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A grammar of Yurakaré

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A grammar of Yurakaré

Een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de letteren

Proefschrift

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Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	FOR	'meant for'	PLC	place
ADM	admonitive	FRQ	frequency	PO	purposive object
ADV	adverbializer	FUT	future	POT	potential
AFO	affected object	HAB	habitual	PRN	pronoun
AMONG	among	IDEO	ideophone	PROH	prohibitive
AMP	amplification	IGN	ignorative	PST	past
ASM	assumptive	IMP	imperative	QN	quantity
AST	associated time	INC	incompletive	R	reflexive/reciprocal
ATT	attention	INS	instrument	RC	recent completive
CA	characteristic action	INTJ	interjection	REF	referential
CAU	causative	INTL	intentional	S	subject
CMP	comparative	INTS	intensifier	SBJ	subjective
CNT	continuative	IO	indirect object	SE	enclitic 'se'
CO	cooperative object	JUS	jussive	SEQ	sequential
COL	collective	LD	limited degree	SINCE	since
COM	comitative	LIM	limitative	SG	singular
DEL	delimiter	LOC	locative	SML	smell
DEM	demonstrative	M	masculine	SPC	speculative
DES	desiderative	MAT	material	SS	same subject
DIM	diminutive	MEA	measure	TOT	totality
DIR	direction	MID	middle voice	VAL	validational
DPT	departitive	MOM	momentaneous	VBL	verbalizer
DS	different subject	NB	notable	VC	vowel change
DSC	discontinuative		information	VOC	vocative
DST	distributive	NC	near completive	VP	visual presentative
EMPH	emphasis	NEG	negation	WA	suffix 'wa'
EXC	exocentric compound	NLZ	nominalizer	VPL	verbal plural
EXH	exhortative	NVR	non-veridical	WH	question word
EXPR	expressive	P	possessive		
F	feminine	PL	plural		

Maps
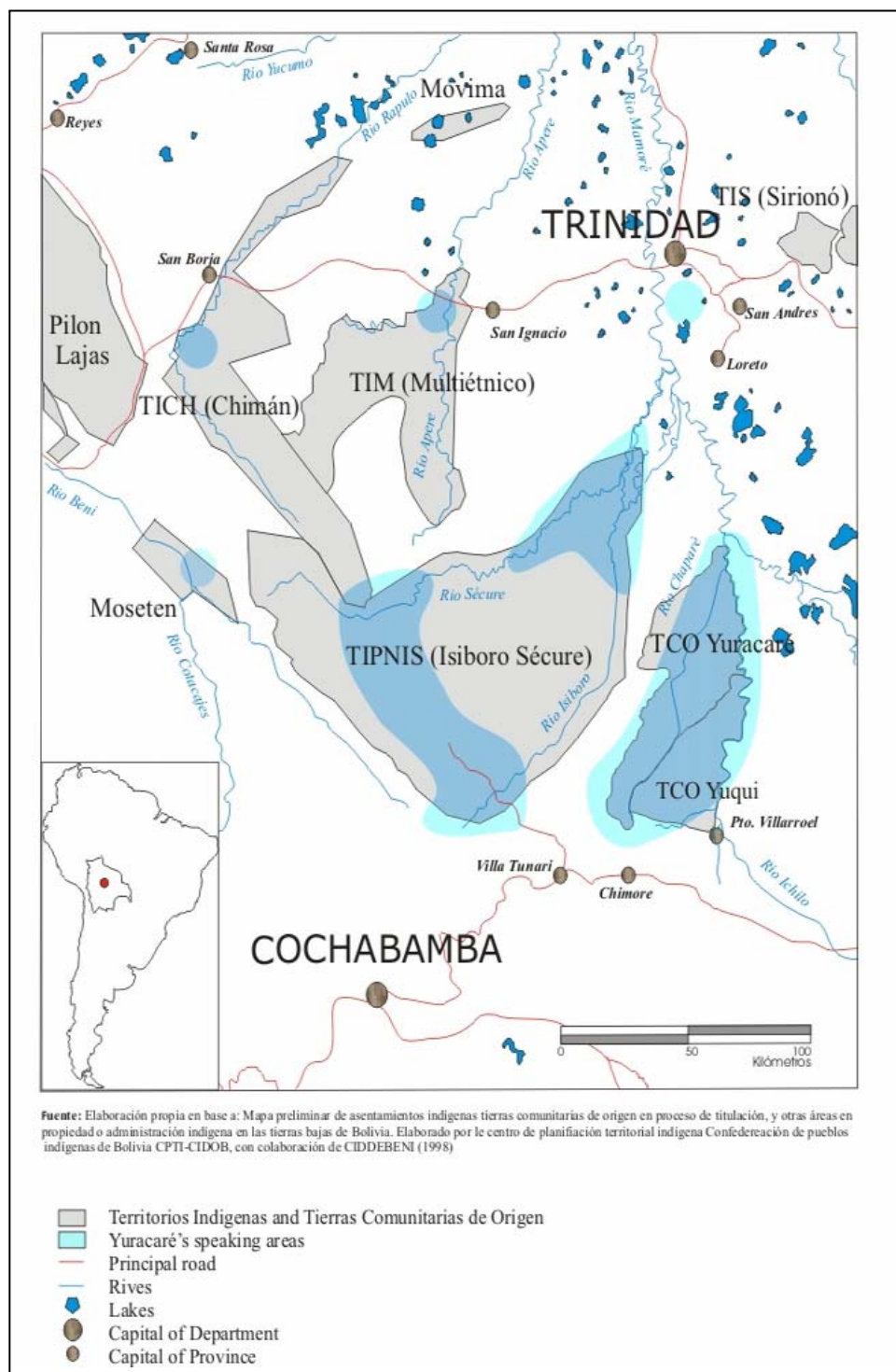
Map 1 - The areas where Yurakaré is spoken
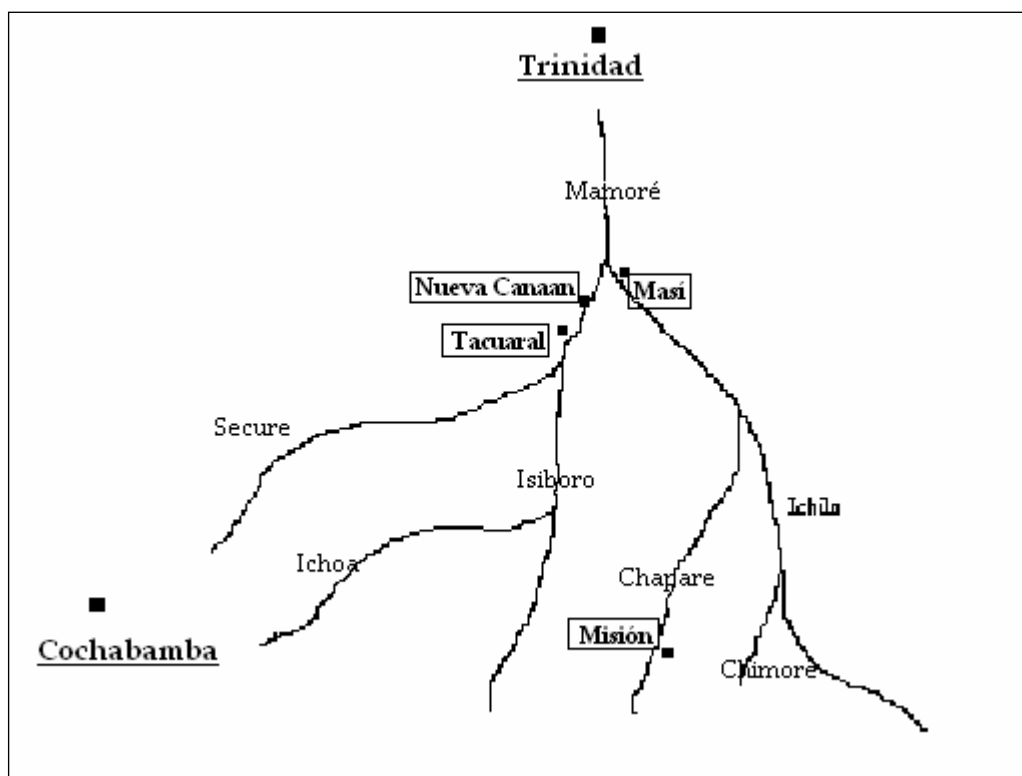
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1.   Introduction

The Yurakaré Indians form a small indigenous group that lives in the foothill area of central Bolivia. Their language, Yurakaré, is one of the many languages in an area that is a complicated puzzle of seemingly unrelated languages. The objective of this book is to give a grammatical description of the Yurakaré language.

The study of South-American languages has seen a big increase in research efforts at the beginning of the millenium. Looking at the situation in the Yurakaré area alone, a number of complete grammars have appeared in the years preceding the appearance of this grammar: Latundê/Lakondê (Telles 2002), Moré (Angenot 2002), Sabanê (Antunes 2004), Kanoê (Bacelar 2004), Kwaza (Van der Voort 2004), Cavineña (Guillaume 2004), Mosetén (Sakel 2004) and Yuki (Villafañe 2004). Apart from these a number of grammatical descriptions are in preparation: Sararé (Borella in prep.), Araona (Emkow in prep.), Movima (Haude in prep.), Baure (Danielsen in prep.), Itonama (Crevels in prep.), Arikapu (Van der Voort in prep.), Leko (Van de Kerke in prep.), Maropa (Guillaume in prep.), and Uru (Hanss in prep.). Finally, two important language surveys of major areas in South America have appeared: Dixon & Aikhenvald (1999) on Amazonian languages, and Adelaar with Muysken (2004) on Andean languages.

It is in this growing tradition of study of the languages of South America that this grammar appears. It is the ideal situation in the sense that it can maximally profit from and contribute to the growing body of material.

1.1 The Yurakaré Indians

1.1.1 Geography and demography

The estimates of the number of Yurakaré Indians have varied considerably over the years. Estimates diverge from 200 (Montaño Aragón 1989) to 2751 (Ibarra Grasso 1985), cf. Montaño Aragón (1989) for an overview. Adelaar (1991:57) estimates 500-2500 speakers. The most recent data come from a census held in 2003 where a number of 1399 Yurakaré is given. This number refers not to speakers, but to members, 15 years and older, of the ethnic group in as far as they considered themselves to be part of the ethnic group. The total number is probably bigger, however, since the 2003 census did not reach all communities (Mily Crevels, p.c.).

The Yurakarés live dispersed over a rather large territory, the borders of which are defined by the Isiboro and Sécure rivers in the northwest and the Mamoré and Ichilo in the east-southeast (see Maps 1-2). Many great rivers run through this river basin, like the Chimore (<Yurakaré 'almond tree'), Chapare and Ichoa. As long as the sources go back, they indicate that this territory has been the

traditional habitat of the Yurakaré Indians, even though Ribera & König (1991:11) say:

> Due to the continuous flow of colonizers, drug traffickers etc., especially towards the tropical zones of the provinces of Carrasco and Chapare, many of the Yurakaré Indians that used to live there have left these regions, traveling north to the lowland province of Mojos. Because of these processes, one can observe a certain increase of Yurakaré populations in the territory north of the Sécure River, like in the Chimane woods [my translation][1]

Del Castillo (1929 [1676/1678], cited in Montaño Aragón 1989:412 and Nordenskiöld 2003b [1922]:39) mention the river Yapacaní as the southernmost border. Montaño Aragón (1989:413) claims that the Yurakarés used to go well into the department of Santa Cruz: "One should not forget that the Yurakaré, in their most oriental excursions, used to arrive at the Rio Grande or Guapay" [my translation].[2]

The ethnic group as well as the language is called *Yurakaré* or *Yuracaré*. They call themselves *Yurujure* or *Yurujare*. The name Yurakaré is claimed to be the combination of Quechuan *yuraj* 'white' and *qari* 'man' (cf. d'Orbigny 1839:343-344, 354). Kelm (1966:69-70) doubts that this is really true, since Yurakarés do not really have light skin color. According to him, the name may refer to a disease of the skin of which many Yurakarés suffer, which makes the skin lose its pigment, and may be derived from Quechua *yurajqara* 'white skin'. He also mentions the existence of the word *yurujure* in the sense of 'owner, proprietor'. Even though this word is still used as such, it does not tell us anything about whether this can be derived from *yuraj qari* or *yurajqara*.

