hup-e]* *hak*].
 story-Dat 1 tell child-collect PL-Dat PL know-3Abs Purp
 'I will tell stories for the kids to know.'
- (103) *alax-e chi(_in) yayanke-s* [*[ma-n]* *ahak*].
 hunt-3Abs Foc/Tens deer-Dat eat-3Abs Purp
 'He hunted deer to eat.'
- (104) *ha adifle yi ka_in dakchi ke t'ak-es*
 1 sister YI Foc/Tens work.w.hand KE manioc.bread-Dat

[[axos-pa wan ma] hak k'ate tam].
 child-collect PL eat Purp fish Com
 'My sister is cooking manioc bread for all the kids to eat with fish.'
[here we can see that *hak* comes after the VP]
- (105) *in-is hen tsi-tle-k sone ka-n oke-s* [*[open-e]* *ahak*].
 it-Dat then 3Poss-mother-Erg drink Caus-3Abs medicine-Dat vomit-3Abs Purp
 'Then her mother makes her drink medicine in order to vomit.'
- (106) *det'a ha wan faxla* [*karaiw-ak hotaka tak ha wan hak*].
 well 1 PL think non.Indian-Erg deceive Neg 1 PL Purp
 'We think well, in order to not be deceived by the non Indians.'
[*hak* at the end of the clause]

In some examples, the Purpose clause comes not after an Intransitive or Transitive clause, but after an imperative construction:

- (107) *aloke wana wakepka [ha ami hak hi-tl].*
 fast Imp return 1 speak Purp 2-Dat
 ‘Come back soon, in order for me to talk to you.’
- (108) *akap [hait-s hi tichī hak].*
 come.here 1-Erg 2 scarify Purp
 ‘Come here, to be scarified by me.’

A final remark with regard to Purpose clauses is that the 3Abs enclitic in the clause can be coreferential with either the Ergative or Absolutive NP in the main clause.¹⁹

For instance:

- (109) *di yi midoxos chī_in Wari-k [iyi sa-n ahak].*
 woman YI call Foc/tens Wari-Erg IYI dance-3Abs Purp
 ‘Wari_i invited the woman_j to ø_j dance.’
- (110) *Kumaru-k Atawaka dakchī ka t’ak-es [iyi ma-n ahak].*
 Kumaru-Erg Atawaka cook.bread Caus manioc.bread-Dat IYI eat-3Abs Purp
 ‘Kumaru_i made Atawaka_j make manioc breads to ø_i eat.’
[this example is a little ambiguous; it could also mean that Kumaru, who usually cooks for her kids, asked her daughter Atawaka_j to make her_j own food]

10.3.3. Causal (reason) subordinate clauses

A Causal/Reason clause refers to an event that is the reason or cause that motivated another event to happen.²⁰ This kind of clause is finite (i.e. the 3Abs enclitic can occur), but it presents extra morphology at the end of the VP: the morpheme *iets’* or

¹⁹ This fact is also true for the Causal/Reason subordinate clauses, which are also finite and which come after the main clause too.

²⁰ The term used by Thompson and Longacre (1985:185) for this kind of adverbial clause is ‘reason clauses’. We personally prefer the term ‘causal’, because of the relationship that this kind of clause has with the ‘Consequential’ clauses described in section 10.1.3. Making a compromise, we use the term Causal/Reason to label the clause type described in this section.

the marker *-ak*. The Causal/Reason clause comes at the end of the sentence, after the main clause.

The morpheme *iets'* comes after the VP, if the clause is the typical verbal predicate order (111-112), or after the verb/predicate, if the word order is not verbal (113-115):

- (111) *hi waṭkan [hi ao-k [hi isit'ke] iets']*.
 2 cry 2 father-Erg 2 scold Reason
 'You cried because your father scolded you.'
- (112) *ha xuy [[ha iṭi] iets' fe'de-s]*.
 1 run.away 1 be.afraid Reas jaguar-Dat
 'I run away because I am afraid of jaguars.'
 (same as example (16))
- (113) *ha makdits χi_in [midoxos tak iets' ha χi inak wan-ek]*.
 1 sad Foc/Tens call Neg Reas 1 Cop 3 PL-Erg
 'I got sad because they did not call me.'
- (114) *Amayki waṭkan [hu'tsa tak iets' iyi-n morokore'a yi-ki]*.
 Amayki cry see Neg Reas IYI-3Abs owl YI-Dat
 'Amayki cried because she did not see the owl.'
- (115) *fakdits tak iyi-n [pix yumane iets' de iyi-n]*.
 die Neg IYI-3Abs big Intens Reas already IYI-3Abs
 'It (a worm) does not die because it is already too big.'

Examples (114-115) show that the Causal/Reason subordinate clause is finite, since the 3Abs enclitic occurs. However, notice that the enclitic and the subordinator *iets'* do not occur side-by-side. Apparently, they are incompatible: the sequence [V+ 3Abs *iets'*] is not allowed.²¹ Rather, speakers switch to the construction with *-ak*. For example:

²¹ The sequence [[V]_N+3Poss *iets'*] is also not attested.

(116) a. **iyi xuy-e* [*iyi iḡi-n* *iets'* *fe'de-s*].
 IYI run.away-3Abs IYI be.afraid-3Abs Reas jaguar-Dat
 (He ran away because he is afraid of jaguars.)

b. *iyi xuy-e* [*iyi iḡi-n-ak* *fe'de-s*].
 IYI run IYI be.afraid-3Abs-AK jaguar-Dat
 'He ran away because he is afraid of jaguars.'

(117) a. **iyi waḡkan-e* [*inak wan-ek disi* *disi-n* *iets'*].
 IYI cry-3Abs 3 PL-Erg hit/kill hit/kill-3Abs Reas
 (He cried because they beat him.)

b. *iyi waḡkan-e* [*inak wan-ek disi* *disi-n-ak*].
 IYI cry-3Abs 3 PL-Erg hit/kill hit/kill-3Abs- AK
 'He cried because they beat him.'

The marker *-ak* seems to be a suppletive form of *iets'*, because *-ak* is used in combination with the 3rd Absolutive enclitic, while *iets'* is incompatible with it. The marker *-ak* comes at the end of the VP. It is still not clear what the difference might be between example (115), with *iets'*, and example (121), with *-ak*.

(118) *iyi pumaḡ-e* [*kawao-k* [*iki-n*]-*ak*].
 IYI scream-3Abs wasp-Erg sting-3Abs-AK
 'He screamed because a wasp stung him.'

(119) *Atawaka makdits chi_in* [[*midoxos tak iyi-n*]-*ak* *inak wan-ek*]
 Atawaka sad Foc/Tens call Neg IYI-3Abs- AK 3 PL-Erg
 'Atawaka got sad because they did not call her.'

(120) *Amayki waḡkan* [[*hu'tsa tak iyi-n*]-*ak* *morokore'a yi-ki*].
 Amayki cry see Neg 3-Abs- AK owl YI-Dat
 'Amayki cried because she did not see the owl.'

(121) *fakdits tak iyi-n* [*pix yumane de iyi-n-ak*].
 die Neg IYI-3Abs big Intens already IYI-3Abs- AK
 'It (a worm) does not die because it is already too big.'

The use of *-ak* allows a fact that is not observed in simple independent clauses: with verbs ending in a consonant, there are two possibilities for the occurrence of the 3Abs enclitic: the allomorph *-e* or *-n*.

- (122) a. *Wari ma chi_in pişik-es [iyi alax-e-ak].*
 Wari eat Foc/Tens monkey-Dat IYI hunt-3Abs-AK
 ‘Wari ate monkey because he hunted (it).’
- b. *Wari ma chi_in pişik-es [iyi alax-n-ak].*
 Wari eat Foc/Tens monkey-Dat IYI hunt-3Abs-AK
 ‘Wari ate monkey because he hunted (it).’

One could wonder if the sequence *alaxeak* in example (122) should be analyzed actually as *alax-ea-k*, that is, hunt + 3Poss + *-k*. The problem is that if the 3Poss morpheme *-(e)a* were involved here, then we should have it with verbs ending in a vowel as well, but that is not possible, as we can see in (123):

- (123) a. *Amayki waşkan [iyi wapta-n-ak].*
 Amayki cry IYI fall-3Abs-AK
 ‘Amayki cried because she fell.’
- b. * *Amayki waşkan [iyi wapta-a-k].*
 Amayki cry IYI fall-3Poss-AK
- c. * *Amayki waşkan [iyi wapta-ea-k].*
 Amayki cry IYI fall-3Poss-AK

Therefore, the sequence *alaxeak* is better analyzed as *alax-e-ak*, that is, hunt + 3Abs + *-ak*.

The marker *-ak* is suspiciously similar to the Ergative marker *-(V)k*. The difference is that the allomorphs *-k* or *-ek*, which occur for the Ergative marker, are never observed with Causal/Reason subordinate clauses:

- (124) a. *Sula sa [iyi sa hup-e-ak]*.
 Sula dance IYI dance know-3Abs-ak
 ‘Sula dances because she knows how to dance.’
- b. *Sula sa [iyi sa hup-n-ak]*.
 Sula dance IYI dance know-3Abs-ak
 ‘Sula dances because she knows how to dance.’
- c. **Sula sa [iyi sa hup-e-k]*.
- d. **Sula sa [iyi sa hup-e-ek]*.