There is some confusion on whether the tribe of Yurakarés has any dialectal subdivisions or not. Thadeo Haenke (1796, cited in d'Orbigny 1839:345) mentions several names for the Yurakaré: *Mansiños*, *Solostos*, *Oromos*, *Conis*, *Cuchis* and *Enetés*[3]. Brinton (1891:298) copies these names and interprets them as dialectal subdivisions of his Yurakari language family, to which he adds *Mages*. Alcides d'Orbigny (1839:354) divided the group of Yurakaré Indians into two subgroups: the *Mansiños* (eastern tribe) and the *Solostos* (western tribe). The latter term is

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[1] Debido al flujo continuo de los colonos, narcotraficantes etc. especialmente hacia las zonas tropicales de las provincias Carrasco y Chapare, un gran número de Yuracarés que antes habitaban estas regones se han alejado de éstos dirigiéndose hacia el norte y las zonas bajas de la Provincia Mojos. A causa de estos procesos se puede observar un cierto aumento de la población Yuracaré en las regions al norte del río Sécure, como en el bosque de Chimanes.

[2] No debe olvidarse que los Yuracarés, en sus excursiones más orientales, solían llegar hasta los márgenes del río Grande o Guapay.

[3] The word *ënnëtë* means 'bad, evil' in Yurakaré.

probably a Spanish corruption of the Yurakaré term *Sulustu*, which may have referred to the ancestors of the present-day Yukí or Sirionó Indians (Hirtzel, in prep.). Of the other names encountered in the literature he says:

> We also believe that the Oromos, destroyed by the tribe of the Mansiños, belonged to the same nation. Furthermore, at different eras, they were known under several names of subdivisions, like *Conis* and *Cuchis* (…) and *Enetés* (…). The name Yuracarè is universally the commonly used name in the country by the Spaniards, the others [i.e. names] are not known outside of the nation itself. The Solostos, gathered in the mission San Carlos, receive the name *Mages* from the inhabitants of Santa Cruz [my translation].[4]

This means that of all the subdivisions made by Haenke and Brinton, d'Orbigny acknowledges only two to be indications of dialectal subdivisions at the time of his stay in Bolivia. Since d'Orbigny and Brinton, there has to my knowledge not been an author that has found any dialect subdivisions within the group of Yurakaré Indians (cf. Montaño Aragón 1989:419, who also claims that the name *Cuchis* refers to the Yukí Indians), unless they copied their information directly from one of these two authors.

1.1.2 History and current situation

The first mentions of the Yurakaré Indians are from as early as the sixteenth century, when the Yurakaré are mentioned as allies of the Chiriguano (Guaraní) Indians (the names Vitupué, Condorillo and Chiquiaca are subdivisions of the Chiriguano):

> They are the Vitupué subgroup, the Condorillo subgroup and the Chiquiaca subgroup. It are these that cause such considerable damage, commit robbery, kill and insult in the roads of the provinces of Las Charcas and Santa Cruz, because together, the Tomacocies, Xores, and Yurucales, their friends and allies of their class, have the roads under control in such a way that

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[4] Nous croyons aussi que les *Oromos*, détruits par la tribu des Mansiños, appartenaient à la meme nation. De plus, à différentes époques, ils furent connus sous divers noms de sections, comme ceux de *Conis* et *Cuchis* (…) et celui d'*Enetés* (…). Le nom de Yuracarès est universellement consacré dans le pays par les Espagnols, tandis que les autres ne sont pas connus hors de la nation meme. Les Solostos, réunis à la Mission de San-Carlos, reçoivent le nom de *Mages* des habitants de Santa Cruz.

> communication between the provinces of Sta Cruz and Pirú is impossible if you do not take forty well armed soldiers or even more with you. These people attacked captain Hernando de Salazar in the road killing ten of his soldiers, and wounding a highly respected woman. They robbed many (?) others of a great amount of clothes, jewels, silver and other things, and they captured the servants. (De Cepeda (1914 [1584]): 258, quoted in Kelm 1966: 70) [my translation][5].

The *Xores* may have been the ancestors of the present-day Sirionó Indians (locally indicated with the name Choris) but we cannot be sure of this, the *Yurucales* refers to the Yurakaré Indians. It is not entirely clear which ethnic group *Tomacocies* refers to. Kelm (1966:76) says that they can be considered to be Chiquitanos with reasonable certainty[6]. Furthermore contacts are mentioned between the Yurakaré Indians and a tribe called Chui, described by Kelm (1966:71) as highland-Indians from Mizque. According to Schramm (1995), the Mizque and Pojo Indians lived in the inter-Andean valleys and fell under the Inca administration, and therefore probably spoke Quechua. It is quite possible, however, that other languages were spoken in the inter-Andean valleys as well. To the north, at the plains of the Mojos, there must have been contacts with the Mojeños (mainly Trinitarios), which belong to the Arawak language family. There is also mention of Rache, or Amos, finally, who occupied a large territory from the Sécure to the Chapare. According to Métraux (1942:16-17), these foothill Indians were the ancestors of the present-day Mosetenes.

In an excellent historical overview, Kelm (1966) argues that the Yurakaré (together with the Tomacocies and the Sirionó Indians) were tributaries to the Chiriguano Indians, supplying coca leaves, feathers of (presumably) Carassow birds[7] and palmwood (tembe). With the arrival of the Spaniards, they changed alliances and occasionally worked for the Spaniards, even though there were still many conflicts between the Yurakaré and the Spaniards (cf. quote from De Cepeda

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[5] Es la una la parcialdad de Vitupué y la otra de Condorillo y la otra de Chiquiaca y estos son los que hazen los tan notables daños y rrobos y muertes é ynsultos en la provincial de las Charcas y en la de Santa Cruz y sus caminos porque los tienen tomados entre ellos y los tomacocies y xores y yurucales sus amigos y aliados de su condicion de tal manera que no se puede comunicar la provincial de Santa Cruz con las del Pirú sino es saliendo quarenta soldados muy bien armadas y aun con mas gente questa desbataron al capitan Hernando de Salazar en el camino matandole diez soldados…y á una Señora muger principal hiriendole otros munchos le rrobaron grandisima suma de rropa, alhajas, plata y otras cosas y les captivaron el servicio

[6] The word *tamacosi* is the word for 'dog' in Chiquitano as well as Zamuco (Ayoreo) (Willem Adelaar p.c.).

[7] In the orginal Spanish text they are called *plumas de pavo*.

above). There was no question of real, lasting contact between the Yurakaré and the Spaniards at that point, however.

This situation changes somewhat in the eighteenth century, when some of the Yurakaré Indians come into contact with Jesuit missionaries working in the Moxos area. This was the case especially in the last part of the eighteenth century, when the Jesuit mission constructed a route to make a connection between Cochabamba and the missions in what today is the Beni department. There is little written information about how numerous and intense these contacts between the Jesuit missionaries and the Yurakaré were. The Jesuits do not seem to have been particularly interested in the conversion of the Yurakaré, and conversion attempts affected at most part of the Yurakaré community (cf. Kelm 1966:91-102).

After the expulsion of the Jesuits from the area, the Franciscan mission, directed from the convent in Tarata, near Cochabamba, was more serious and active in reducing the Yurakaré Indians and ending their nomadic lifestyle of gathering and hunting. From the end of the eighteenth century, Franciscan priests came from the monastery of Tarata to the Chapare and Carrasco provinces. In 1793, P.Fr. Marcos Meléndez founded the mission Asunción de Yuracarés (Montaño Aragón 1989:413). After this a whole series of Franciscan priests founded several missions, not all equally successful from a Franciscan point of view. Because of mismanagement and subsequent abandonment of the missions by the Yurakarés, the conversion attempts of the Franciscans ultimately did not amount to much (cf. Von Holten 1877, who held the missionary Izquierdo personally responsible for the abandonment of the missions in 1872). Finally, during the wars of independence, the Franciscans had to depart from the area, leaving the Yurakarés living an independent life. By the time Alcide d'Orbigny passed the area in the 1830s, the Yurakaré lived in complete independence. D'Orbigny found the fieldnotes of Franciscan priest La Cueva, who worked with the Yurakaré at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These fieldnotes contained invaluable information about the Yurakaré language, and they were published in 1893 by French publisher Lucien Adam (cf. section 1.2.1).

After the Jesuits and the Franciscans, there was an increase of commercial activities in the area. More and more Andean colonizers settled in the area to find a better future. This economic activity received a boost in the 1970s and 1980s, when profits of the narcotics industry were sky rocketing. For the Yurakarés, this meant an invasion of their territory, and displacement for some of them.

The 1950s saw the arrival of the New Tribes Mission, an Evangelist mission from the United States. They have been very influential in certain regions, but they did not manage to convert all Yurakarés, even though the New Tribes missionaries have traveled through the whole Yurakaré area. As far as religion goes, there is not very much left of their old convictions, but Christian belief has only partially taken root in the Yurakaré communities. In some of the communities of the Chapare/Carrasco province, the conversion attempts of the New Tribes Mission have created a rather faithful group of Evangelist Yurakarés, but the influence of

this group does not extend very much further, In the Beni department, the Yurakaré mostly consider themselves Catholic. There is no active profession of the Catholic faith in the sense that there is a weekly service. Catholic festivities are usually celebrated and most children are baptized.

Currently the Yurakaré Indians are mainly agrarians living of the crops they cultivate. There is some minor commercial activity (selling crops, hides of caimans, turtle eggs etc.). The traditional territory of the Yurakarés is becoming more and more inhabited by other ethnic groups. In the Chapare/Carrasco provinces of Cochabamba, the Yurakaré Indians mainly interact with Quechua Indians, who live among them. In the TIPNIS the area is shared with Quechuas, Aymaras, and mainly Chimanes (Hirtzel 2000). In the Beni department, finally, there is frequent contact and intermarriage with Trinitario Indians (Arawak).

1.2 The Yurakaré language

1.2.1 Previous work

Up until now, the Yurakaré language has received relatively little attention. The first study devoted completely to the language was La Cueva (1893). This publication had been prepared by the Franciscan priest La Cueva at the beginning of the nineteenth century. His notes were brought to France by Alcides d'Orbigny and edited by Lucien Adam who eventually published them in 1893[8]. The publication consists of a grammatical description and a word list.

The grammatical description, taking up 52 pages, covers many different areas: from sounds to nominal and verbal morphosyntax, interjections and conjunctions, as well as some example sentences. The word list covers 68 pages and is Spanish-Yurakaré. It is a rich source containing highly valuable material. It is also the first attempt to devise a spelling for the language, even though this proposal is not made explicit in the grammar.

The next study devoted to the language is also by a Franciscan priest, Lassinger (1915). This is a grammatical description, which is much more modest in comparison to La Cueva's work. It consists of around 15 pages, which give information about nominal and verbal conjugations. There is no word list. Lassinger's work has been reprinted in Ribera *et al*. (1991).

In 1980 and 1991, Marge Day produced two further important studies: a rather large word list both Yurakaré-Spanish (115 pages) and Spanish-Yurakaré (123 pages), and a didactic grammar. In this grammar a consistent spelling is devised (cf. section 2.2), and the study of the grammatical characteristics is taken out of the

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[8] Brinton (1891:297) summoned publishers to publish the manuscript of La Cueva. This possibly may have led to the publication two years later.

Latin mold and put into a more open-minded framework. It covers all relevant aspects of the grammar of Yurakaré, touching upon each of them briefly.

Another study worth mentioning is Ribera *et al*. (1991). The work consists of three parts: the first part is a word list Yurakaré-Spanish, the second is a word list Spanish-Yurakaré. Part three contains the already mentioned reprint of Lassinger's (1915) grammar. This is a collaborative study of Julio Ribera with two native speakers Walter Rivero and Asencio Rocha.

Apart from these studies devoted entirely to the language, there have been a number of studies dealing with the Yurakaré Indians from an anthropological point of view. The first influential anthropological works regarding the Yurakaré Indians were published by Haenke (1900 [1796]), Von Holten (1877) and d'Orbigny (1839). A number of studies followed these pioneers: Nordenskiöld 2003a [1912], 2003b [1922], 2003c [1924], Mather (1922), Kelm (1964), Richter (1930), deal with cultural and/or geographical aspects of the Yurakaré Indians. They contain all kinds of useful information of past and current rituals or descriptions of life with the Yurakarés. This tradition will be maintained and enriched by the work of Vincent Hirtzel (in prep.), focusing on self-image and conflict treatment among the Yurakaré. More general overviews, differing in length and depth, can be found in Metraux (1942), Kelm (1966), Ibarra Grasso (1985), and Montaño Aragón (1989).

1.2.2 Genetic affiliation

To my knowledge, the first attempt to compare the Yurakaré language to other languages in the area is Brinton (1891:298). He sees *Yuracari* as a separate group, consisting of several dialect groups (cf. section 1.1.1). D'Orbigny (1839:338-353) made a classification based on cultural and physical characteristics. He groups the Yurakaré Indians together with Mosetenes, Tacanas, Maropas and Apolistas in a group called Antisiens.

Most students of the area have classified Yurakaré as a separate isolated language (Chamberlain 1931, Rivet & Loukotka 1952, McQuown 1955, Loukotka 1968). D'Orbigny (1839:358-359) acknowledged the uniqueness of the language, saying that "the Yurakaré language is euphonic and in this sense differs essentially from the hard languages the are associated with the nations of the highland Indians, like the ones of the Quechuas and Aymaras of the Andes" [my translation].[9]

There have been other authors, however, who have claimed that Yurakaré belongs to a larger family. Swadesh (1959, 1962) considered Yurakaré to be part of

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[9] La langue yuracarès est euphonique, et diffère essentiellement, sous ce rapport, des durs idioms propres aux nations montagnardes, par exemple de ceux des Quechuas et Aymaras des Andes.

the Macro-Quechuan network, including *inter alia* nearby languages such as Quechua, Itonama, Mosetén, and Cayuvava. Greenberg (1960, 1987) and Key (1979) classify Yurakaré as an equatorial language, in the Andean-Equatorial stock, along with, among others, Cayuvava, Arawak, and Tupi languages. Suárez (1974) links Yurakaré to Mosetén (something which had been suggested by Metraux in a personal comment to Mason 1950:275) and Chon languages, as well as to Pano-Tacanan in a stock he calls Macro-Pano-Tacanan.

All authors that have considered Yurakaré in their classification base their proposals on La Cueva (1893), which is a rich source, but not rich enough to justify these classifications (cf. Suárez 1974:137-138). Secondly, the correspondences they find are not overwhelming, as confirmed by Campbell (1997:192) and Adelaar with Muysken (2004:27-29). Using a word list with 133 items, Greenberg (1987) only finds 22 correlates for Yurakaré, some of which are rather far off from their cognate examples both formally and notionally. The highest number of lexical correlations that Suárez (1974) finds for Yurakaré is with Tacana (14 out of 100 - cf. Suárez 1974:138). He also finds some systematic correspondences in the pronominal system, some grammatical categories and phonology, but these are sometimes due to errors in La Cueva's grammar (e.g. causative *ma-*, focus marker -*ya*, negator *chama*).

In the light of these controversies, it is best to regard Yurakaré as an unclassified language, for which convincing evidence has not (yet) been found to classify it with (an)other language(s) in a larger group. Hopefully this grammar will contribute to shed some more light on this issue.

1.2.3 Typological sketch

The basis of Yurakaré phonology is relatively simple. Yurakaré has 18 phonemic consonants, distinguishing five places and five manners of articulation. There are voiced counterparts for three of the plosives, as is exemplified in Table 1 below. As far as vowels are concerned, Yurakaré has a total of seven phonemic vowels. They are given in Table 2.

Table 1 - Yurakaré consonants

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosives	p	t	t͡ʃ	k	(ʔ)
	b	d	dʲ		
fricatives		s	ʃ		h
		ɬ			
nasals	m	n	ɲ		
laterals		l			
semivowels	w		j		

Table 2 - Yurakaré vowels

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

Syllable structure is (C)V(C), with a number of restrictions on which consonants can be in the coda (cf. section 2.3.1). Morphophonological processes include lenition (restricted to /k/), assimilation (mostly of consonants), elision (mostly vowels), and gemination (both vowels and consonants). Stress assignment is more complex. Yurakaré feet are iambic, counted from left to right; primary stress is assigned to the rightmost dominant node and the final syllable is extrametrical. However, there are affixes that bear their own prosodic information. Some affixes attract (secondary or primary) stress, while yet others avoid being stressed. I call the former stress-attracting and the latter stress-avoiding morphemes. Apart from these two types of affixes, there are also prosodically neutral affixes and diacritically marked roots.

   Morphologically, Yurakaré can be characterized as an agglutinating language on the scale of fusion, and fairly polysynthetic on the synthesis index.

(1)   ti-ma-y-mala-m=chi   ku-ta-ø=ya
        1SG-3PL-PO-go.SG-IMP.SG=IGN   3SG.CO-say-3=NVR
        'Go and get them for me, she said to him.' (OR-19MA-9)

Verbs are usually morphologically complex, without much fusion. This can be observed in example (1), where three participants are marked on the verb (*ti-* for first person singular, *ma-* for third person plural object, and *-m* for second person singular subject, as well as an applicative marker *y-* specifying the role of the third person plural object (purposive). The ignorative marker is cliticized onto the verb. The fact that this utterance in itself is a grammatically correct and complete sentence illustrates the polysynthetic character of the morphology. There is no incorporation of lexical items, however. Morpheme boundaries are generally easily separable in Yurakaré and there is often a one-form-one-meaning correspondence. There is some fusion, however. As can be seen in example (1), there is fusion of the categories person and number in cross-referencing affixes, and sometimes there is also fusion of grammatical relation markers with person and number, as is the case with *ku-* in *kutaya*. In the case of the imperative there is fusion of 'imperative' and number.

   Yurakaré distinguishes seven wordclasses: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, ideophones, interjections and clitics. The last three may possibly be subsumed under the higher-level category of particles.

The noun phrase normally consists of a noun and optionally has modifying elements as well (possessors, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers and articles). Numerals, quantifiers and articles precede the noun; adjectives, as exemplified in example (4) below, and possessors can be on either side of the head noun. Modifiers can furthermore be extracted from the noun phrase:

(2)   bëmë   wojto-ø   ti-tëbë
      much/many   pour.out-3   1SG-blood
      'Much of my blood is pouring out.' [AA-9MA-6]

Possession is marked on the head by means of a cross-referencing personal prefix, as can be observed in example (2) above. The noun marked for possession is usually preceded (but it may also be followed) by the possessor noun phrase:

(3)   shunñe   a-pojore
      man   3SG.P-canoe
      'the man's canoe'

Number and case relations are marked by means of postpositional enclitics, which attach to the rightmost element of the noun phrase. The postpositions marking case relations mark the more peripheral relations: comitative, instrument, location, direction and ablative. There is also a postpositional enclitic marking an emphatic subject. All of this is exemplified in (4). Here it can also be observed that the clitic status of the plural marker is somewhat doubtful, as it can appear optionally and in addition to marking the final element, on non-final elements as well.

(4)   a   yee=ja   awissmë-ø   shunñe   ewete(=w)   matat-ima=w=la
          woman=EMPH   club-3   man   broom(=PL)   big-COL=PL=INS
      b   yee=ja   awissmë-ø   shunñe   matat-ima(=w)   ewete=w=la
                                                   big-COL(=PL)   broom=PL=INS
      'The woman clubs the man with a big broom.' (GB-1MI-99)

Yurakaré is an accusative language, with some ergative characteristics, restricted to a very small number of verbs. Subjects are suffixed to the verb, objects are prefixed. Yurakaré predicate roots are either intransitive or transitive. These basic valencies can be extended to maximally three head-marked arguments with the help of an elaborated system of five different applicatives (comitative, co-operative, objective, indirect object and affected object). Examples of such verb roots with extended valency are the following:

(5)   a   ti-ma-n-kaya-ma
          1SG-3PL-IO-give-IMP.SG
          'Give them to me!'
      b   ti-ma-la-che-m
          1SG-3PL-AFO-eat-2SG.S
          'You ate them from me.'

The entities referred to by the cross-reference affixes in (5) may additionally be expressed by overt noun phrases, but this is not required. The utterances in (5) are perfectly grammatical sentences. Yurakaré, in other words, is a pro-drop language.

   Many temporal, modal and aspectual distinctions are marked by means of suffixes, which come right after valency changing morphology (the middle voice marker and causative, which are suffixed), but before the person markers. This taken together with the object cross-referencing prefixes and applicative markers discussed above complete the template of the Yurakaré verb:

(6)   object cross ref. - applicatives - root - valency - TMA - subject cross ref.

We have already seen the ordering of applicative prefixes and cross-referencing prefixes in (5). As an illustration of the suffixal order, consider the following utterance:

(7)   mëë   mala-m=ti   chili-ta-shta-ø   mi-tewi   mi-marka
      2SG.PRN   go.SG-2SG.S=DS clean-MID-FUT-2SG.S   2SG-foot:LOC   2SG-mark
      'If you go, the mark on your foot will rub off.' (OR-19MA-31)

Here we can see that the middle voice marker precedes the future marker in the verb *chilitashta*.

   The distinction between inflection and derivation is relevant in that it explains many of the ordering of morphemes. Derivational elements are generally closer to the root than inflectional elements, a tendency observed to be generally true for most languages (cf. Bybee 1985). The verbal template is characterized by the following linear order of morphemes:

(8)   inflection-derivation-root-derivation-inflection

The more clearly derivational a morpheme, the closer it is to the root, generally. Inflectional order is TMA suffixes before cross-referencing suffixes.

   There is also a system of verbal enclitics, which mainly have a modal (epistemic) or aspectual meaning, and in addition a small set of clausal enclitics, which can attach to any phrase-final word. These clause-final elements often have to do with emphasis and speaker commitment.

Word order is relatively free. Overtly expressed subjects most frequently appear in postverbal position; objects occur on both sides of the verb with about equal frequency. Adverbs are relatively free in their position; different adverbs have different preferences.

Complex clauses are often marked by one of three clause-chaining enclitics marking that the subject expressed in the verb they attach to is either the same or different from the subject of the last verb in the string of predicates. There are two enclitics indicating 'same subject', depending on the factual status of the subordinated predicate: =*ya* for irrealis, =*ja* for realis.

1.3 Fieldwork

1.3.1 Fieldwork situation and methodology

The present work is based almost entirely on fieldwork data. I collected data in two main areas and in four different communities:

Table 3 - Fieldwork locations

year	place	province	department	period
2001	La Misión	Chapare/Carrasco	Cochabamba	2 months
2002	La Misión	Chapare/Carrasco	Cochabamba	1 month
	Tacuaral	Marban	Beni	1 month
	Nueva Canaan	Marban	Beni	1 month
2003	Loma del Masí	Marban	Beni	3 months
2004	Loma del Masí	Marban	Beni	1,5 month

In 2001 I spent three months in La Misión on the border of the Chapare and Carrasco provinces in the department of Cochabamba (cf. Map 2). Of those three months I was able to conduct fieldwork for only two months, because of political problems. Politically, La Misión falls under the administration of the Territorio Indígena Coni-Yura, a body run by indigenous inhabitants of the area, and I needed permission from them. Since it took them rather long to answer my request, the people of La Misión in a village meeting decided to make a preliminary decision to help me with my research. At the end of my stay in 2001 I still did not have an answer from the authorities. The answer finally came after a month in La Misión in 2002, and it was negative, without any reason given.

This meant that I had to go to another area, so I traveled to Trinidad where I met Julio Ribera, who works with the Yurakaré Indians living in the Beni department. He introduced me to the president and vice-president of the *subcentral* (the local indigenous administration) of the area, which comprises the uppermost part of the Isiboro River as well as a part of the Mamoré River. This time the permission was given swiftly and gladly, so I started working here, on the condition that I would

work in several villages of the area and that I would deliver a dictionary. The first condition had as a result that I worked in three villages in the area: Tacuaral, Nueva Canaan (both in 2002) and Loma del Masí (in 2003 and 2004); the second condition will result in the publication of a dictionary (Van Gijn & Hirtzel, in prep).

During these four periods of fieldwork, I collected a number of texts, most of which are mythological tales. These are stories that have been told for generations, and they are also shared – with some modifications – by Yurakaré Indians in different parts of their area of dispersion (cf. Hirtzel & Van Gijn, in prep.). Unfortunately, there seems to be a hitch in the tradition of passing on these stories to younger generations. I have also recorded two half-hour dialogues, simply by leaving the minidisk recorder behind with two people, and asking them to "just talk", after which I went away. The rest of the data consists of elicitation, partly original (or whatever came up from texts), partly checking the data from other sources (mostly Day 1980, 1991).

1.3.2 Consultants

I chose to work with many different consultants. This has advantages and disadvantages. The major advantage is that it gives you a more reliable overview of the variation always present in a language community. The major disadvantage, on the other hand, is that you have to deal with conflicting opinions and that it may take longer for consultants to get into the habit of elicitation, transcription and translation.

I did not work an equal amount of time with each consultant, nor did I do the same tasks with each consultant. I worked with thirteen people in La Misión. Asencio Rocha, who I was to meet again in 2002 in the Beni province, told me the largest story I have collected in all four years, about *Tappë Tiri* (see section 1.3.3 for more comments on texts). Other people mainly did elicitation tasks. I worked most with Julia and Gerónimo Baillivián as well as their son Pablo Baillivián. Arsenio Orrosco and Gladys Suárez also worked with me for several sessions. Other consultants worked only one session with me: Andrés Rodríguez, Corina Chávez, Leonida Rocha, Inéz Rocha, Jesús Cuéllar, Sonia Rodríguez and Rebeca Baillivián. Another extremely important consultant was Jeremías Baillivián, who lives in the city of Cochabamba. He transcribed and translated texts with me and did some elicitation tasks as well.