Perhaps the similarity between the marker *-ak* and the Ergative marker *-(V)k* is due to historical facts; that is, it might be that *-ak* came from the Ergative marker. Notice that in Causative constructions, *-(V)k* marks the Causer of the event; the event coded in the Causal/Reason clause in some sense is the “Causer” of the main event. Therefore, it would make sense that the Ergative marker would have its use extended to mark the Causal/Reason clauses. However, in the current stage of the language, the marker *-ak* cannot be equated with the Ergative marker. We do not have here a Causative construction in the strict sense (the Causative morpheme is never observed in the data). Also, there is no evidence that the Causal/Reason clause is being treated as a NP. Its verb is finite, and the morpheme *(i)yi* is not observed between the Verb+3Abs and the marker

-ak.²² Even if the marker *-ak* and the Ergative marker *-(V)s* are historically related, in the current data we prefer to analyze them as being different morphemes.

With regard to *iets'*, as already mentioned in section 10.1.3, both the Causal/Reason clauses and the 'Consequential' ones have a morpheme *iets'*. The morpheme *iets'* of 'Consequential' clauses receives a prefix, *tsi-*, which seems to be an anaphoric morpheme. The question is whether *tsi-* is a possessive morpheme, like the *tsi-* that occurs in nouns. If that is the case, what then would be the status of the morpheme *iets'*? Could *iets'* be a noun, with the sense of 'motivation' or 'reason'? This is an etymological possibility. The problem is that *iets'* cannot be possessed by other forms (like pronouns), nor it is found in possessive predicates:

(125) **hi iets'*
 2 motivation
 (your motivation)

(126) **ha fax taxer ka_in. ha iets' ka_in.*
 1 upset Foc/Tens 1 motivation Foc/Tens
 (I am upset. I have a motivation.)

Another problem is that in the Causal/Reason clause, *iets'* modifies the VP. In no other part of Trumai grammar is a noun observed doing this. Therefore, we do not have

²²However, there are few examples, like the one below, where the morpheme *yi* occurs, but then the 3Abs enclitic is omitted:

(i) *iyi achikida-n [wapta (i)fke yi-ak].*
 1YI jump-3Abs fall in.future YI-ak
 'He jumped because he was going to fall.'

It is not clear to us what the difference would be between the example above and an example in which the 3Abs enclitic is used (i.e. *wapta ifke iyi-n-ak*). That is a point for future investigation. The parallel of example (i) with 1st person is:

(ii) *ha (a)chikida chi(_in) [ha wapta (i)fke iets'].*
 1 jump Foc/Tens 1 fall in.future Reas
 'I jumped because I was going to fall.'

any obvious reason to say that *iets'* is a noun. Perhaps originally it was a noun, but in the current data *iets'* behaves as a clause linker. The question remains as to which kind of linker it is. We cannot call *iets'* a subordinator, given that it also occurs in the 'Consequential' clause, which is not subordinate. However, *iets'* cannot be aligned with the discursive connectors of section 10.1.2 either, given that these connectors do not modify VPs. Perhaps a better way of dealing with this problem would be to say that the morpheme *iets'* of Causal/Reason clauses is etymologically related to the morpheme *tsi-(i)ets'* of 'Consequential' clauses, but not exactly the same, given their differences in position and behavior.

Finally, with regard to the relationship between Causal/Reason clauses and 'Consequential' clauses, we observe that both kinds of clause express a relationship of cause-and-consequence between two events. However, the relationship is framed in different ways, as already mentioned in section 10.1.3:

Causal/Reason:	event X occurs [because event Z occurs]
Consequential:	event Z occurs. [As a consequence, event X occurs]

In other words, while Causal/Reason clauses codify the "causer" event, 'Consequential' clauses codify the "consequence" event. So, despite the structural difference between these two kinds of clauses, there is a semantic similarity between them. The 'Consequential' can be seen as a "mirror" of Causal/Reason clauses, and the use of one or the other seems to be pragmatically motivated. In (127a-b), the relationship between the events X (cry) and Z (cut hand) is the same: Z leads to X. However, the order

the events are presented in is different, depending on which event is the topic of the conversation:

- (127) a. *ha waṭkan, ha k'ad naha iets'*.
 1 cried 1 hand cut Reas
 'I cried because I cut my hand.' (lit: I hand-cut)
- b. *ha k'ad naha. ienuk tsi-(i)ets' ha waṭkan.*
 1 hand cut IENUK TSI-IETS' 1 cry
 'I cut my hand. Thus, I cried.'

Although possible, example (127b) was not considered so good by one of our consultants.

According to him, the second event is not so connected to the preceding one. The consultant suggested this other example instead:

- (128) *ha k'ad naha iets', ienuk tsi-(i)ets' ha waṭkan.*
 1 hand cut Reas IENUK TSI-IETS' 1 cry
 'I cut my hand, and because of that I cried.'
 [lit: Because I cut my hand, because of that I cried]

Notice that in example (128), the first clause presents the morpheme *iets'*. According to the consultant, *iets'* is used here to signal to the listener that there is a consequence for the event being described, so the listener can expect a continuation for what is being said. Without *iets'*, there is no anticipation of the consequences of the event.

This kind of anticipation is observed in texts, when the “consequence” event sometimes is caused by several other events. The “causer” events can also use the construction with *-ak*:

- (129) *yaw-as de mu'sone ke wan yi-n-ak* ,
 people-Dat already devour KE PL YI-Abs-ak

yaw-as de api ke wan yi-n-ak ,
 people-Dat already take KE PL YI-3Abs-ak

ienuk tsi-(i)ets ka_in ha wan ku "kuŋ".
 ienuk tsi-iets' Foc/Tens 1 PL name ghost
 'Because they devour people, because they take (kidnap) people,
 because of that we name them "ghosts".'

10.4. Relative clauses

In this section, we will have an overview of how restrictive relative clause in Trumai are organized.²³ This is just a general characterization of this type of clause in the language under study. Other issues concerning them (such as possible ambiguity with regard to which NP in the main is modified by the relative clause) will be explored in future studies.

A relative clause (S_{REL}) is a clause that modifies a noun in the main clause (the *head*); in the case of Trumai, the relative clause modifies an NP, so we will call it the *head NP*. Inside S_{REL} , the NP that is relativized (NP_{REL}) is coreferential with the head NP.

According to Keenan (1985:146-155), there are several ways for marking which argument of the relative clause is NP_{REL} . The possibilities are: (i) NP_{REL} can be a personal pronoun; (ii) it can be a relative pronoun; (iii) NP_{REL} can be a full NP; (iv) NP_{REL} is omitted in the relative clause (gapping). The strategy used in Trumai relativization is gapping.

In Trumai, when NP_{REL} is **Absolutive**, the verb in the relative clause (V_{REL}) is modified by the relativizer *ke*. There are some examples in which V_{REL} ends in a vowel

²³ Due to the limitations of our current corpus, we will not talk about non-restrictive relative clauses, and clauses in which NP_{REL} is an NP possessor or an NP object of a postposition.

and is modified not by *ke*, but rather by *-k*, although this is not consistent.²⁴ When the relative clause refers to a past event, V_{REL} receives the nominalizer *-t'(a)*.

In some examples with Absolutive NP_{REL} , the morpheme *(i)yi* is found at the end of the relative clause (134). This fact indicates that the relative clause is being treated as an NP. The possibility of occurrence of a Dative marker following some relative clauses is further evidence for their nominal nature (137). It is not problematic that Trumai relative clauses are like NPs, since NP NP_{mod} constructions are also attested in the language (cf. chapter 2, section 2.1); however, the relative clause not always follows the head NP; it can come in other positions too (we will talk more about that later). Below, we have examples:²⁵

NP_{REL} is S

(130) a. [*axos yi*]_i [\emptyset _i *huma ke*] *wapta ke*.
 child YI take.bath RlZR fall KE
 ‘The child who is bathing fell’.²⁶

b. [*axos yi*]_i [\emptyset _i *huma-t' ke*] *wapta ke*.
 child YI take.bath-NZREx RlZR fall KE
 ‘The child who took a bath fell.’

[past event: V_{REL} bears the nominalizer *-t'(a)*]

(131) a. [[*di*]_i [*nichits* \emptyset _i *ka'chī pata ke*]]-*k* *mī'irau kiñi hai-tl*.
 woman now walk arrive RlZR-Erg necklace give 1-Dat
 ‘The woman who is arriving gave me a necklace’.

²⁴ As mentioned in chapter 5 (section 5.1.2), the nominalizer *-k(e)* that is used to create new lexical items is sensitive to the last sound of the word it modifies, while the relativizer *ke* found in clefts is not. The question is to know whether the morpheme *-k* that is found in some relative clauses is the relativizer or the nominalizer. It could be interpreted as being the nominalizer, given its form. In many Amerindian languages, nominalizations function as relative clauses; apparently, in Trumai nominalizations can also function as (or: can be translated as) relative clauses sometimes. Thus, the examples of relative clauses with *-k* are not entirely unexpected. However, it is true that in relative clauses, the relationship between *-k(e)* and *ke* is not so clear as in the environments described before (i.e. creation of lexical items versus clefts). Notice that in some examples, V_{REL} ends in a vowel and is modified by *ke* (the relativizer).

²⁵ Some examples here involve the action of ‘beating’, ‘killing’, or ‘tying’. These verbs were chosen simply because they are good examples of Transitive verbs; they are used here only to illustrate the analysis, and do not intend to reflect the Trumai culture or the daily activities of the Trumai people.

²⁶ Just as a reminder: the second morpheme *ke* in this example is not the Relativizer, but the morpheme *ke* discussed in chapter 5 (i.e. the morpheme that occurs when the Absolutive NP is not right before the verb).

b. *[[di]_i [nichits̄ ϕ_i ka'chī pata-t' ke]]-k mi'irau kiḡi hai-tl.*
 woman now walk arrive-NzrEx RlZr-Eg necklace give 1-Dat
 'The woman who just arrived gave me a necklace.'

(132) *[di yi]_i [ϕ_i huma-ktsu-k] wa-padi ke ine yi-k.*
 woman YI take.bath-Dir-Nzr? WA-wait KE 3 YI-Erg
 'He is waiting for the woman who is bathing.'
 [V_{REL} is modified by *-k* rather than *ke*]

(133) *ine yi-k ka_in [di yi]_i wa-padi [ϕ_i huma-ktsu-t' ke].*
 3 YI-Erg Foc/Tens woman YI WA-wait take.bath-Dir-NzrEx RlZr
 'He is waiting for the woman who went to take a bath.'

(134) *ine yi-k ka_in [di yi]_i wa-padi [ϕ_i esa kawa-t' ke yi].*
 3 YI-Erg Foc/Tens woman YI WA-wait dance go- NzrEx RlZr YI
 'He is waiting for the woman who went to dance.'
 [morpheme (i)yi at the end of S_{REL}]

(135) a. *ha hu'tsa [di]_i-tl [ϕ_i esa ke]-tl.*
 1 see woman-Dat dance RlZr-Dat
 'I saw the woman who is dancing.'

b. *ha hu'tsa chī(_in) [di]_i-tl [ϕ_i esa-t' ke]-tl.*
 1 see Foc/Tens woman-Dat dance-NzrEx RlZr-Dat
 'I saw the woman who danced.'

NP_{REL} is O

(136) a. *hai-ts ka_in [di]_i padi [hai-ts ϕ_i pit'a-k].*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens woman wait 1-Erg call-Nzr?
 'I am waiting for the woman whom I am calling.'

b. *hai-ts ka_in [di]_i padi [hais̄ ϕ_i pit'a-t' ke].*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens woman wait 1-Erg call-NzrEx RlZr
 'I am waiting for the woman whom I called.'

(137) a. *ha hu'tsa ka_in [di]_i-tl [hai-ts ϕ_i midoxos ke]-tl.*
 1 see Foc/Tens woman-Dat 1-Erg call RlZr-Dat
 'I am seeing the woman whom I am calling'.

b. *ha hu'tsa chī(_in) [axos]_i-atl [hai-ts ϕ_i midoxos-t'a ke]-tl.*
 1 see Foc/Tens child-Dat 1-Erg call-NzrEx RlZr-Dat
 'I saw the boy whom I called'.
 [S_{REL} can receive Dative marker]

- (138) [di yi]_i [hai-ts \emptyset _i husa husa-t' ke] otl ke.
 woman YI 1-Erg tie tie-NzrEx RlZr sleep KE
 'The woman whom I tied slept.'
- (139) [[di]_i [hai-ts \emptyset _i disi disi-t' ke]]-k chi(_in) mawmaw kuhmu.
 woman 1-Erg hit/kill hit/kill-NzrEx RlZr-Erg Foc/Tens papaya throw
 'The woman whom I beat threw away the papaya.'

When NP_{REL} is **not Absolutive** (i.e. it is A or DAT), the verb is followed by *chi-k* (or sometimes *chi-ke*, if an Ergative or Dative marker comes after the relative clause). The use of the relativizer *ke* is not possible when NP_{REL} is non-Absolutive (cf. 143).²⁷ *Chi-k* is translated by the consultants as 'the one who is/does something', and we believe this is the combination of the Copula plus the Relativizer/Nominalizer (see this example from chapter 3: *Diawarun-an chi-k* 'the ones who are in Diauarum'). Again, when the relative clause refers to a past event, V_{REL} receives the nominalizer *-t'(a)*.

We do not have in our corpus examples in which the morpheme *(i)yi* comes at the end of a relative clause with a non-Absolutive NP_{REL}. However, we do have examples in which the 3Abs enclitic does not occur on V_{REL}, even though the Absolutive argument is not lexically present due to reference continuity (147). This fact also shows that relative clauses in Trumai are NP-like. Examples:

NP_{REL} is A

- (140) [[di]_i [\emptyset _i mawmaw kuhmu-t' chi-k]] otl ka_in.
 woman papaya throw-NzrEx Cop- Nzr? sleep Foc/Tens
 'The woman who threw away the papaya slept.'

²⁷ Notice that when NP_{REL} is non Absolutive, the Absolutive NP is present in the relative clause (i.e. [\emptyset Q V] ; [S V \emptyset]). As we can see, there is an incompatibility between the relativizer *ke* and the Absolutive NP.

- (141) a. $[di]_i$ -k $[\phi_i$ mawmaw kuhmu chī-k] ha pit'a.
 woman-Erg papaya throw Cop-Nzr? 1 call
 'The woman who is throwing away the papaya is calling me.'
- b. $[di]_i$ -k $[\phi_i$ mawmaw kuhmu-t' chī-k] ha pit'a.
 woman-Erg papaya throw-NzrEx Cop-Nzr? 1 call
 'The woman who threw the papaya called me.'
[past event: V_{REL} bears the nominalizer -t'(a)]
- (142) a. hai-ts huk'an $[di]_i$ padi $[\phi_i$ mawmaw kuhmu chī-k].
 1-Erg still woman wait papaya throw Cop-Nzr?
 'I am waiting for the woman who is throwing the papaya away.'
- b. hai-ts ka_in $[di]_i$ padi $[\phi_i$ mawmaw kuhmu-t' chī-k].
 1-Erg Foc/Tens woman wait papaya throw-NzrEx Cop-Nzr?
 'I am waiting for the woman who threw away the papaya.'
- (143) *hai-ts huk'an $[di]_i$ padi $[\phi_i$ mawmaw kuhmu ke].
 1-Erg still woman wait papaya throw R1zr
 'I am waiting for the woman who is throwing the papaya away.'
[ke is not used when NP_{REL} is non Absolutive]
- (144) a. ha hu'tsa ka_in $[axos]_i$ -atl $[\phi_i$ ha aton mud husa chī-k]
 1 see Foc/Tens child-Dat 1 pet neck tie Cop-Nzr?
 'I see the boy who is tying my dog.'
- b. ha hu'tsa ka_in $[axos]_i$ -atl $[\phi_i$ ha aton mud husa-t' chī-k]
 1 see Foc/Tens child-Dat 1 pet neck tie-NzrEx Cop-Nzr?
 'I saw the boy who tied my dog.'

NP_{REL} is Dat

- (145) a. $[ha$ hu'tsa chī-k ϕ_i] $[di]_i$ huma-ktsu.
 1 see Cop-Nzr? woman take.bath-Dir
 'The woman whom I am seeing went to take a bath.'
- b. $[ha$ hu'tsa-t' chī-k ϕ_i] $[di]_i$ huma-ktsu.
 1 see-NzrEx Cop-Nzr? woman take.bath-Dir
 'The woman whom I saw went to take a bath.'
- (146) a. $[[di$ yi] $]$ $[ha$ hu'tsa chī-ke ϕ_i] $]$ -k mawmaw kuhmu.
 woman YI 1 see Cop-Nzr? -Erg papaya throw
 'The woman whom I am seeing threw the papaya away.'
[chī-ke may be used when there is an Ergative marker after S_{REL}]

b. $[[di \quad yi]_i; [ha \ hu'tsa-t' \quad \underline{ch\ddot{i}-ke} \quad \phi_i]]-k \quad mawmaw \ kuhmu.$
 woman YI 1 see-NzrEx Cop-Nzr? -Erg papaya throw
 'The woman whom I saw threw the papaya away.'

(147) $[di]_i \quad amidoxos \ ka_in \ ine-k \ [hu'tsa \ \underline{ch\ddot{i}-k} \quad \phi_i].$
 woman call Foc/Tens 3-Erg see Cop-Nzr?
 'He is calling the woman whom he is seeing.'
[no 3Abs enclitic on V_{REL}]

(148) $[ha \ hu'tsa-t' \quad \underline{ch\ddot{i}-k} \quad \phi_i] \ [di]_i \quad amidoxos \ ka_in \ hai-ts.$
 1 see-NzrEx Cop-Nzr? woman call Foc/Tens 1-Erg
 'I called the woman whom I saw.'

(149) $ha \ hu'tsa \ ka_in \ [axos]_i-atl \ [ha \ fa \ fa-t' \quad \underline{ch\ddot{i}-ke} \quad \phi_i]-tl.$
 1 see Foc/Tens child-Dat 1 hit/kill hit/kill-NzrEx Cop-Nzr? -Dat
 'I saw the boy who I beat.'

Looking at the examples above, we observe that in Trumai the relative clause may be adjacent to the head NP, but not necessarily. It can occupy different positions in relation to the main clause:

(i) it can come inside the major NP where the head NP is, and it follows the head:

(150) $[[kiki]_i; [\phi_i \ ka'ch\ddot{i} \ pata-t' \quad ke] \ yi] \ otl.$
 man walk arrive-NzrEx RlZR YI sleep
 'The man who arrived slept.'²⁸

(151) $[[di \quad yi]_i; [\phi_i \ ha \ pit'a-t' \quad \underline{ch\ddot{i}-k}]-k \quad mawmaw \ kuhmu.$
 woman YI 1 call-NzrEx Cop-Nzr?-Erg papaya throw
 'The woman who called me threw away the papaya.'

(ii) it can come in the main clause, but separate from the head NP:

(152) $[kiki]_i \ ch\ddot{i}_in \ [\phi_i \ ka'ch\ddot{i} \ pata-t' \quad ke] \ otl \ ke.$
 man Foc/Tens walk arrive-NzrEx RlZR sleep KE
 'The man who arrived slept.'

²⁸ There are some examples in which the presence of (i)yi is hard to analyze, like in this example: is (i)yi at the end of the major NP, or rather at the end of the relative clause?