In 2002 I went to the Beni department where I started out by spending a month in Tacuaral, which is a small village consisting of one family in the traditional sense (cf. Kelm 1964:284), situated on the bank of the Isiboro River (cf. Map 2). Here I worked with two main consultants: Benjamín Roca and his son Fernando Roca. Benjamín mainly gave me textual material, while Fernando did a number of elicitation tasks, mainly having to do with spatial relations.

The next month I went to Nueva Canaan, a village, almost as small as Tacuaral, a little further north along the Isiboro River. I met again with Asencio Rocha, who told me another story. Transcription, translation and elicitation tasks were carried out by Walter Rivero and his daughter Luzmelda Rivero. At one time, Agustín Yabeta from the nearby village 27 de Mayo came to visit and he told me a number of stories. A short summary of all larger stories recorded will be given in 1.3.3 below.

In 2003 and 2004 I spent a total of 4,5 months (3 months in 2003, 1,5 month in 2004) in Loma del Masí. In this village I recorded most data. The village is larger than Tacuaral and Nueva Canaan (12 families). All consultants carried out elicitation tasks, some of them also did translation and/or transcription (Martha Hurtado, Fidel Parada, Verónica López, Felicia Aldunate, Angel Aldunate, Freddy López and Marina Vargas). Odulia Rodríguez, who visited from nearby Loma del Amor on several occasions, told me many narratives. I also got textual material from Felicia Aldunate and Freddy López. I recorded two dialogues, one between Freddy López and his wife Dilsia Vargas, the other between Freddy López and Angel Aldunate.

In Table 4 I have listed all consultants who have taught me aspects of the language. In this table I do not give an exact age, since this is not known in the majority of cases. Instead I indicate to which generation they belong, since this is important information for the status of their knowledge of the language. Roughly, speakers of Yurakaré can be divided into three generations. The oldest generation (I), around 40 years and older, speaks Yurakaré well and often. Amongst each other they generally prefer to speak Yurakaré. They also have good knowledge of Spanish, so if a non-Yurakaré speaker is present, they switch to Spanish easily. The next generation (II), roughly between 20 and 40, speaks Yurakaré well, but not as well as the older generation. Amongst themselves they often prefer Spanish. The youngest generation, finally (III), 20 years and younger, has a passive knowledge of Yurakaré and generally does not speak it. I did not have a representative of the youngest generation among my consultants. The divisions into generations are based on whatever information I could get about the age of the consultants, as well as on my own assessment.

Table 4 - Consultants

name	age-group	profession	place
Agustín Yabeta	I	agriculture	27 de Mayo
Andrés Rodríguez	I	agriculture	La Misión
Angel Aldunate	I	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Arsenio Orrosco	I	agriculture	La Misión
Asencio Rocha	I	agriculture	La Misión/Nueva Canaan
Benjamín Roca	I	agriculture	Tacuaral
Brígida Torrico	I	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Corina Chávez	I	agriculture	La Misión
Dilsia Vargas	II	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Estela López	II	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Felicia Aldunate	I	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Fernando Roca	I	agriculture	Tacuaral
Fidel Parada	II	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Freddy López	I	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Gerónimo Baillivián	I	furniture/agriculture	La Misión
Gladys Suárez	I	agriculture	La Misión
Héctor Orrosco	II	agriculture	La Misión
Hierco Cartagena	II	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Inéz Rocha	II	agriculture	La Misión
Jeremías Baillivián	II	student	Cochabamba
Jesús Cuéllar	II	agriculture	La Misión
Julia Baillivián	I	agriculture	La Misión
Leónida Rocha	II	agriculture	La Misión
Luzmelda Rivero	II	agriculture	Nueva Canaan
Marina Vargas	II	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Marta Hurtado	II	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Miguel Rodríguez	II	agriculture	La Misión
Odulia Rodríguez	I	agriculture	Loma del Amor
Pablo Baillivián	II	furniture/agriculture	La Misión
Rebeca Baillivián	II	agriculture	La Misión
Rosa Fernández	II	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Sonia Rodríguez	II	agriculture	La Misión
Verónica Lopez	II	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Virgilio Parada	I	agriculture	Loma del Masi
Walter Rivero	I	agriculture	Nueva Canaan

1.3.3 Narratives

Since I will be using many examples from narratives in this grammar, it is useful to give a synopsis of the most important narratives. It should be kept in mind that these are only versions of the narratives. Some parts of it may differ according to speaker or region. The summaries given below correspond to the versions that I have recorded.

Tappë Tiri

This is by far the largest story in the collection. I have three versions of it, of very different duration. This is because the story consists of several rather clearly delineated episodes that can be added or left out quite easily. One could say that *Tappë Tiri* (our grandfather Tiri) is the mythological founding father of the Yurakarés. He is the child of a woman and a tree, which was converted into a man. When his parents are killed by the Puydaras (ancestors of the jaguars), Tiri is raised by the mother of the same Puydaras, not knowing it was they who killed his parents. When he discovers this, he kills all but one Puydara, who flees to the moon. Then Tiri starts wandering, accompanied by his friend Karru, who is born out of Tiri's toenail. During his wanderings Tiri creates all kinds of creatures living in the jungle today. In creating these animals, he uses his magic powers. For instance, he creates deer from the Sirionó Indians, a lying Yurakaré is turned into a dog, squirrels are created from the tail of the agouti, the leaf of the Ambaibu tree (or, in another version, Tiri's sling) is turned into a stingray, to mention just a few. When Tiri decides to create the Yurakarés, he first makes a vulture that can look after the Yurakarés. Then he makes the Yurakarés come out of a hole in the the ground. All except one: the person destined to be the leader of the Yurakarés. Before he could come out the hole was closed and turned into stone. Then Tiri makes sure the Yurakarés have clothes, fire and salt. After this he places a piece of iron over a gorge and walks over it into another world, leaving the Yurakarés behind.

Ayma Shunñe

I recorded two versions of this narrative. *Ayma Shunñe* (fire man) causes the entire world to burn. The fire kills all Yurakarés, except for two people, a brother and a sister, who have been warned beforehand for the fire. They dig a hole into the ground and enter it with all kinds of food. There, in the hole in the ground, they wait until the fire has stopped, testing this by making an arrow and sticking it out of the hole to see whether the feathers of the arrow burn away. Once the fire is over and they get out, they notice there is nothing left of what used to be there. All people have died and there are no animals, trees and crops anymore. Then the brother and sister meet *Ayma Shunñe* who feels sorry for them. He leaves them

water and grains for crops that grow immediately after sowing them. Then, before he leaves them alone, *Ayma Shunñe* obliges the brother and sister to have sexual intercourse, so that there will be offspring. Just for this once, a brother and sister should have intercourse, their children and grandchildren should not do this; they will meet other people from far away to have children with.

Aysa

There are two versions of this narrative, which are different with respect to the characters. One version claims that a Yurakaré boy and girl fight their enemies *Aysa* and *Pëpësu*, man-eating creatures. *Pëpësu* captures the children and takes them to his house where he locks them up. However, they manage to escape. In their flight they climb a tree. While being there, they are found by *Pëpësu* who is unable to climb the tree, so *Pëpësu* sits down below it and waits for the children to fall of fatigue. To make him go away, the girl urinates on *Pëpësu*'s bald head, which burns him and chases him away. After that, *Pëpësu* manages to capture them again, but this time they are prepared: they make an ax and some beeswax. With these two attributes they manage to pierce *Pëpësu*'s neck, which forces him to let them go. In the next try, *Aysa* comes to the children's house to take them once again. This time they flee into a palmwood tree, which starts growing as soon as they are inside it, making it impossible for *Aysa* to reach them. Finally, the children are deceived by a trick of *Aysa* and *Pëpësu*, and they are imprisoned again. This time they manage to kill both *Aysa* and *Pëpësu* by hitting them with a rock-hard potato. Just when they think they have overcome *Aysa* and *Pëpësu*'s constant attacks, a woman stops by and hits them on the head with a potato, which resurrects them again. There is no other option for the Yurakarés to flee from the mountains, far away from *Aysa* and *Pëpësu*.

   The second version is essentially the same, with the important difference that it is not Yurakaré children fighting *Aysa* and *Pëpësu*, but rather *Aysa* fighting *Pëpësu*.

Aurora/Mappëntanti

This is a story about a boy called *Mappëntanti* (lit. big-eye), who is said to be the bright star Aurora. The bright star is responsible for the cold. He finds out that his mother has sexual relations with the sun, which is portrayed as a person. *Mappëntanti* finds out about this and punishes his mother, then he pretends to be his mother, dressing up like her to fool the sun. When the sun is close enough, he cuts off the sun's penis. The sun flees back to the sky, and *Mappëntanti* decides to follow the sun with his brothers. When they arrive, they glue the sun's penis back on and marry his daughters. What the brothers do not know is that the sun is planning to get his revenge by killing them. With his warmth he warms up the water in which the brothers are going to bathe. But apparently *Mappëntanti*'s powers are stronger and he cools down the water to such an extent that he nearly

kills the sun, but he realizes that that would make everything dark, so he lets him live. However, from that moment onwards, the sun fears the cold and the clouds. So whenever they appear, the sun disappears.

Sinoro

When a woman is left alone by her husband and her sister for a while, she is kidnapped by people called *Sinoros*. When her husband comes back and finds out that his wife has been taken by the *Sinoros*, he drops everything and follows her. Eventually he is caught by the *Sinoros* as well, but he convinces them that he is not her husband but merely her brother and they let him go. He keeps on following them, however, waiting for a chance to escape. An attempt fails dramatically and ends in the killing of this man and his wife. However, the dead man escapes by going into the ground and traveling underground and coming up a little further in the form of a jar. When all the *Sinoros* gather around the jar to watch it, it explodes, killing all the *Sinoros*. Then the man goes to his sister-in-law who had stayed behind and tells her to raise her nephew, his child, after which he disappears. His sister-in-law raises her nephew and when he is old enough, they start wandering, looking for relatives. Eventually they arrive with their family.

Noe

This is the biblical story of Noah. It fairly faithfully follows the original tale, with the difference that the story is situated in the habitat of the Yurakaré Indians, and the ones not believing Noah are Yurakarés.

1.4 Outline of the work and conventions

The present work is organized as follows. In chapter 2 I will give a description of the phonological system; an introduction to Yurakaré morphology will be given in chapter 3. Chapter 1 discusses the noun phrase (the noun and its modifiers), while chapter 5 deals with person marking, voice and valency. The verb phrase (the verb, adverbs and verbal particles) is the topic of chapter 6, and in chapter 1 I will outline the verbal and clausal enclitics that function on the propositional level. In chapter 8, finally, I will discuss both simple and complex clauses.

   The following chapters will contain many examples, which have references to sources in the following way:

(9) tütü-ø=ya   shinama   ati   aysa
     sit;be-3=NVR   before   DEM   Aysa
     'There was this Aysa once.' (AY-2NC-6)

The reference to the source of this sentence is between parentheses. The first item refers to the consultant, indicated with his initials, the number of the second item refers to the number I gave to the particular minidisk; the letters refer to the place where the sentence was recorded (in this case Nueva Canaan); the last item refers to the track on the minidisk. Within this system of reference I also indicate whether the data were taken from spontaneous speech (narrative or dialogue) or whether they were obtained through elicitation. In the former case, the reference will be between (round brackets) as in (9); in the latter case, the reference will be between [square brackets]. Unfortunately, I have not been able to record every elicitation session. Elicited examples that have been written down but not recorded will be indicated as follows, with the name of the consultant followed by 'PC' for personal comment:

(10) patta   yupa-ø   juan   a-tewi
      thorn   go.in.SG-3   Juan   3SG.P-foot:LOC
      'The thorn went into Juan's foot.'   **[FR-PC]**

Furthermore I sometimes make use of data mentioned especially in Day (1980). Unfortunately, this manuscript is unpaged, but it is divided into 40 chapters. When referring to examples from the work of Day (1980) I will refer to the chapter numbers in the following manner:

(11) anu-ta   dula-shti
      like.that-MID   do;make-FUT:1SG.S
      'Shall I do it like that?'   **[DAY-1980-14]**

The number '14' here refers to chapter 14 of Day (1980). Since Day (1980) does not use glosses, these are mine in all examples that I cite from this work.

  As far as the glossing labels are concerned, a list of abbreviations can be found on page viii at the beginning of the grammar. I furthermore distinguish typographically between affixing, cliticization and reduplication. In this I follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Affixes are indicated with a single dash (-), clitics are marked by the equality sign (=), reduplication, finally, is marked by a tilde (~). Finally, I make a difference between portmanteau morphemes and morphemes that are normally separate but that have fused phonologically. In the former case the two meaning elements are separated by a single dot; in the latter case they are separated by a colon:

(12) bëjti
      see:1SG.S
      'I see it.'

The underlying form is *bëjta-y*, with a distinguishable suffix indicating first person singular subject. The fact that this suffix has fused with the root is indicated by a colon. The suffix *-y* itself refers both to first person and to the fact that it is the subject of the sentence. These two meanings are separated by a single dot.