- (153) $[di]_i-k$ $[\phi_i$ *otl* *tsula-t'* $ke]$ *mawmaw kuhmu*.
 woman-Erg sleep lie.down- NzrEx RlZr papaya throw
 'The woman who slept threw away the papaya.'

(iii) it can come outside the main clause, postposed to it:

- (154) *hai-ts ka_in* $[di]_i$ *padi* $[\phi_i$ *mawmaw kuhmu-t'* *chi-k]*.
 1-Erg Foc/Tens woman wait papaya throw- NzrEx Cop-Nzr?
 'I am waiting for the woman who threw away the papaya.'

- (155) $[di]_i$ *huma-ktsu* $[ha$ *hu'tsa-t'* *chi-k* $\phi_i]$.
 woman take.bath-Dir 1 see- NzrEx Cop-Nzr?
 'The woman whom I saw went to take bath.'

(iv) it can precede the head NP: the question is to determine whether the relative clause precedes the head NP or rather the main clause; that is:

[[S_{REL}] [NP]] V OR [S_{REL}] [[NP] V] ?

A way of checking this point will be to try to insert adverbs between the relative clause and the head NP. As example, we have:

- (156) $[\phi_i$ *ma-t'* $ke]$ $[kiki$ *yi]_i *otl* *kawa chi_in*.
 eat- NzrEx RlZr man YI sleep go Foc/Tens
 'The man who ate went to sleep.'*

The role of the head NP in the main clause seems to influence the position that S_{REL} will take. In many examples, when the head is S or A, S_{REL} comes inside the major NP where there head NP is, and the gap tends to be close to the head (of course, that depends on the position that NP_{REL} has inside of the relative clause). Only a few times did consultants offer examples with S_{REL} coming outside the main clause.

In contrast, when the head NP is O or DAT in the main clause, there are many examples in which S_{REL} comes outside the main clause, postposed to it, and few examples in which it comes inside the main. It might be that these differences in position are used by the speakers to indicate which NP in the main clause is the head of S_{REL}. This is a hypothesis that needs to be further checked. Below, we present all the possibilities of position attested so far for each type of head NP.

- if the head is S:

inside the major NP, following the head: [NP [S_{REL}]] V

(157) [[*axos*]_i [\emptyset _i *huma-t'* *ke*] *yi*] *wapta*.
 child take.bath- NzrEx RlZR YI fall
 'The child who took a bath fell.'

(158) [[*di*]_i [\emptyset _i *mawmaw kuhmu-t'* *chi-k*]] *otl ka_in*.
 woma n papaya throw- NzrEx Cop- Nzr? sleep Foc/Tens
 'The woman who threw away the papaya slept.'

(159) [[*di*]_i [*kiki-k* \emptyset _i *husa husa-t'* *ke*]] *otl*.
 woman man-Erg tie tie- NzrEx RlZR sleep
 'The woman whom the man tied slept.'
 [the gap not always is adjacent to the head NP]

inside the main clause, but not inside the major NP: [NP] [S_{REL}] V+ extra morphology

(160) [*axos yi*]_i [\emptyset _i *huma-t'* *ke*] *wapta ke*.
 child YI take.bath- NzrEx RlZR fall KE
 'The child who took a bath fell.'
 (same as example 130b)

outside the main clause: [NP] V [S_{REL}]

(161) [*kiki*]_i *huma-ktsu* [\emptyset _i *ma-t'* *ke*].
 man take.bath eat- NzrEx RlZR
 'The man who ate went to take a bath.'

preceding the head: [S_{REL}] NP V

- (162) [*ha hu'tsa-t'* *chī-k* ϕ_i] [*di*]_i *huma-ktsu*.
 1 see- NzrEx Cop- Nzr? woman take.bath-Dir
 'The woman whom I saw went to take bath.'
 (same as example (145b))

- if the head is A:

inside the major NP, following the head: [NP [S_{REL}]] O V

- (163) [[*di* *yi*]_i [ϕ_i *kiki disi disi-t'* *chī-ke*]]-k *mawmaw kuhmu*.
 woman YI man hit hit- NzrEx Cop-Nzr?-Erg papaya throw
 'The woman who beat the man threw the papaya away.'
- (164) [[*di*]_i [*hai-ts* ϕ_i *pit'a-t'* *ke*]]-k *mawmaw kuhmu*.
 woman 1-Erg call- NzrEx RlZr-Erg papaya throw
 'The woman whom I called threw away the papaya.'
[the gap not always is adjacent to the head NP]

inside the main clause, but not inside the major NP: [NP] [S_{REL}] O V

- (165) [*di*]_i-k [ϕ_i *mawmaw kuhmu-t'* *chī-k*] *ha pit'a*.
 woman-Erg papaya throw-NzrEx Cop- Nzr? 1 call
 'The woman who threw the papaya called me.'
 (same as example (141b))

outside the main clause: [NP] O V [S_{REL}]

No examples

preceding the head: [S_{REL}] NP O V

- (166) [*hai-tl* ϕ_i *ofa fa-k*] [*di* *yi*]_i-k *mawmaw kuhmu*.
 1-Dat hit/kill hit/kill-Nzr? woman YI-Erg papaya throw
 'The woman who is hitting me threw away the papaya.'

- if the head is O:

inside the major NP, following the head: A [NP [S_{REL}]] V

- (167) *hai-ts ka_in* [*[di]_i* [*ha hu'tsa-t' chi-k* ϕ_i]] *amixodos*.
 1-Erg Foc/Tens woman 1 see- NzrEx Cop-Nzr? call
 'I am calling the woman whom I saw.'

inside the main clause, but not inside the major NP: A [NP] [S_{REL}] V+ extra morphology

No examples

outside the main clause: A [NP] V [S_{REL}]

- (168) *ine yi-k ka_in* [*di yi*] *wa-padi* [ϕ_i *esa kawa-t' ke yi*].
 3 YI-Erg Foc/Tens woman YI WA-wait dance go- NzrEx RlZr YI
 'He is waiting for the woman who went to dance.'
 (same as example (134))
- (169) *hai-ts ka_in* [*di*] *padi* [ϕ_i *mawmaw kuhmu-t' chi-k*].
 1-Erg Foc/Tens woman wait papaya throw- NzrEx Cop-Nzr?
 'I am waiting for the woman who threw away the papaya.'
 (same as example (142b))
- (170) *kiki yi-k* [*di*] *padi* [*ine-k* ϕ_i *amidoxos-t'a ke*].
 man YI-Erg woman wait 3-Erg call- NzrEx RlZr
 'The man is waiting the woman whom he called.'

preceding the head: [S_{REL}] NP V A

Notice in the example below that O is in first position. There are no examples of

S_{REL} preceding O if the word order is the typical one (i.e., A O V).

- (171) [*ha hu'tsa-t' chi-k* ϕ_i] [*di*] *amidoxos ka_in hai-ts*.
 1 see- NzrEx Cop-RlZr woman call Foc/Tens 1-Erg
 'I called the woman whom I saw.'
 (same as example (148))

- if the head is DAT:

When the head NP is DAT, the relative clause may be marked as Dative even though it is not inside the main (i.e. the head NP carries the Dative marker, and the relative clause does, too). Such double marking was preferred by some consultants.

The fact that the Dative NP is modified by a relative clause has influence on its marking: as mentioned in chapter 7, section 7.2.3.1, Dative NPs whose head is a noun referring to a human-singular entity can receive the marker *-tl* or *-ki*, depending on how identifiable the entity is. The human-singular Dative NPs modified by relative clauses are marked by *-tl* (172).

Example (173) is particularly interesting because the head NP is marked by *-ki* (NPs that have a noun referring to an inanimate-singular entity are not marked by *-tl*, only by *-ki*), while the relative clause itself is marked by *-tl*. Restrictive relative clauses refer to a specific, very identifiable individual; probably they are always marked by *-tl*, independent of the characteristic of the head NP.

inside the major NP, following the head: S V [NP [S_{REL}]]

No examples

inside the main clause, but not inside the major NP: [S V [NP] [S_{REL}]]

No examples

outside the main clause: [S V [NP]] [S_{REL}]

- (172) a. *ha hu'tsa chī(in) [axosa]_i-tl [∅_i huma-ktsu-t' ke].*
 1 see Foc/Tens child-Dat take.bath-Dir-NzrEx RlZr
 'I saw the boy who went to take a bath.'

b. *ha hu'tsa chi(_in) [axos]_i-atl [ϕ_i huma-ktsu-t' ke]-tl.*
 1 see Foc/Tens child-Dat take.bath-Dir-NzrEx RlZr-Dat
 'I saw the boy who went to take bath.'

(173) *ha xom chi(_in) [malasia yi]_i-ki [Yatamalu-k ϕ_i kiŋi-t' ke]-tl.*
 1 suck Foc/Tens watermelon YI-Dat Yatamalu-Erg give-NzrEx RlZr-Dat
 'I ate the watermelon that Yatamalu gave me.'

(174) *ha hu'tsa ka_in [axos]_i-atl [ha fa fa-t' chī-k ϕ_i].*
 1 see Foc/Tens child-Dat 1 hit hit- NzrEx Cop-Nzr?
 'I saw the boy whom I beat.'

preceding the head: S V [S_{REL}] NP

Example (175) is an instance of S_{REL} preceding the head. However, the majority of the examples have S_{REL} postposed to the main verb. Note in (176) that the head NP is in first position, and yet S_{REL} comes after the main clause, instead of preceding the head, as we would expect after seeing example (171) above.

(175) *ha chī ka_in api ke [Sapuya-k ϕ mapa-t' ke]-tl [atlat paŋ perew]-ki.*
 1 Cop Foc/Tens grab KE Sapuya-Erg break-Nzr RlZr-Dat pan small piece-Dat
 'It was me who took the piece of the pan broken by Sapuya.'

(176) *[axos]_i-atl ha hu'tsa [ϕ_i waruwaru mado kuhmu-t' chī-k].*
 child-Dat 1 see mangaba ball throw-NzrEx Cop-Nzr?
 'I saw the boy who threw the ball.'

As a conclusion to this section, we would like to point out that the patterns described above are observed in the majority of the examples in our corpus. However, there are some other cases that differ:

(A) in some examples, we observe that it is possible to have only V + -t'(a) in the relative clause, without *ke* (for NP_{REL} O) or *chī-k* (for NP_{REL} DAT):

NP_{REL} is O

- (177) a. [*pike xop*]_i *disi disi ine-k [hai-ts* ϕ_i *maxan-t'a]*.
 house mouth hit hit 3-Erg 1-Erg close-NzrEx
 'He knocked on the door that I closed.'
- b. [*pike xop*]_i *disi disi ine-k [hais* ϕ_i *maxan-t'a ke]*.
 house mouth hit hit 3-Erg 1-Erg close-NzrEx RlZr
 'He knocked on the door that I closed.'
- (178) *hai-ts chi(_in) [k'ate]_i kuhmu [Wayaku-k* ϕ_i *atel-t'a]*.
 1-Erg Foc/Tens fish throw Wayaku-Erg prepare-NzrEx
 'I threw away the fish that Wayaku prepared.'

NP_{REL} is Dat

- (179) [*t'ak* *yi*]_i-*ki chi(_in) ha hu'tsa [Sandra dakchi-t'* ϕ_i].
 manioc.bread YI-Dat Foc/Tens I see Sandra work.w.hand-NzrEx
 'I saw the manioc bread that Sandra made.'
- (180) [[*di yi*]_i [*ha hu'tsa-t'* ϕ_i]] *huma-ksu*.
 woman YI I see-NzrEx take.bath-Dir
 'The woman who I saw went to take bath.'

(B) there are cases of relative clauses that are headless; that is, there is no head NP in the main clause:

- (181) [ϕ *mawmaw kuhmu-t'* *chi-k*] *otl ka_in*.
 papaya throw-NzrEx Cop-Nzr? sleep Foc/Tens
 'The one who threw away the papaya slept.'
- (182) [*kodetl-es* ϕ *alax ke-tl ka_in hai-ts hid kiŋi*].
 animal-Dat hunt RlZr-Dat Foc/Tens 1-Erg arrow give
 'I gave an arrow to the one who went to hunt.'

(C) finally, in an elicitation session, we obtained examples in which NP_{REL} is Absolutive, but the verb is modified by *chi-k(e)* instead of *ke*. In all the examples, S_{REL} is referring to a past event:

- (183) *hai-ts ka_in [di]_i pit'a [hai-ts \emptyset _i disi disi-t' chi-k]*
 1-Erg Foc/Tens woman call 1-Erg hit hit-NzrEx Cop-Nzr?
 'I called the woman whom I beat.'

We also obtained examples in which NP_{REL} is non Absolutive, but the verb is modified by *ke* instead of *chi-k(e)*. Again, S_{REL} is referring to a past event:

- (184) *[[ha hu'tsa-t' ke \emptyset _i] [di]_i] huma-ktsu.*
 1 see-NzrEx Rzlr woman take.bath-Dir
 'The woman who I saw went to take bath.'
- (185) *[di]_{i-k} [\emptyset _i ha disi disi-t' ke] mawmaw kuhmu.*
 woman-Erg 1 hit/kill hit/kill-NzrEx Rlzl papaya throw
 'The woman who beat me threw away the papaya.'

This kind of data is strange because in (184-185), the Absolutive NP [*ha*] is present in the relative clause; as mentioned before, when that is the case, the relativizer *ke* cannot be used. It might be that the occurrence of the nominalizer *-t'(a)* on V_{REL} has some role in this fact (*-t'a* derives nouns that can be possessed; the NP [*ha*] would be then the possessor of the nominalized verb). Anyway, when the examples (183-185) above were presented to another consultant, the second consultant rejected them. We will recheck these examples in future field work, before we draw any definitive conclusions about them.

10.5. Conclusion: overall system

In this final section, we compare the several kinds of clauses found in Trumai, showing the similarities and differences with regard to their degrees of integration with

the main clause. We also compare their degree of expansion or reduction: according to Lehman (1988:193), when a subordinate clause is reduced, it loses properties of a clause and it acquires nominal properties, becoming less clause-like and more like an adverbial or nominal constituent in the main clause. We will see next which subordinate clauses in Trumai are more reduced or less reduced.

The subordinate clauses that function as complement (Dative and Absolutive) are very integrated with the main clause: they are embedded. They are both non-finite, that is, neither can receive the 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e*. The verb of both complement clauses seems to behave as an inalienably possessed noun. The Direct Speech Complement clauses align with adverbials because they are not embedded into the main clause, but rather follow it. Also, like several adverbial clauses, the Direct Speech clauses are finite. However, unlike the adverbials, the Direct Speech clauses do not have subordinating morphology explicitly linking them to the main clause.

The adverbial clauses are less integrated with the main than the complement clauses, because they are not filling core roles in the main clause. They come at the margins of the sentence; that is, they come in the beginning, preceding the main, or at the end, following the main. Only the Simultaneity clause has more flexibility of position: it can be embedded into the main or it can come at the margins. Note that this kind of clause is not finite: the verb of the Simultaneity clause can receive nominal morphology, the possessive enclitic *-ea*. In contrast, the other clauses (Temporal/Conditional, Purpose, Causal/Reason) are all finite, receiving the 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e*. So, in comparison to the other adverbial clauses, the Simultaneity clause is more reduced, being less clause-like

than the others. However, when compared to the Temporal clause marked by *-ki/-s* (which is also non finite), the Simultaneity clause presents a smaller degree of reduction: the verb of the Temporal is clearly nominalized (its verb bears the nominalizer *-t'(a)*; it receives the possessive enclitic *-ea*), while the verb of the Simultaneity can bear nominal morphology, but there is no explicit nominalization.

The Relative clause is very flexible with regard to its degrees of integration with the main: it can be embedded or not. The verb of the Relative clause is not finite: it does not receive the 3Abs enclitic *-n/-e*. The verb of the relative clause is modified by the relativizers *ke* or *chi-k(e)*, and can be further modified by the nominalizer *-t'(a)*. The sharing of an argument with the main (represented by a gap in the relative) relates the Relative clause to the main.

Finally, the ‘Consequential’ clause is the hardest case to analyze. The ‘Consequential’ has a relationship with a clause that precedes it, but the ‘Consequential’ and the other clause are not in the same sentence. The morphology that links the ‘Consequential’ to the preceding clause is not the same as the subordinating morphology found in adverbial clauses; on the contrary, this linking morphology (the connector *ienuk tsi-(i)ets'*) has similarities to the discursive connectors that relate clauses that are merely juxtaposed. Thus, in terms of kinds of linking, the ‘Consequential’ clause aligns with the clauses that are merely in juxtaposition, without being really integrated with each other. However, as presented in section 10.1.3, the ‘Consequential’ clause presents a strong semantic dependency on the preceding clause. This dependency is not the same observed with the clauses related by discursive connectors; its is more similar to the semantic

dependency observed with subordinate clauses. That gives the 'Consequential' clause a unique nature.

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APPENDIX 1: SELECTED TRUMAI TEXTS

The river turtle

tsul iyi ka_in chamlo ma ke sida -s miso-es.
 river.turtle IYI Foc/Tens early eat KE leaf -DAT water-DAT
 In the rainy season the river turtle eats leaves early (in the morning).

atetla-s hen iyi tafka -n.
 sun -DAT then IYI lay.egg-3ABS
 In the dry season, it lays eggs.

iyi tafka kahmi-n-es hen, fe'de-k iyi tako-n.
 IYI lay.egg Dir-3Abs-Dat then, jaguar-Erg IYI bite-3Abs
 When it comes (from the river) to the beach to lay eggs, the jaguar eats it.

ha wan hen tam api na ke ha wan ma hak.
 1 PL then also grab always? KE 1 PL eat Purp
 We also always get (it) to eat.

Snakes

kodechich-ak de yaw tako-is,
 snake-Erg already human.being bite-IS
 When a snake bites a person,

yaw pech oke -s hup-ke -s.
 human.being run root/medicine-Dat know-Nzr-Dat
 the person runs to the person who knows about roots.

ine-k hen yaw aema ka.
 3Pr-Erg then human.being fell.well Caus
 He makes the person get well.

awax yi-ki kiki wan yi api-is,
 sucuri YI-Dat man PL YI grab-IS
 When men catch a sucuri (a kind of snake),

wan yi chiy-e pon yi-a-tl.
 PL YI cut-3Abs tip YI-3Poss-Dat
 they cut its tail.

in t'atske hen kiki yi mula,
 it after then man YI in.seclusion
 After that, the man goes into seclusion,

oke -s hen sone -n pĩx.
 root-Dat then drink-3Abs much
 he drinks medicine (made from roots) a lot,

otl.t'axer ae-n-es hen hatsi-ke iyi-n.
 dream well-3Abs-ES then fight-Nzr IYI-3Abs
 and when he dreams, we becomes a fighter (for competitions).

In the Trumai (and the Upper Xingu) culture, a man has to do some special tasks in order to become a ceremonial fighter. The 'sucuri' snake can give special powers to a man.

Ghosts that live in the river

misux apud-an ka_in pila ke kũt chi.
 river bottom -Loc Foc/Tens live.in KE river.ghost Cop
 The ghosts of the river live in the bottom of the river.