2. Phonology

In this chapter I will discuss the different sounds of Yurakaré and the processes that apply to them. I will begin by making an inventory of the phonemic sounds of Yurakaré and their allophones (section 2.1), and the way that unfamiliar Spanish sounds are adapted to the system. In the next section (2.2) the orthographic system used in the remainder of the chapter and the rest of the grammar will be discussed. In section 2.3 I will discuss the phonotactics and morphophonology, starting out with syllable structure (2.3.1), then morphophonological processes (2.3.2-2.3.4), and finally rapid speech phenomena (2.3.5). In section (2.4), finally, I will give an account of stress in Yurakaré.

2.1 Phonemes and allophones

2.1.1 Consonants

Yurakaré has the following 18 consonant phonemes:

Table 5 - Yurakaré consonants

	labial	*alveolar*	*palatal*	*velar*	*glottal*
plosives	p	t	t͡ʃ	k	(ʔ)
	b	d	dʲ		
fricatives		s	ʃ		h
		ɬ			
nasals	m	n	ɲ		
laterals		l			
semivowels	w		j		

All consonants have long – geminate – counterparts, which are mostly not underlyingly present, with some exceptions (cf. section 2.3.3). Five places of articulation are distinguished: labial, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. There are arguments to collapse velar and glottal places of articulation, however (cf. sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2). Furthermore, five manners of articulation are relevant: plosives, fricatives, nasals, laterals and semivowels. For the plosives there is a voiceless-voiced opposition, except for the velar plosive /k/.

   In what follows I will give a short description of each of these sounds, with their allophonic alternations, and with evidence for their phonemic status. In the examples, I will use a phonemic transcription. When transcriptions are phonetic, they will be between square brackets.

(i)   plosives

Yurakaré has eight plosive sounds, five of which are voiceless and three are voiced.

/p/
Bilabial stop; it is not released in syllable final position. It is in phonemic contrast with its voiced counterpart /b/:

(1)   abæbæ   'he is searching'
       apæpæ   'his grandfather'

/t/
Alveolar stop; there is phonemic contrast with /d/, /t͡ʃ/ and /s/:

(2)   a   duta   'it burns'
            tuta   'he says to us'
       b   titoo   'my bone'
            tit͡ʃoo   'my uncle'
       c   sata   'finished'
            tata   'father'

/t͡ʃ/
Palato-alveolar affricate; as has been shown above, it stands in phonemic contrast with /t/. There is also a phonemic contrast with /dʲ/ and /ʃ/:

(3)   a   at͡ʃama   'it is like that'
            adʲama   'her younger sibling'
       b   t͡ʃiwa   'he tries; he imitates'
            ʃiwa   'he lies'

/k/
Velar stop; its pronunciation varies somewhat from speaker to speaker. Some speakers pronounce it with the air obstruction further back, almost as a uvular [q]. There is no minimal pair with /h/ since, as we will see, these two sounds tend to occur in mutually exclusive surroundings, and it is even questionable whether /h/ has a phonemic status or whether it is an allophone of /k/ (cf. section 2.3.2 below).

/ʔ/
In the overview of consonants in Table 5, the glottal stop is between parentheses because it is not very productive and it appears in predictable positions. It is not an allophone of some other sound. When it appears, it is between two identical vowels. The pronunciation of the glottal stop is not obligatory, but appears in

careful speech. It can be interpreted as a marker of the syllable boundary between two vowels.

(4)   [jeʔe] ~ [jee]   'woman'
      [toʔo] ~ [too]   'bone'

I am aware of one word where the glottal stop appears in an unexpected position:

(5)   [olosʔo]   'skin (e.g. animal)'[1]

/b/
Bilabial voiced plosive; between vowels, the sound often becomes slightly softer and can sometimes even be rendered as a sound near [w]:

(6)   buʧi   'crop (of bird)'
      [awuʧi]   'his crop'

Nevertheless /b/ is also in phonemic opposition with /w/:

(7)   abæbæ   'He is searching'
      awæwæ   'He is crying'

As shown above, /b/ is also in phonemic opposition with /p/.

/d/
Alveolar voiced plosive; less salient when in between two vowels. As shown above, in phonemic opposition with /p/, also with /dʲ/:

(8)   tinduhu   'He buries it for me.'
      tindʲuhu   'He teaches, informs me.'

/dʲ/
Palatal affricate without fricativization; the phonemic status of /dʲ/ is weak. It is almost always interchangeable with the semivowel /j/. It should nevertheless be considered a separate sound, because /j/ is not interchangeable with /dʲ/. In that sense there are (near) minimal pairs of words that can get /dʲ/ and words that cannot:

(9)   adʲuma   'river'.
      kajupa   'He puts it inside'.

---

[1] Day (1991) found [olosːo].

(ii) *fricatives*

Yurakaré has four fricative sounds, without voice opposition. There are two alveolar fricatives, /s/ and /ɹ̝/. The latter is pronounced a little further back than the former, in between the alveolar and palatal areas, a place sometimes referred to as post-alveolar.

/s/
Alveolar fricative; at word beginnings slightly strengthened towards [ˈs]. In phonemic opposition with /ʃ/, /t͡ʃ/ and /ɹ̝/ with a near minimal pair:

(10) a   pisisi   'pucarara snake'
          piʃiʃi   'leg-bone (shin)'
       b   sata   'completed'
          t͡ʃata   'meal, food'
       c   pisisi   'pucarara snake'
          piɹ̝ihu   'otter'

/ʃ/
Palatal fricative. As shown above, in phonemic opposition with /s/ and /t͡ʃ/. It can also be contrasted with /ɹ̝/:

(11) æɹ̝æ   'tarechi bird'
       æʃæ   'why'

/h/
The glottal fricative has a very weak phonemic status. It is in complementary distribution with /k/. When /k/ is preceded by a vowel, it usually lenites to [h] (cf. section 2.3.2). As far as I am aware, the sound /h/ is found at a word beginning only once, with the word /hɛnte/ 'people, person', which is a loanword from Spanish. The sound /h/ is almost never found preceded by a consonant. An exception to this rule is the /h/ of the enclitic =/ha/. After a vowel, the enclitic is pronounced simply [ha], as expected. When preceded by a consonant, however, this enclitic is not pronounced [ka] as would be expected on the basis of the distribution of /h/ and /k/. Instead, it is pronounced [χa]:

(12) a   tanʃiwa**m[χa]**   'you lied to us'
       b   lati**w[χa]**   'they (subject)'

In other words, there *is* a change in quality due to the foregoing consonant, but it is not the expected change. There are also unexpected occurrences of /k/, in places where we would expect /h/:

(13)   bakta   'plain, flat'[2]

In conclusion, even though most occurrences of /h/ and /k/ are in complementary distribution where we can say that [k] is the underlying phoneme that changes into [h] when preceded by a vowel, occurrences such as (12) and (13) force us to assume phonemic /h/.

/ɹ̠/
Voiced post-alveolar fricative[3]; speakers are aware of the phonetic difference with the Spanish trills and flaps, which are always adapted to the fricative:

(14)   uɹ̠ina   'deer' (<Sp. urina)

Oppositions with /s/ and /ʃ/ have been shown above.

   (iii)   nasals

Yurakaré has three phonemic nasals: /m/, /n/ and /ɲ/.

/m/
Bilabial nasal; it is in phonemic contrast with /b/ and with the other nasals:

(15)   a   mææ   'you (sg)'
            bææ   'tacuara tree'
       b   ama   'which, what'
            ana   'this'
       c   ɲuta   'bastard son'
            muta   'He says to them.'

/n/
Alveolar nasal; its pronunciation depends on the following consonant. In between vowels it has no allophones. Before bilabial consonants, /n/ is pronounced [m], before palatal consonants as [ɲ], and before velar/alveolar consonants as [ŋ]:

---

[2] The form /bɑkta/ is a combination of an ideophone /bɑk/ plus middle marker /ta/. Ideophones are often phonologically deviant (cf. Schachter 1985:21). Nevertheless, ideophones ending in /k/ usually lenite to /h/ when followed by the suffix /ta/, e.g. /ʃibik/ 'shattered' > /ʃibihta/ 'shatter'.

[3] This is the same sound as the 'r' in the /dr/ cluster of the English 'dream'.

(16) /kandʲuju/   >   [kɑɲdʲuhu][4]   'He informs, tells him.'

     /kankaja/   >   [kɑŋkaja]   'He gives it to him.'

     /kanbat͡ʃe/   >   [kɑmbat͡ʃe]   'He sends it to him.'

/ɲ/

I do not have any minimal pairs for the distinction /ɲ/-/n/, but the fact that several words begin with /ɲ/ and that word-initial /ɲ/ can be followed by different vowels is evidence for the phonemic status of /ɲ/:

(17)   ɲeta   'fall (plural stem)'

      ɲimta   'blink'

      ɲuhta   'tremble, shake'

      ɲɔw:o   'manioc'

      ɲahta   'nod'

    (iv)   *lateral*

/l/

Alveolar lateral; pronounced with the dorsum down and the tongue slightly curled backwards. There is a phonemic opposition with /ɻ/:

(18)   olojlo   'soldadito (bird)'

      oɻojwo   'chaicito (bird)'

    (v)   *semivowels*

/w/ and /j/

Both semivowels behave fully as consonants in their distribution, as we will see below (section 2.3.1 on syllable structure). The sound /w/ is a bilabial semivowel, /j/ a palatal semivowel.

2.1.2 Adaptation of foreign consonants

Foreign consonants in loanwords that do not occur in the phoneme inventory of Yurakaré are often[5] adapted to fit the system. The Spanish[6] phoneme /f/ is adapted to /p/:

---

[4] The sound /a/ is pronounced [ɑ] in closed syllables, cf. section 2.1.3 below.

[5] There is variation between speakers and often within the speech of one and the same speaker. All of the informants are perfectly bilingual, so they have both representations (Yurakaré and Spanish) at their disposal.

[6] When referring to Spanish, I mean the local Bolivian variant of Spanish.

(19) poɹopesor   < Sp. profesor   'teacher'
      pidejo   < Sp. fideo   'pasta'

Spanish /r/, as noted above, is replaced by /ɹ/:

(20) aɹoho[7]   < Sp. ronkar   'snore'
      aɹuʃ   < Sp. arːos   'rice'

The Quechua or Spanish phoneme /ʎ/ is adapted to /l/ or, in one case, to /li/:

(21) kut͡ʃilu   < Sp.   kut͡ʃiʎo   'knife'
      talipa[8]   < Que. (ata)waʎpa   'chicken'

Finally, the phoneme /g/ is adapted to /h/ or /k/:

(22) peɹeha   < Sp. fregar   'break'
      kiɹinku   < Sp. gringo   'white man'

2.1.3 Vowels

Yurakaré has the following phonemic vowels:

Table 6 - Yurakaré vowels

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

Vowel length is not a distinctive feature in Yurakaré; all vowels are pronounced somewhat shorter when they are in closed syllables then when they are in open syllables. Some vowels have different qualities in open and closed syllables as well. I will mention those for each vowel separately when relevant.

/i/
High front vowel; it does not change in quality in closed syllables. It stands in phonemic contrast with /ɨ/ and /e/:

---

[7] The elision of /n/ is not systematic.

[8] The input for /talipa/ was probably /atawaʎpa/, cf. Adelaar with Muysken (2004: 500-501). The resulting form /talipa/ may be due to syllable deletion: /ata(wa)ʎpa/.

(23) a   pii   'older brother of a woman'
          pɨɨ   'road'
      b   wiwi   'boy'
          wewe   'he chews it into mass'

/ɨ/

Unrounded mid-vowel; this vowel is common in Amazonian languages (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999:8). There is some speaker variation in that some speakers tend to pronounce this phoneme as [y]. As shown above, it stands in phonemic contrast with /i/; it can also be contrasted with /u/:

(24) mɨta   'He pulls it out'
      muta   'He says to them.'

/u/

The high back vowel is stable in quality. As shown above it stands in contrast with /ɨ/. It is also distinguished from /o/ which has allophone [ɔ]:

(25) uʃpe   'he bathes'
      ɔʃpe   'new'

/e/ and /o/

The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ differ in quality depending on whether they are in an open or closed syllable. In the latter environment they are lowered to [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively. As shown in (25), /o/ contrasts with /u/. The vowel /e/ can be contrasted with /æ/; /o/ can be contrasted with /a/:

(26) a   tæhtæ   'leg'
          tehte   'grandmother'
      b   ʃonko   'hole'
          ʃonka   'he makes a hole'

/æ/

This low front vowel is a marked sound in the region, and one of the sounds that make Yurakaré sound distinct from neighboring languages. Its phonemic status can be proven by contrasting it to the nearest sounds in the system /e/ (see example (26) above) and /a/:

(27) tæjle   'I know it.'
      tajle   'We know it.'