"kũt", kale yaw ku kũt paine-s.
 river.spirit like.that human.being name spirit group-Dat
 People name the ghosts of the river "kũt".

yaw nikik de wan yi-n-ak,
 human.being Neg? already PL YI-3Abs-Reas
 Because they are not human beings,

yaw-as de mu'sone ke wan yi-n-ak,
 human.being-Dat already devour KE PL YI-3Abs-Reas
 because they devour people,

yaw-as de api ke wan yi-n-ak,
 human.being-Dat already take KE PL YI-3Abs-Reas
 because they take (kidnap) people,

ienuk tsi-iets' ka_in ha wan ku "kũt", kale.
 ienuk tsi-Reas Foc/Tens 1 PL name river.ghosts like.that
 because of that we name them "kũt", ghosts.

faxlo-tke ke ka_in kũt paine chi,
 son-Priv KE Foc/Tens river.ghost group Cop
 The ghosts of the river do not have sons,

atetla ana-k de kapan-t'a ke kuṭ wan iets'.
 sun Dual-Erg already make -NzrEx KE river.ghost PL Reas
 because the ghosts of the river were made (lit: are things made) by the two suns.

In the Trumai mythology, the sun and the moon are two brothers, the two 'suns'.

yaw kuṭe chi(_in) de nuk ienuk kanlen,
 human.being river.ghost(poss) Foc/Tens already so ienuk always?
 So, the ghost of the river that looks like people,

wapṭi-tke-n-es nuk de wapṭi-n yaw-atl.
 appear-Des-3Abs-Dat so already appear-3Abs human.being-Dat
 when it wants to appear, it appears to somebody (to a person).

yaw-as de api-n-es,
 human.being -Dat already take-3Abs-Dat
 When it (the ghost of river) kidnaps people,

wetlewetlen tak yaw tsin.
 be.healthy Neg human.being provoke(?)
 it makes the person feel sick.

p̃x hen yaw ma'tsi-s, yaw fakdits.
 a.lot then human.being sick-Dat human.being die
 When the person gets too sick, s/he dies.

hi hu'tsa hak de wapṭi-n mit'in hi-is.
 2 see Purp already appear-3Abs alone 2-Dat
 It appears to you when you are alone.
 (lit: it appears when you are alone, in order for you to see it.)

a'di nit' ka_de_in yaw hu'tsa kawala,
 many time Foc/Tens-already human.being see ?
 People see (ghosts of river) many times,

di kuṭe-s, si kuṭe-s
 woman river.ghost(poss)-Dat canoe river.ghost(poss)-Dat
 ghosts of woman, ghosts of canoe,

k'ate kuṭe-s, mada'cha tore-k kuṭe-s
 fish river.ghost(poss)-Dat jaw white-Nzr river.ghost(poss)-Dat
 ghosts of fish, ghosts of wild pigs.

Hawks

pudits ke ka_in adis pa wan yi kurapuu-s
 like KE Foc/Tens indian collect PL YI hawk-Dat
 Indians like hawks

wan aton-ea hak.
 PL pet-3Poss Purp
 for their pet.

dat-ea-s hen wan yi chuda-n.
 home-3Poss-Dat then PL YI make -3Abs
 They (Indians) make their (hawks') houses.

in-is hen tlep yi-a-tl wan yi wen-e.
 it-Dat then feather YI-3Poss-Dat PL YI pull.out
 Then they pull out its feathers.

wan chuda-n hen ġilaf silo-s
 PL make-3Abs then reongo head.ornament-Dat
 Then they make head ornaments

wan yi sa-n ahak in letsi.
 PL YI dance-3Abs Purp it Instr
 for dancing with it.

Pregnancy and birth

in-is hen oxa napta-n hen.
 it-Dat then pregnant Incho-3Abs then
 Then, she starts to become pregnant.

in-is iyi oxa-n de.
 it-Dat IYI pregnant-3Abs already
 And then, she becomes pregnant.

oxa napta-n hen.
 pregnant Incho-3Abs then
 She starts to become pregnant.

in-is hen t-eche yi hen hup ke,
 it-Dat then 3Poss-husband YI then know KE
 Then, her husband learns (it),

iyi hup-e de.
 YI know-Abs already
 he learns (it).

t-eche yi hen hup ke.
 3Poss-husband then know KE
 Her husband learns (it).

- *hi oxa-a?*
 2 pregnant-Quest
 - Are you pregnant?

- *e'e - kale.*
 yes - like.that
 - Yes - she says (like that).

- *ho'kela - kale.*
 really - like.that
 - Really? - he says.

in-is hen t-eche yi hen katnon tak,
 it-Dat then 3-Poss YI then work Neg
 Then, her husband does not work,

kut'a-s chi tak de iyi-n,
 plantation-Dat go Neg already IYI-3Abs
 he does not go to the plantation,

xuxla ifke yi-ak de tsile.
 ? in.future YI-Reas already hearsay
 because it may make it (the child) sick.

ienuk kanlen nuk inatl tsi-di le hen,
 ienuk similarly then 3 Poss-woman hearsay then
 Similarly she,

tar-ke le hen, katnon tak hen.
 round.belly-Nzr hearsay then work Neg then
 his wife, the pregnant one, does not work.

pix-ke-s da'tsi tak chi-n ole-s.
 big-RlZr-Dat carry Neg Cop-3Abs manioc-Dat
 She does not carry big manioc.

paṭ hen ole-s saan.
 small then manioc-Dat only?
 Only small manioc.

kītiw-e.
 grate-3Abs
 She grates.

kītiw-e-s hen opona ma'tsi ka-n.
 grate-3Abs-S then low.belly hurt Caus-3Abs
 When she grates (manioc,) (that) makes her belly hurts.

axos yi kuṭa mu'cha mu'cha ifke iets' tsile.
 child YI head wavy wavy in.future Reas hearsay
 People say that the head of the child may become wavy.

ienuk ka(in) tsi-(i)ets' kītiw tak hen inatl chī hen.
 ienuk Foc/Tens tsi-Reas grate Neg then 3 Cop then
 For this reason she does not grate (manioc).

tsi-tle in hen,
 3Poss-mother Foc then
 Then her mother,

kītiw-e, tiami-n hen.
 grate-3Abs squeeze-3Abs then
 she grates (manioc), and she squeezes (it).

misu-s u-n hen.
 water-Dat carry-3Abs then
 she carries water.

pīx-ke-s hen u tak chī-n,
 big-Plzr-Dat then carry Neg Cop-3Abs
 She (the pregnant one) does not carry big pots of water (lit: big ones),

nakwa nakwa paṭ-es hen u-n hen;
 caldron small-Dat then carry-3Abs then
 she carries small caldrons;

faxlo-a-tl de , faxlo disi ifke yi-ak de tsile.
 son-3Poss-Dat already son hit/kill in.future YI-Reas already hearsay
 (because) she is pregnant, because the child may die (lit: be killed).

in-is hen oxet oxet oxet...
 it-Dat then belly belly belly
 And then, her belly becomes big.

iyi ma'tsi-n hen, faxlo ma'tsi-n hen.
 IYI hurt/pain-3Abs then son hurt/pain-3Abs then
 Then she feels pain, she feels delivery pain (lit: son pain/hurting).

- *hele de? - kale.*
 what already like.that
 - What is happening? - her husband says.

- *iyi ma'tsi-n ka_de_in hai-tl - kale.*
 IYI hurt/pain-3Abs Foc/Tens-already 1-Dat like.that
 - I am feeling pain - she says (lit: it is hurting to me).

- *ho'kela - kale.*
 really like.that
 - Really? - her husband says.

in-is hen wan wa-koḡkan-e hen
 it-Dat then PL WA-bring.together-3Abs then
 Then, they (her family) get together (to help her).

tsi-tle-k ten hen ik ik oko ka-n.
 3Poss-mother-Erg ? then first first watch Caus-3Abs
 Then, her mother first make him (the husband) watch her.

tsi-tle-k de oko ka-n.
 3Poss-mother already watch Caus-3Abs
 Her mother makes him watch her.

huk'an tenuk ik, huk'an ik - kale.
 still so? first still first like.that
 Wait, wait - she says.

in-is hen, chay hen, tsi-tle pech kawa hen wan hu'tsa-n ahak.
 it-Dat then afternoon then 3Poss-mother run go then PL see-3Abs Purp
 Then, her mother goes to get people to assist her.

- *akap werew, ka wan hu'tsa kawa-ktsi inatl dae-tl - kale.*
 come.here a.little 1 PL see go-Dir 3 ?-Dat like.that
 - Come here for a while, we go to see her.

a kachi lapchi-ktsin hen.
 Dual walk ? -Dir then
 They two (mother and another person) come.

a api-n hen, a oko la-n hen.
 Dual grab-3Abs then Dual watch standing-3Abs then
 They grab her, they watch her.

a oko-n hen inatl-etl, hud-ae-s a api-n,
 Dual watch-3Abs then 3-Dat thigh-3Poss-Dat Dual grab-3Abs
 They watch her, they grab her thighs,

ni lots' a api-n, aṭaṭo-e-s a api-n. inande.
 here Ablat Dual grab-3Abs up.arm-3Poss-Dat Dual grab-3Abs finished
 they grab from this side, they grab her arms. That's it.

ina hen:
 there then
 And then:

ma, wana itka - kale.
 come.on Imp use.force like.that
 - Come on, push (the baby out) - they say.

- huk'an ik - kale.
 still first like.that
 - Wait - she says.

api tsula-n de esak-(k)i de ṭ'ahmu-n,
 grab lie-3Abs already hammock-Dat already high.place-Loc
 She, lying, grabs a hammock that is above her,

esak husa-t'-ki de api-n de.
 hammock tie-NzrEx-Dat already already-3bs already
 she grabs the tied hammock (i.e the hammock taht is tied above her).

ina hen api tsula-n hen itka-a tam de.
 there then grab lie-3Abs then use.force-3Poss Com already
 Then she grabs (the hammock) pushing (the baby out).

wan hu'tsa katsi-n hen,
 PL see be.seated-3Abs then
 They, sitting, see (her),

wan oko katsi-n de.
 PL watch be.seated-3Abs already
 they, sitting, watch (her).

oko atchi ke de hu'tsa katsi ke, oko katsi ke.
 watch ? RlZr? already see be.seated KE watch be.seated KE
 the ones who watch, sitting, see her, (they) see her.

wits'in hen - kale - wits'in, wana itka - kale.
 hard then like.that hard Imp use.force like.that
 Hard - they say - hard, push it - they say.

in ka(_in) de iyi-n, wits'in wits'in wits'in wits'in wits'in hen.
 it? Foc/Tens already IYI-3Abs hard hard hard hard hard then
 Then she pushes hard, hard, hard, hard, hard.

iyi ariri-n hen, iyi ariri-n hen.
 IYI come.ou3Abs then IYI come.out-3Abs then
 It (the child) comes out, it comes out.

iyi ariri-n hen.
 IYI come.out-3Abs then
 it comes out.

kud iyi la-n hen.
 head IYI be.standing-3Abs then
 it heads comes (lit: stands) out.

- wits'in hen wana itka, taiy - kale hen tsi-tle chi(_in) de ami ke.
 hard then Imp use.force daughter like.that then 3Poss-mother Foc/Tens alr. say KE
 - Hard, push it, my daughter - her mother says.

- wana itka hen - kale hen.
 Imp use.force then like.that then
 - Push it - she says.

- He - kale.
 Yes like.that
 - Ok - she (the pregnant one) says.

itka-n hen, witsin hen, iyi pech pita-n hen.
 use.force-3Abs then, hard then IYI run come.out-3Abs then
 She pushes hard, then it (the baby) comes out quick.

- *hay chī. hay chī, taiy - kale hen tsi-tle ami hen.*
 ready Foc/Tens? ready Foc/Tens? daughter like.that then 3Poss-mother speak then
 - That is it. That is it, my daughter - her mother then says.

ina hen api-t'-ke wan hen waknaha ke hen.
 there then grab-NzrEx-RIzr? PL then spread KE then
 Then, the ones who grabbed (her) leave (lit: get disperse)

wan waknaha-n hen.
 PL spread-3Abs then
 They leave.

in-is hen:
 it-Dat then
 And then;

- *ma, hi-k de taf naha-n ? - kale*
 come.on 2-Erg already navel cut-3Abs like.that
 - Come one, you will cut its navel? - she says.

- *hi chiy waki - kale hen.*
 2 cut Imp? like.that then
 - You cut (it) - she says.

[this clause is unusual. Apparently, it is an Imperative construction, but the Imperative particle follows the verb instead of preceding it, and the second person pronoun (the addressee) is present. In typical Imperative constructions, the addressee is not expressed. This example needs to be better investigated.]

tsi-tle-k hen taf naha-n hen, taf naha-n hen.
 3Poss-mother-Erg then navel cut-3Abs then navel cut-3Abs then
 Then her mother cuts its navel, she cuts navel.

ina hen huma ka-n hen, xoxan-e hen.
 there then take.bath Caus-3Abs then wash-3Abs then
 And then she bathes the baby, she washes (it).

det'a hen xoxan-e, mixa xoxan-e hen oxen-e ifke yi-ak.
 well then wash-3Abs throat wash-3Abs then choke-3Abs in.future YI-Reas
 She washes (it) well, she washes its throat because (otherwise) the throat of the baby may be obstructed.

tsi-tle chima mixa-a-tl hen,
 3Poss-mother clean throat-3Poss-Dat then
 Her mother cleans its throat,

tsi-tle chima hen mixa-a-tl.
 3Poss-mother clean then throat-3Poss-Dat
 her mother cleans (it), the dirty throat

eni iyi tete-n de, chima-n hen.
 dirty IYI make.beautiful-3Abs already clean-3Abs then
 It gets good, she cleans (it).

ina hen xoxan-e.
 there then wash-3Abs
 Then she washes (the baby).

in-is hen tsi-tle-k sone ka-n oke-s open-e ahak, kale ka_in.
 it-Dat then 3Poss-mother-Erg drink Caus-3Abs vomit-3Abs Purp like.that Foc/Tens
 Then her mother makes her (the woman who just had the delivery) to drink root
 medicine, in order to vomit, in that way.

inande.
 that's.it
 That's all.

Visit of a friend

ka'ne chay chi(_in) ha wan pine iyi ka'chi pata-s,
 that afternoon Foc/Tens 1 PL friend IYI walk arrive-DAT
 When our friend arrived yesterday,

iyi hup tak ha wan-ki.
 IYI know NEG 1 PL -DAT
 he did not recognize us.

iyi amikpi -n hen:
 IYI ask-3ABS then
 Then he asked:

- te in hi wan?
 who Foc 2 PL
 - Who are you?

in-is hen ha ami:
 it-Dat then 1 speak
 Then I said:

- *hi falpuchu-a de ha wan-ki?*
 2 forget Quest already 1 PL -DAT
 - Have you already forgotten us?

The boy and the bird

ha hu'tsa kaksu hu'ra-s misu mala-n.
 1 see in.past bird-Dat river edge-Loc
 I saw many birds in the edges of the river.

in-is hen Kayabi xos yi api aton-ea hak.
 it-Dat then Kayabi child YI grab pet-3Abs Purp
 Then, the Kayabi's kid got (a bird) as pet.

in-is hen tsi-tle yi fax.t'axer le.
 it-Dat then 3Poss-mother YI upset hearsay
 His mother got upset.

in-is hen iyi kuhmu-n kwatku-ki.
 it-Dat then IYI throw-3Abs outside.area-Dat
 And then she threw it away.

in-is hen iyi waŋkan-e aton kuhmu-n-ak.
 it-Dat then IYI cry-3Abs pet throw-3Abs-Reas
 Then he (the boy) cried because his pet was thrown away.

in t'atske iyi xuy pech kiwda-n amonke hilaka hita,
 it after IYI run.away run Dir-3Abs another village Allat
 And then, he run away (upriver) towards another village.

inande ha waimi hi wan-ki, axos pa.
 that's.it 1 tell 2 PL-Dat child collect
 That is what I tell to you, children.

Visit to Canarana

manlo kaksu, ha elka hiwda kawa Kanarana hita.
 times.ago in.past 1 buy Dir go Canarana Allat
 Long ago, I went shopping in Canarana.

ha elka hen yaw pits' piŋ-as, ha mape kwach-es hen ha elka.
 1 buy then human.being foot skin-Dat 1 cover tool-Dat then 1 buy
 I bought shoes and I bought a blanket.

in t'atske hen hai-kte atetla i'an-as ha hod.
 it after then 1-Gen sun simulacrum-Dat 1 ask.for
 Then I got a watch.

in t'atske hen, ha ka'chī, ha hod kawa oke mut hita hai-kte oke-s.
 it after then 1 go.for.visit 1 ask.for go medicine cloth Allat 1-Gen medicine-Dat
 Then, I went to the pharmacy to get my medicine.

ha atle adifle chī hen tam.
 1 mother sister go then also
 My aunt also went.

ka'ne xodaka kakda hen, tach ha wan wakepka moto letsi.
 that early.morning become.day then again 1 PL come.back motor.boat Instr
 On the next day (lit: the next day came), we went back (home) by boat.

Dialogue 1

- *hamu lots' in hi wa-pata?*
 where Ablat Foc 2 WA-arrive
 - Where are you coming from?

- *Kanarana lots' ka_in ha wa-pata.*
 Canarana Ablat Foc/Tens 1 WA-arrive
 - I am arriving/coming from Canarana.

- *han-is in kaksu hi han (h)iwda kawa?*
 what-Dat Foc in.past 2 do Dir go
 - What did you go to do (there)?

- *ha laketsi (h)iwda kawa kaksu wawe tam.*
 1 go.for.visit Dir go in.past uncle Com
 - I went for a visit with my uncle.

Dialogue 2

- *ni-a hi chī?*
 here-Quest 2 go
 - Hello! (lit: Are you here)?

- *e'e ni ka(_in) ha chī.*
 yes here Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 - Hello! (lit: Yes, I am here).

- *hele in hi tak yi ? - kale.*
 how Foc 2 name YI like.that
 - What's your name? - she says
- *Tanimakalu - kale - hi?*
 Tanimakalu - like.that - 2
 - Tanimakalu - she says - And yours?
- *Yatamalu - kale - hamuna in hilaka ke hi chĩ?*
 Yatamalu like.that - where Foc live KE 2 Cop
 - Yatamalu. Where do you live?
- *Morena-n.*
 Morena-Loc
 - In the Morená village.
- *Kamayula-a hi chĩ?*
 Kamayula-Quest 2 Cop
 - Are you Kamayura?
- *e'e Kamayula ka_in ha chĩ.*
 yes Kamayula Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 - Yes, I am.
- *pa ke-a hi chĩ?*
 mate? KE-Quest 2 Cop
 - Are you married? (lit: Do you have a mate?)
- *hahak. pa-tke ke huk'an ka_in ha chĩ.*
 no mate-privation.of KE still Foc/Tens 1 Cop
 - No, I am still single. (lit: I am still a person deprived of mate.)
- *hi dat wan yi-ki hi hu'tsa-kmu-ksi?*
 2 relative PL YI-Dat 2 see-Dir-Dir
 - Did you come here (downriver, by boat) to visit your relatives?
- *hahak. inak wan-ki ka_in ha amipchika-kmu-ksi.*
 no 3 PL -Dat Foc/Tens 1 chat-Dir-Dir
 - No, I just stopped to have a chat with them.
- Pavuru-ki ka_in chumu ke ha chĩ,*
 Pavuru-Dat Foc/Tens go.downriver KE 1 Cop
 I am going to Pavuru (the Posto Pavuru),

yaw oke -n tsuts' chī-k yi-ki ha ami-kmu.
 human.being root-Loc distribute Cop-Nzr YI-Dat 1 speak-Dir
 I am going to talk to the doctor.