/a/
The mid-low vowel completes the series of Yura distinctive vowel phonemes. It has an allophone [ɑ] in closed syllables. For minimal pairs with /o/ and /æ/, see examples (25) and (26)above, respectively.

2.1.4 *Adaptation of foreign vowels*

Spanish and Quechua vowels occur in the phoneme inventory of Yurakaré as well, so normally this would not lead to adaptations. Still, Spanish mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are often adapted:

(28) kut͡ʃilu   < Sp. kut͡ʃiʎo   'knife'
      a̯ɹuʃ   < Sp. arːos   'rice'
      dulsi   < Sp. dulse   'sweet' (in Yurakaré, *dulsi* means orange)
      simana   < Sp. semana   'week'
      tumati   < Sp. tomate   'tomato'
      ki̯ɹinku   < Sp. gringo   'white man'

A general explanation for the adaptation of the Spanish mid vowels can be that these loanwords came into the language via Quechua. Quechua does not have mid vowels, and often adapts Spanish mid vowels by pronouncing them higher.

  The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are often (but not always) pronounced higher in unstressed, and especially word final position in Spanish loanwords. In local Spanish they are less salient in these positions and pronounced relatively high, especially in the highlands (Lipksi 1994:189). Both mid vowels are mostly retained when in closed or stressed syllables. In the former environment, Spanish vowels /e/ and /o/ are lowered towards /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ respectively, so that they differ more from /i/ and /u/, whereas in the latter environment they are more salient, so that they are retained more easily.

(29) [awa̯ɹjɛnte]   <   Sp. [ɑgwɑrdjɛnte]   'liquor'
      [bɛnse]   <   Sp. [bɛnsɛr]   'win'
      [hɛnte]   <   Sp. [xɛnte]   'people'
      [mesa]   <   Sp. [mesa]   'table'
      [ahɔnta]   <   Sp. [kɔntar]   'count, tell'
      [biskɔtːʃo]   <   Sp. [biskɔt͡ʃo]   'bread'

2.2 Orthography

In this section I will explain the orthography that I will use in the remainder of this chapter and the rest of the grammar. In several publications, different authors

have made (explicit or implicit) spelling proposals. In Table 7 below I compare these spellings. In the last column I mention the orthographic symbols that I will use throughout this grammar.

The publications cited here are La Cueva (1893), Lassinger (1915), Ribera *et al.* (1991) and Day (1980, 1991). The first two are comparable as far as orthography goes, as are the latter four. In designing a spelling for this grammar, I tried to simplify it with respect to the previous proposals, but without throwing overboard the tradition of Yurakaré orthography built up over the years.

I will follow the spelling-proposals of Day (1980, 1991) to a large extent. Deviations from her orthography are meant to simplify, and to move away from Spanish spelling rules. I will use *k* for the sound /k/, where all others use *c* whether or not in combination with *qu* before vowels /e/ and /i/. In all environments I will refer to the sound /k/ with the symbol *k*. Another simplification involves the semi-vowels /w/ and /j/. In La Cueva, /w/ in syllable initial position is written *v*, in syllable final position it is *u*. Lassinger writes *u* for both positions, and Ribera *et al.* (1991) and Day (1980, 1991) use the symbol *hu* for syllable initial and *u* for syllable final. Since we are dealing with the same sound in different positions, I consider it better to have one symbol for both positions. To differentiate from the vowel /u/, I prefer the symbol *w*. The same argumentation applies to /j/, in previous publications spelled *y* or *i*. I replace this double representation for a single one: *y*.

Table 7 - Orthography proposals for Yurakaré: consonants

IPA symbol	La Cueva (1893) Lassinger (1915)	Day (1980, 1991) Ribera et al. (1991)	my proposal
p	p	p	p
t	t	t	t
t͡ʃ	ch	ch	ch
k	c	c/qu	k
b	b	b	b
d	d	d	d
dʲ	y	dy	dy
s	s	s	s
ʃ	s/z	sh	sh
h	j	j	j
m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n
ɲ	ñ	ñ	ñ
l	l	l	l
ɾ̥	r	r	r
w	v/u	hu/u	w
j	y/i	y/i	y

Table 8 - Orthography proposals for Yurakaré: vowels

IPA symbol	La Cueva (1893) Lassinger (1915)	Day (1980, 1991) Ribera et al. (1991)	my proposal
i	i	i	i
ɨ	u	ü	ü
u	u	u	u
e	e	e	e
o	o	o	o
æ	e/a	ë	ë
a	a	a	a

In writing down the language, I will to a large extent try to stay close to the phonetic reality. This means that morphemes that have different forms in different environments will be spelled differently from one environment to another. I will restrict myself, however, to the more systematic and salient variations. To give an example, consider the following pairs:

(30) a   ti-pëpë   'my father'
          ta-ppë   'our father'
      b   wayuwa-ta   (entangle-MID)   'be entangled, entangle oneself'
          kojyo-to   (scratch-MID)   'be scratched, scratch oneself'

As mentioned, I will use this orthographic system in the remainder of this grammar. Phonetic transcriptions will from this point onward, be clearly marked by [square brackets], phonemic transcriptions by /backslashes/.

2.3 Phonotactics

2.3.1 Syllable structure

Yurakaré syllable structure is as follows:

(31)   (C)V(C)

Roots and stems almost always end in a vowel. Complexity is disallowed in any part of the syllable. Consonant clusters are maximally CC, where the first consonant belongs to the previous syllable and the second to the next. There are a handful of exceptions:

(32)   adyo**lj**ti   'He is angry.'
       poropeso**rsht**ala   'He will be a teacher.'

These are the only exceptions encountered, however. Moreover, *adyoljti* is often pronounced [adʲɔlti] or [adʲɔhti]. Interestingly, the underlying form is *adyojloti*. Stress falls on the penultimate syllable in this case (cf. section 2.4), and elision of the next syllable (cf. 2.3.5) would cause the impossible form *adyojlti*. The compromise is to either delete /h/ or /l/ from the cluster, or by applying metathesis of /h/ and /l/, as in example (32), causing a sequence of decreasing sonority. The fact that complexity is avoided as a rule can further be seen in the following adaptations of Spanish loanwords:

(33) /pojbolo/   <   Sp. /pweblo/   'village'
       /poropesɔr/   <   Sp. /profesor/   'teacher'
       /poloris/   <   Sp. [flɔr(es)/   'flower(s)'
       /awarjente/   <   Sp. /agwardjente/   'liquor'
       /boleta/   <   Sp. /flotar/   'float'

Yurakaré does not allow all consonants in coda position. All stops except /p/ are disallowed in the coda of a syllable (cf. Table 9). In ideophones, /k/ can appear in coda position occasionally, cf. (34)b, but this is rare.

<div align="center">*Table 9 - Consonants in coda position*</div>

Consonants encountered in coda position	Consonants not encountered in coda position
p	t
s	ch
sh	k
j	b
r	d
m	dy
n	
ñ	
l	
w	
y	

If, through for instance elision of a vowel, one of these underlying consonants appears in coda position, it is resolved in various ways, as illustrated in (34):

(34) a   machitu   'machete'
          a-ma**sh**tu   'his machete'
      b   büsü**k**⁹   'in pieces'
          büsüj**b**ü   'break' (tr)
      c   a**t**i-la   'therefore'
          ~a**ll**a   'therefore'
      d   **t**ësë   'stand'
          ma**ss**ë   'stand (pl)' (ma-t(ë)së)
      e   bo**b**o   'hit; kill'
          bo**p**to   'hit/kill each other' (bob(o)-to)

Generally, when there is a situation where a coda has underlying consonants that are disallowed in that position, some phonological rule applies to derive a sound that is allowed in that position. In (34)a and b that process is lenition. In (34)c and d, and generally in the case of /t/, the consonant is deleted and the following consonant is lengthened. The sound /b/ is generally changed into /p/ through a process of devoicing, cf. (34)e. Lenition and gemination are processes with a more general application in the language, as will be shown in sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3.

2.3.2 Lenition of /*k*/

The phoneme /k/ undergoes a process of lenition after a vowel, where it is changed into the fricative [h], spelled *j*. This applies to indigenous as well as foreign forms, and to roots as well as affixes:

(35) a   kudawa   'lake'
          ta-judawa   'our lake'
      b   kajun   'box'   (< Sp. cajón)
          ti-jajun   'my box'
      c   ka-y-mala-ma
          3SG-PO-go.SG-IMP.SG
          'Go and get it!'
      d   ti-ja-y-mala-ma
          1SG-3SG-PO-go.SG-IMP.SG
          'Go and get it for me!'

If /k/ is long, it does not undergo this lenition process:

---

⁹ *Büsük* is an ideophone; ideophones in Yurakaré – and cross-linguistically – often have deviant phonology. One of the characteristics of ideophones in Yurakaré is that they can have word-final consonants disallowed in other words.

(36) yokkoshe 'true'
makkata 'name'

There are some idiosyncratic exceptions, however:

(37) a a-**k**o**k**o 'her vagina (of a child)'
b ba**k**ta 'plain, flat'

2.3.3 Consonant lengthening: gemination

All consonants have long, or geminate, counterparts. Geminates can be the result of a process, but they can also be base-generated. In the first case, they often emerge when a vowel has been deleted:[10]

(38) a ma-tësë-ø-w > ma-ssë-ø-w [masːæw]
3PL-stand-3-PL
'They stand there together.'
b ta-pëpë > ta- ppë [tɑpːæ]
1PL-grandfather
'our grandfather'

Deletion does not always lead to gemination, however:

(39) mujushi-bëshë > mujushi-pshë[muhuʃipʃæ]
pregnant-entity
'the pregnant one'

This has to do with the constraints on what consonants can be in the coda, as outlined above in section 2.3.1.
  When a vowel is deleted, as exemplified in (40), C_1 becomes the coda of the preceding vowel.

(40) VC1VC2V >> VC1V̶ C2V

Gemination in these circumstances occurs in two cases: when C_1 and C_2 are identical (cf. (38)b), or when C_1 is a consonant that cannot be in the coda of a syllable (cf. (38)a), when no other adapting process takes place (cf. section 2.3.1 above). In all other cases, there is no gemination as a result of elision, cf. (39).

---

[10] The deletion of vowels can take place when there are two unstressed syllables preceded by a stressed one. The first of the two unstressed syllables can lose its vowel (cf. section 2.3.5).

Gemination can also appear for reasons of stress, as will be discussed in section 2.4. In environments where the occurrence of geminate sounds cannot be explained, I consider these to be base-generated. Examples are *yokkoshe* and *makkata* in (36) above.

2.3.4 *Assimilation*

Vowel assimilation, or vowel harmony, mainly occurs with affixes that have to do with valency and cross-referencing. The middle voice suffix *-tA*, (cf. section 5.3.1), has a vowel that is sensitive to the vowel in the preceding syllable. If the preceding vowel is [-high], i.e. /a/, /æ/, /o/ or /e/, the vowel of the middle marker will assimilate to it in backness and rounding. If the preceding vowel is a high vowel, i.e. /i/, /ɨ/ or /u/, it will not assimilate, and has the default vowel /a/. Whether the preceding syllable is closed or not, is not relevant to the assimilation process:

(41) a sibë-të   'something that functions as a house'
         kojyo-to   'to scratch oneself'
         ewe-te   'broom'
         shila-ta   'traditional music and dance'
      b mashi-ta   'rain'
         süyü-ta   'refresh oneself'   (Day 1991)
         ëlu-ta   'to lick oneself'

If the syllable preceding the suffix *-tA* is closed, there is vowel assimilation in some circumstances, and in some there is no assimilation.

(42) a sëwëj-ta   'opened'
         botej-ta   'detached'
      b woroj-to   'perforated'
         bop-to   'hit-reflexive/reciprocal'

In the examples of (42)b, *bopto* can be explained. The underlying form is *bobo-tA*, and assimilation takes place following an open syllable. There is no such synchronic explanation for *worojto*, but it may very well be that there is a historical explanation. I consider the pattern in (42)a – no assimilation after a closed syllable – to be the normal pattern.

   Before the root of the verb there are slots for applicatives, cross reference and the delimiting prefix *li-*. Between the markers that occupy these slots, there can be some assimilation, as illustrated in what follows.