- *hi ma'tsi-a?*
 2 sick-Quest
 - Are you sick?

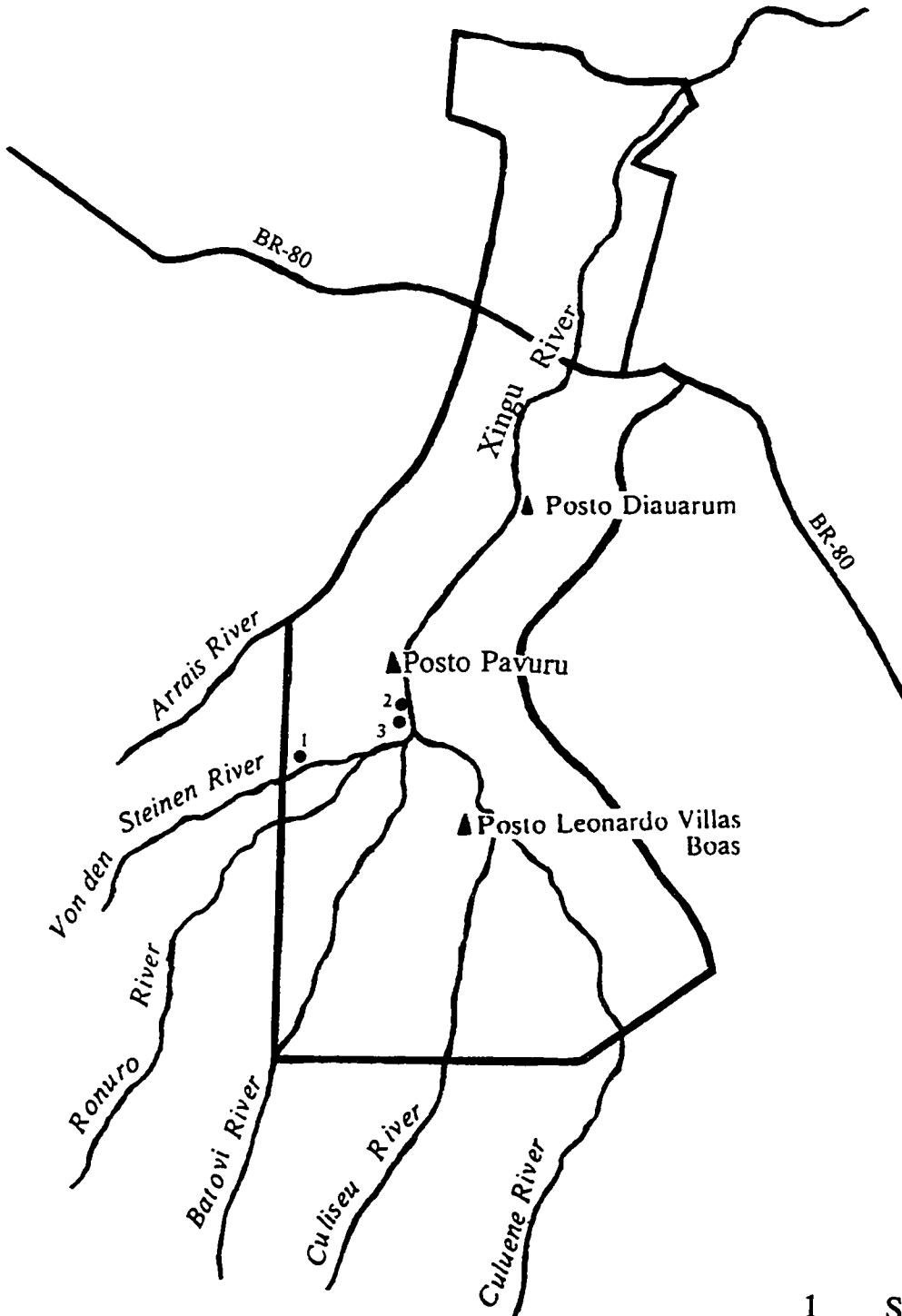
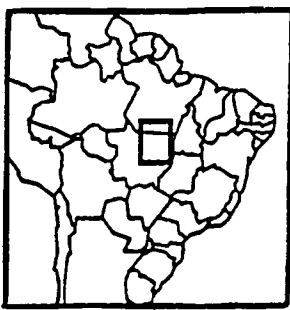
- *e'e ha ma'tsi ka_in. ha pe-pen ka_in.*
 yes 1 sick Foc/Tens 1 Redupl-vomite Foc/Tens
 - Yes, I am. I am vomiting a lot.

- *tixi nuk hen, wana chumu-mlo.*
 go! so then Imp go.downriver-?
 - So, go soon!

- *hay de ha chumu.*
 ready already 1 go.downriver
 - I am already going.

- *tixi!*
 go!
 - Go!

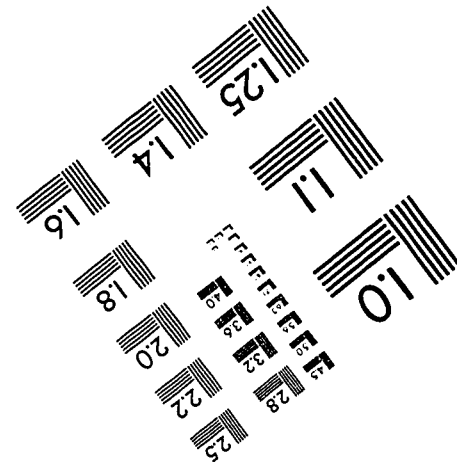
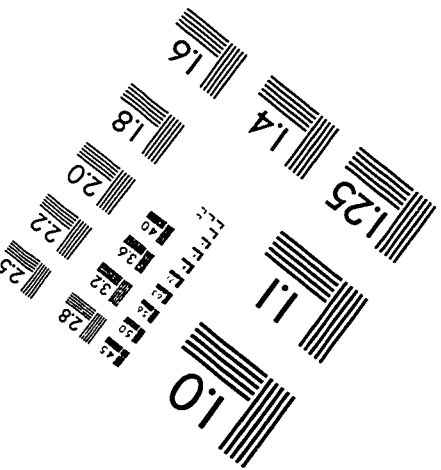
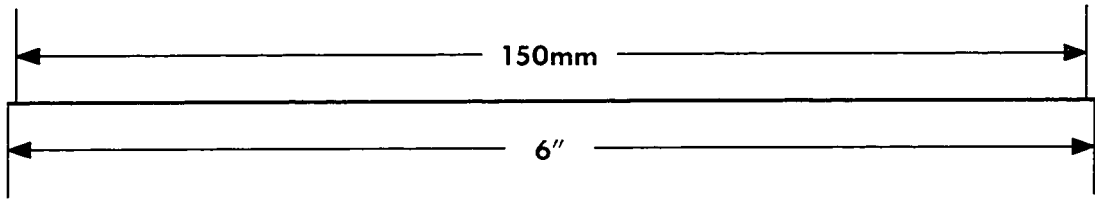
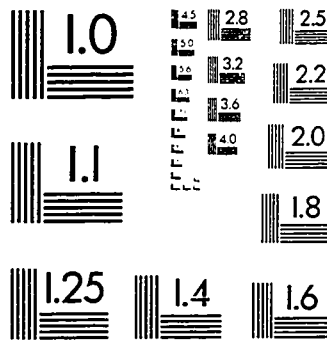
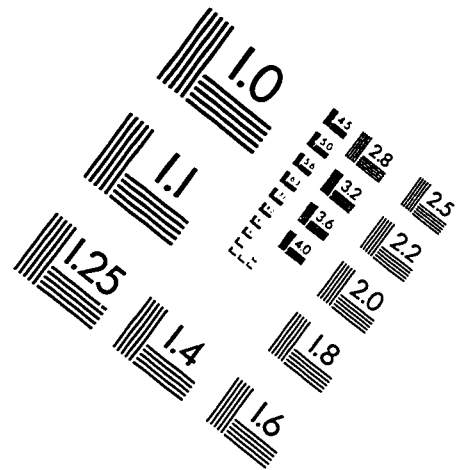
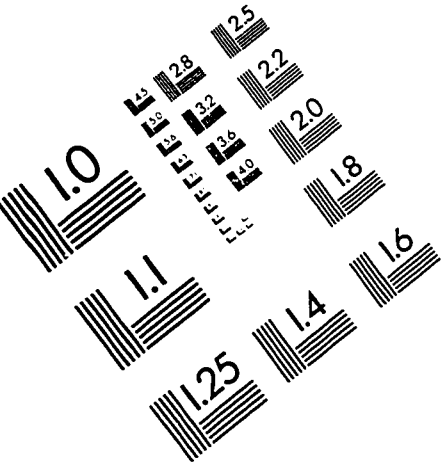
APPENDIX 2: MAP OF XINGU RESERVE



- 1 Steinen
- 2 Terra Preta
- 3 Boa Esperança



IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
 1653 East Main Street
 Rochester, NY 14609 USA
 Phone: 716/482-0300
 Fax: 716/288-5989

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