   The prefix *li-* (cf. section 6.4.2) is pronounced *ti-* when it occurs before the first person object marker *ti-*:

(43) anuta   li-ti-bobo-shta-m   >   [titibobɔʃtam]
      like.this   DEL-1SG-kill-FUT-2SG.S
      'Are you going to kill me here like this?' (AR-8MI-52)

Sometimes the vowel of the *li-* marker assimilates to the following vowel. This is not obligatory, however:

(44) a   li-ja-nama-ø=t=chi   mala-ø   >   [lahanamat:ʃi]
          DEL-3SG-dry-3=DS=DIR   go.SG-3
          'He went to where it was dry.' (OR-20MA-3)
      b   li-ja-ma-n-dula-ø=ti   >   [lihamɑndulati]
          DEL-3SG-3PL-IO-do;make-3=DS
          'When he had fixed them for him…' (AR-8MI-48)

The combinations *ti-la-* and *mi-la-*, first person affected object and second person affected object respectively (cf. section 5.2.4), sometimes change to *të-lë* and *më-lë* or *ti-lë-* and *mi-lë-*:[11]

(45) a   ti-la-bali-ø=w   >   [tælæbaliw]
          1SG-AFO-go.PL-3=PL
          'They left me.' [FA-2MA-8]
      b   mi-la-bache-shti   >   [milæbat͡ʃɛʃti]
          2SG-AFO-leave.CAU-FUT:1SG.S
          'I am going to send it away from you.' [FA-2MA-8]

In these constructions, the *li-* marker can assimilate its vowel as well:

(46) li-ti-la-sheta-ø=w   ti-jamisa=w >   [tætælæʃetɑw]
      DEL-1SG-AFO-lost-3=PL   1SG-shirt=PL
      I forgot my shirt.'[MH-11MA-7]

Finally, there are instances such as (47), where the underlying form is *mutütü*, but in rapid speech, the vowel of the prefix may assimilate to the next vowel:

(47) mu-tütü-ø   >   [mitɨti]
      3PL.CO-sit;be-3
      'He is with them.'

---

[11] The form *lë-* for affected object is more common in the Chapare region than in the Isiboro-Sécure and Beni regions.

2.3.5 Rapid speech: vowel and syllable elision

Two unstressed syllables in a row (something that occurs with some frequency, especially word finally) are often shortened to one in rapid speech by eliding the vowel of the first unstressed syllable:

(48) mata*ta*-bëshë   >>   matata-pshë   [matatɑpʃæ]   'big one'

     ta-pëpë   >>   *tap*pë   [tɑpːæ]   'our father'

     a-*si*bëchi   >>   a-*sip*chi   [asipt͡ʃi]   'to his house'

Sometimes, word final vowels or even syllables are deleted:

(49) a   otto-ø=j(a)   mala-ø

        go.out-3=SS   go.SG-3

        'He came out and went away.'

    b   tishi(lë)   'now'

In the case of frequently used words, the rapid speech reduction can take rigorous forms:

(50)   *underlying*   *~ surface variants*   *- gloss*

     tëtë-bëshë   ~ [tætæpshæ]~[tæpshæ]~[tæp]   - 'what?'

2.4 Stress

Stress in Yurakaré falls either on the penultimate or the antepenultimate syllable of a word. There is a basic stress rule, which I will discuss in section 2.4.1. There are many exceptions to this stress rule, but these exceptions show patterns as well. In 2.4.2-2.4.7, I will discuss these patterns of exceptions.

2.4.1 The default stress rule

In the normal case, starting from the left edge of a word, every second syllable is stressed; the rightmost of these stressed syllables gets primary stress. In other words: a regular word in Yurakaré is built up out of binary feet with a right dominant node (iambic). Main stress falls on the rightmost dominant node of a word. The word-final syllable is never stressed, even if a strict application of the

rule given above would lead to a stressed final syllable[12]. I consider the final syllable to be extrametrical, indicated with <fish hooks>.

(51) a pojóre
          (canoe):

		extrametricality, footing	(. x)	end stress	x (. x)
po.jo.re	>>		po. jo. <re>	>>	po. jo. <re>

    b tipójore
       (my canoe)

					x
		(. x)		(. x)	
ti.po.jo.re	>>	ti. po. jo. <re>	>>	ti. po. jo.<re>

In (51)a main stress falls on the penultimate syllable, while in (51)b it falls on the antepenultimate syllable. The reason for this difference is that when you start counting iambic (right dominant) feet from left to right you end up with a different rightmost dominant node. In the a-example the final dominant node coincides with the final node of the stress domain, in the b-example there is one syllable left that cannot be attached to a node, considering the extrametricality of the word-final syllable.

2.4.2 Stress-attracting prefixes

A number of prefixes or clusters of prefixes in Yurakaré sometimes attract stress, even if this goes counter foot structure discussed in 2.4.1. Consider the following examples:

(52) a   ti-síbë   'my house'
          mi-síbë   'your (sg) house'
          a-síbë   'his/her house'
      b   tá-sibë   'our house'
          pá-sibë   'your (pl) house'
          má-sibë   'their house'

In the examples of (52)a, stress placement is as one would expect: an iambic foot structure, built from the left and the main stress on the rightmost (in this case: only) dominant foot node. In the b-examples, however, there is a deviant stress

---

[12] Final syllables can be stressed for discourse related reasons, cf. section 2.4.7, and in ideophones, cf. section 6.6.2.

pattern: stress falls on the initial syllable. This regularly happens with the prefixes in (52)b:

(53)   tá-dala   'our head'
       pá-tiba   'your (pl) pet'
       má-dojo   'their body'

These differences still hold in words with more than three syllables:

(54)   a   ti-síbë=chi
            tà-sibĕ=chi
       b   ti-pójore
            tà-pojóre

I will call prefixes that can overrule foot structure stress-attracting prefixes. These are prefixes that are represented with a foot head in the lexicon, unlike other prefixes, whose stress is derived. A list of stress-attracting prefixes is given in Table 10:

Table 10   - Stress-attracting prefixes

prefix	gloss	prefix	gloss
ka-	3rd pers. singular	të-	1sg co-operative object
ta-	1st pers. plural	më-	2sg co-operative object
pa-	2nd pers. plural	ku-	3sg co-operative object
ma-	3rd pers. plural	tu-	1pl co-operative object
li-	delimiter, location	pu-	2pl co-operative object
la-	affected object applicative	mu-	3pl co-operative object

Often, when these prefixes are followed by another stress-attracting prefix, the normal rules of foot structure apply:

(55)   ma-lá-ñole-ø
       3PL-AFO-desire-3
       'She desires them.'

In (55), the prefix *ma-* is a stress-attracting prefix, but unstressed. Instead, the next prefix *-la* is stressed, as would be predicted from foot structure. Something similar happens when there are two objects marked on the verb:

(56)   ka-má-n-dula-ø
       3SG-3PL-IO-do;make-3
       'He makes them for him.'

It seems, then, that stress-attracting prefixes can overrule foot structure, but that foot structure in turn can overrule stress-attracting prefixes as well. The explanation for this paradox is that if two heavy, word-initial prefixes follow each other, the rightmost wins.

2.4.3 Syllabic weight

There are some exceptions to the rule given in 2.4.2:

(57) ta-báshti   'our wife'
      ta-búyta   'our chief, boss'
      ta-búybu   'our language'

Apparently, the stress-attracting prefix(-cluster)-rule can be overruled by penultimate closed syllables. Three-syllable words with an initial heavy syllable get stress on the first syllable when they do not carry affixes:

(58) púydara   'ancestoral jaguar' (mythological animal)
      bállata   'plant seed'

The sensitivity of Yurakaré stress to syllable weight can also be seen in the fact that stressed syllables of Spanish loans optionally undergo adaptations like the following:

(59) basu ~ bajsu   <   Sp. *vaso*   'cup'
      kamisaw ~ kamijsaw <   Sp. *camisa*   'shirt'

Another indication for the sensitivity of Yurakaré for syllable weight is the fact that heavy stress, when speakers really want to stress something, often coincides with the insertion of the consonant /h/, spelled *j*:

(60) májla   'he went and he went' (normally: mála)

Partial reduplication that stresses the meaning of the stem it is attached to also undergoes the insertion of /h/ in the stressed syllable.

(61) shúj~shuyúlë   'really beautiful!'

However, Yurakaré stress placement rules do not always seem to be sensitive to heaviness:

(62) a-jàmisá-jti-ø=ya   àti-jtí-ø=ya   a-ròpa-jtí-ø=ya
      3SG.P-shirt-LIM-3=NVR   DEM-LIM-3=NVR   3SG.P-clothing-LIM-3=NVR

      a-bëshë-jtí-ø=ya   kũtta-jtí-ø=ya
      3SG.P-clothing-LIM-3=NVR   appear-LIM-3=NVR
      'Only his shirt, only that, his clothes, his clothes appeared' (AR-8MI-87)

In this example, we have five words that have a heavy antepenultimate syllable, but only one of them actually has stress on that syllable. The reason for this is that in the four words that have the stress on the light penultimate syllable, stressing the heavy antepenultimate syllable would lead to a stress clash. For instance, looking at the word *aròpajtíya*:

(63)   *stress heavy*   x   *mismatch*
      footing   (.   x) (.   x)   *syllable*   (.   x)(.   x)
       >>   a. ro. paj. ti. <ya>   >>   a. ro. paj. ti. <ya>

The stress clash in (63) is resolved by ignoring the 'stress heavy syllable' rule. If the heavy antepenultimate syllable is also the first syllable of a word, this rule is respected, as in *púydara* and *bállata* (cf. section 2.4.3). For heavy penultimate syllables, the 'stress heavy syllable' rule *is* respected, and foot structure is ignored. So in fact we can say that syllable weight is of more importance when it is the first or the last syllable in the prosodic domain of a word, since the final syllable is extrametrical.

  When both the penultimate and antepenultimate syllable are heavy, the penultimate will be stressed:

(64) i-shojtó-jti-ø-w
      VBL-fear-HAB-3-PL
      'They had fear.'

Further research is needed to determine the exact role heaviness plays and the conditions involved.

2.4.4 Disyllabic suffixes and enclitics and the stress window

If a stem is suffixed by a disyllabic suffix or enclitic, stress generally comes right before that morpheme (if it is final), rather than on the suffix:

(65) a   ti-memé-shama
            1SG-mother-PST[13]
            'my deceased mother'
      b   nish   tà-pasa-shtá=bëla
            NEG   1PL-happen-FUT=CNT
            'Nothing will happen to you yet.' (AR-8MA-87)
      c   sĕ̆-tina
            1SG.PRN=COM
            'with me'

There are exceptions to this, as we will see, but the default rule is that stress does not fall within a disyllabic suffix when that suffix is word-final.

   The examples in (65)a and b show another prosodic property of Yurakaré. Taking into account all the foregoing restrictions, one would expect forms like *timémeshama* and *tàpasáshtabëla*. In (65)a and b, the stress patterns are constrained by a stress window: primary stress in Yurakaré falls maximally two syllables to the left of the right edge of a word. For compounds the same rule is valid:

(66) a   wajá-pëlë
            cow-skin
            'cow-hide'
      b   tàlipá-newe
            chicken-excrement
            'chicken-dirt'

The same can be said of reduplication, where the reduplication is disyllabic:

(67) a   yutí~yuti   'capybara'
      b   bené~bene   'poor; sadly'

In some cases stress is underlyingly not within the stress window, but a repair strategy makes sure that it is within the stress window at surface level. Question words have a very strong tendency to have their first syllable stressed. This can lead to adaptations like the following:

(68) *und*.   tëtë-bëshë   >   *surf*.   tĕ̆tëpshë

---

[13] The marker *-shama* does not refer to clausal tense, it marks the fact that the object referred to no longer exisits.

2.4.5 Diacritically marked roots

There are some roots that do not respect the stress-attracting prefixes, without heaviness of syllables playing a role. These are often Spanish loans, and I consider them to have diacritically marked feet.

(69) a ti-mésa   'my table'
        ta-mésa   'our table'   (expected: tá-mesa)
     b tì-pantálu   'my trousers'   (expected: ti-pántalu)
        tà-pantálu   'our trousers'

Pantalu is a strange case[14], since the stress does not fall on the same syllable as in the Spanish original, where stress is final. There are also roots that carry their main stress on a syllable where it is not predicted from the above rules:

(70) shínama   'before, earlier, in the old days'
      tálipa   'chicken'   <   Qu. *atahuallpa*
      lẽjëlë   'morning, sunrise'
      látiji   'subsequently'

It might be that there are diachronic reasons for these deviations, but they are no longer transparent.

2.4.6 Stress-avoiding syllables and monosyllabic roots.

Some syllables in Yurakaré show the opposite behavior from the diacritically marked syllables. I will call these stress-avoiding syllables. Where diacritically marked syllables always want to be stressed, stress-avoiding syllables avoid being stressed, except when there is no other candidate available, they 'accept' stress. If they are the only candidate (given the fact that word-final syllables are extrametrical) the consonant of the following syllable is lengthened to make the stress-avoiding syllable heavy. This geminate sound is not there when these nouns carry syllabic affixes:

(71) a dójjo   'body'
     b ti-dójo   'my body'
     c tá-dojo   'our body'

The stress-avoiding syllable in this example is *do*. In example (71)b, this syllable carries stress, without gemination applying. This is because the prefix *ti-*, is a

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[14] I have heard *tipántalu* on occasion as well.

stress-avoiding syllable mas well, as are all singular cross-referencing prefixes[15]. In that case stress has to be located on the rightmost of the stress-avoiding syllables, the basic stress rule based on footing applies. More examples of these kinds of nouns with stress-avoiding are:

Table 11   - Nouns with stress-avoiding syllables

Citation form	Gloss	1SG possessed	1PL possessed
chitchi	fingernail	ti*chi*chi	*ta*chichi
chitti	crop of bird	ti*chi*ti	*ma*chiti
chobbe	left side	ti*cho*be	*ta*chobe
dalla	head	ti*da*la	*ta*dala
dojjo	body	ti*do*jo	*ta*dojo
dullu	right side	ti*du*lu	*ta*dulu
korre	tobacco	ti*jo*re	*ta*jore
kummë	tree	ti*ju*më	*ta*jumë
meyye	ear	ti*me*ye	tameye
pëllë	skin	ti*pë*lë	*ta*pëlë
samma	water	ti*sa*ma	*ma*sama
sibbë	house	ti*si*bë	*ta*sibë
tibba	pet	ti*ti*ba	*ta*tiba
yarru	chicha[16]	ti*ya*ru	*ta*yaru

Not all disyllabic nouns with a geminate consonant lose this gemination, however:

(72) détte   'throat'
      tidétte   'my throat'
      tadétte   'our throat'

I consider the geminate consonants of (72) to be base generated, other examples of base generated geminates are /k:/ in *makkata* 'name', and /l:/ in *ballata* 'plant seed'.

   Monosyllabic roots generally pose a problem for a stress system with an extrametrical final syllable. There are very few monosyllabic roots in Yurakaré. An example of a monosyllabic root is *pa* 'younger brother of a man'. It shows the following behavior:

(73) a pá.a   'younger brother'
      b ti.pá.a   'my younger brother'
      c tá.pa   'our younger brother'

---

[15] Except for *ka-*, which is a marked alternant for zero third person singular object.
[16] Chicha is a fermented drink, usually made of manioc or maize.

Other examples are *to* 'bone', *ye* 'woman, sister', *pü* 'road'. I consider these nouns to be underlyingly monosyllabic; in order to avoid a stressed final syllable, the final vowel is copied. The double vowels are optionally separated by a glottal stop. In example (73)b, the vowel is still copied, even though the prefixation of *ti-* makes the underlying word disyllabic. This is because the prefix *ti-*, as explained above, is stress-avoiding. The available vowel copying is used for this purpose.

However, there are at least two monosyllabic nouns that do not allow this vowel copying. These nouns never occur in citation form, they are always possessed:

(74) tí-nñu   'my suckling'
      tí-bba   'my husband'

As can be seen, the normally unstressed first person singular possessive is stressed here. Apparently, with these roots, the constraint that prohibits stress-avoiding syllables to be stressed is violated rather than adding a vowel. Apart from stressing this light prefix there is a geminated consonant in both words, just like the roots with a stress-avoiding syllable in them: in order to license stress on the light syllable, it is made heavy by geminating the following consonant.

2.4.7 Discourse-based stress

Stress can be used for pragmatic purposes. This is especially important for deictic words. I have found differences such as the following:

(75) *unmarked*   *~ marked*   *gloss*
      latíjsha   ~ látijsha   'after that'
      achúta   ~ áchu(ta)   'in that way'
      anúta   ~ ánu(ta)   'in this way'
      achàmatíjsha   ~ àchamátijsha   'in spite of that'

These stress differences are caused by pragmatic highlighting, just as in English you can say: 'after THAT' and 'AFter that'.

Stress as a pragmatic device is not grammaticalized, i.e. obligatory, but it may very well be that the heavy prefix-rule (cf .2.4.2) was originally a pragmatically driven stress rule

Sentence intonation can also marginally influence stress-placement. Medial clauses form an intonational phrase, and they are characterized by a higher pitch at the penultimate syllable, which is maintained at the final syllable. Higher pitch often coincides with stress in Yurakaré. This can override all other prosodic constraints:

(76) a [lẽjëlë-shtá-ø=ti]_{IP}   setá-ø=w=ya
         morning-FUT-3=DS   grab-3=PL=NVR
         'When the sun was going to rise, they grabbed him.' (FA-6MA-5)
      b [ottó-ø=ja]_{IP}   kù-dyërẽrë-ø=ya
         go.out-ø=SS   3SG.CO-speak-3=NVR
         'When he came out, he spoke with him.' (FA-6MA-5)

Lëjëlë is a word with a diacritically marked first syllable, and so the expected stress pattern would be *lẽjëlẽshtati*. This is overruled by intonational pitch and stress, which can cause stress to fall on the penultimate syllable of the intonation phrase. In the case of *ottoja*, the first syllable is heavy and so we would expect the stress pattern to be *óttoja*. But, again, this is overruled by intonational stress.

In some cases, intonational stress can fall on the last syllable of the intonation phrase.

(77) [yutíche   li-jà-n-tütü-ø=**tí**]_{IP}   bobó-ø=w=ya
      mutún.bird DEL-3SG-IO-sit;be-3=DS   kill-3=PL=NVR
      'When he was waiting for a mutún bird, they killed him.' (FA-6MA-5)

3.   Morphology

Yurakaré is a polysynthetic and agglutinating language (cf. section 1.2.3 above). This means that morphology is one of the most important means for coding meaning in Yurakaré. Yurakaré words are usually morphologically complex. A quick count[1] of four narratives showed an average of 2.05 morphemes per word.

   In this chapter I will discuss the general principles of Yurakaré morphology. I will start by giving a short sketch of Yurakaré morphology (3.1), followed by an overview of the morphological units and processes (3.2) and a discussion of the parts of speech in Yurakaré (3.3).

3.1 Introducing Yurakaré morphology

From the perspective of morphological typology, Yurakaré can be characterized as an agglutinating language. In the ideal case of an agglutinating language "a word may consist of more than one morpheme, but the boundaries between morphemes in the word are always clear-cut" (Comrie 1989a:43). This characterization fits Yurakaré morphology to a high degree. There is some fusion, however, especially within the system of participant reference on the verb. Here the categories of person and number are fused, and sometimes also semantic function (e.g. in the cross-referencing system, cf. section 5.1). On the whole, however, Yurakaré morphology provides us with a fairly straightforward picture of an agglutinating language.

   On another dimension, isolating versus polysynthetic, Yurakaré can be placed more towards the polysynthetic end, as was suggested already by the morpheme per word ratio. I take polysynthetic to mean the possibility "to combine a large number of morphemes, be they lexical or grammatical, into a single word, corresponding to a sentence of English" (Comrie 1989a:45). Yurakaré, with its elaborate person reference system and applicatives (cf. sections 5.1 and 5.2) fits this description. To give an example, consider the following:

(1)   a   ti-ma-y-mala-ma
         1SG-3PL-PO-go.SG-IMP.SG
         'Go and get them for me!'   [AA-15MA-9]
     b   ti-ma-la-che-ø
         1SG-3PL-AFO-eat-3
         'He ate them from me (e.g. from my plate).'   [MV-14MA-26]

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[1] I have not counted zero morphemes and I have counted bound roots + required derivational morphemes as one. I did count enclitics. The total number of words was 6,976, the total number of morphemes 14,289.

The entities referred to by the cross-reference affixes in (1) may additionally be expressed by overt noun phrases, but this is not required. The utterances in (1) are perfectly grammatical sentences. Polysynthesis in the strong sense (termed incorporating in Comrie 1989a) does not apply to Yurakaré. The language does not allow noun incorporation into a verb, and nominal compounding, although it occurs (cf. section 3.2.4), is not a very frequent process.

Another way to characterize the morphology of a language is head-marking versus dependent-marking, proposed as a typological parameter by Nichols (1986). Yurakaré has characteristics of both types, although the language is basically head marking. Possessive relations are head marked, cf. example (2), as are core grammatical relations subject and direct object, and applied objects, cf. example (3):

(2) a sëë   **ti**-sibë
       1SG.PRN   1SG-house
       'my house'
    b shunñe   **a**-bashti
       man   3SG.P-wife
       'the man's wife.'

(3) a **ma**-bëjta-**y**   lëshie   shunñe=w
       3PL-see-1SG.S   two   man=PL
       'I see two men.' [FL-3MA-4]
    b **ti-ma**-n-kaya-**ma**   yarru[2]
       1SG-3PL-IO-give-IMP.SG   chicha
       'Give me chicha.' [FP-13MA-13]

Other, more peripheral semantic roles are encoded by enclitics that mark the dependent noun phrase:

(4) a yupa-ø=ya   a-mumuy   a-ballata=**tina**
       enter.SG-3=NVR   3SG.P-all   3SG.P-seed=COM
       'He went in with all his seeds.' (AR-3NC-1)
    b ta-buybu=**la**   awëwë-ø   tejte-shama
       1PL-language=INS   cry-3   grandmother-PST
       'The old woman was crying in our language.' (OR-20MA-10)

Whether arguments are head or dependent marked furthermore has to do with topicality. The more topical a referent, the more likely it is head marked (cf. Van Gijn 2005).

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[2] The noun *yarru* (which loses its geminate consonant when it carries the possessive prefixes) is inherently plural, cf. section 4.2.

The more the information expressed by a morpheme is relevant to a root, the closer it is to that root (Bybee's [1985] relevance principle). If a morpheme has wider scope (e.g. inflectional morphemes that mark the relation between two syntactic units, like cross-reference markers or postpositions) it is usually further away from the root. Finally, there are morphemes that have scope over an entire clause. These are usually enclitics, and they are on the outside of the morphological template of a word:

(5) inflection - derivation - ROOT - derivation - inflection - clause level clitics

3.2 Morphological units and processes

In this section I will discuss the morphological units and processes in Yurakaré: roots (3.2.1), affixation (3.2.2), reduplication (3.2.3), compounding (3.2.4), cliticization (3.2.5) and morpheme-internal change (3.2.6).

3.2.1 Roots and words

Roots in Yurakaré are generally simplex and easy to distinguish from their affixes. Most roots can occur without any affixation; a small number of roots require additional morphology to be interpretable.

   Even though some roots are monosyllabic, words in Yurakaré are generally required to have two or more syllables (cf. section 2.4.6 above). Roots that are underlyingly monosyllabic copy their vowel to become disyllabic:

(6) a së=ja 'I (emphatic topic) vs. sëë³ 'I'
     b ta-pa 'our brother' vs. paa 'brother'

Nevertheless, there is a limited amount of monosyllabic roots that remain monosyllabic, even when they do not carry additional syllabic affixes:

(7) a **lü** i-dala-ø
        long VBL-head-3
        'He has long hair.' [FA-28MA-2]
     b bë-l-ati=jsha **tom** shunshata-ø
        ATT-REF-DEM=ABL IDEO midday-3
        'After that it had reached midday.' (OR-19MA-30)

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³ In natural speech, disyllabic *sëë* (without syllabic affixes) is often reduced to monosyllabic and unstressed *së*. In careful speech, however, it is always disyllabic.

Monosyllabic words almost all belong to the classes of ideophones or interjections[4] (cf. sections 3.3.5 and 3.3.6), word classes that are notorious for including phonologically deviant words (cf. Schachter 1985: 21, 58).

As mentioned in section 2.3.3 above, there are some disyllabic nominal roots that have a geminate consonant when standing alone, which they lose when combined with a syllabic morpheme:

(8) a sibbë 'house' ti-sibë 'my-house'
     b dojjo 'body' ta-dojo 'our body'
     c meyye 'ear' meye-te 'earring'
     d pëllë 'skin' waja-pëlë 'cow-hide'

Although gemination in these kinds of roots has to do with prosody (cf. section 2.4.6), it is still a property of the root whether this happens or not, i.e.: not all disyllabic (C)VCV roots have this property. Firstly, it is a characteristic of nouns only: there are many disyllabic verbs and adjectives that can stand alone without a geminate consonant:

(9) a mala 'go.SG'
     b ëlu 'lick'
     c bëmë 'much, many'
     d puwa 'drunk'
     e nama 'dry'

And even within the class of nouns, there are examples of roots that behave differently:

(10) a meme 'mother'
      b tata 'father'
      c shuwi 'moon'
      d pëpë 'grandfather'
      e mesa 'table' (< Sp. *mesa* 'table')

It is therefore reasonable to regard these roots as distinct from roots that do not have this requirement. It seems to be a purely lexically determined matter; the nouns that exhibit this behavior cannot be classified on semantic grounds.

The prefix *a-* 'incompletive' is sometimes lexicalized with a root:

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[4] Clitics are also often monosyllabic but, being phonologically dependent elements, they do not have to meet the requirement of disyllabicity.

(11) a   a-bayla   'to dance'   *bayla   (< Sp. *bailar* 'dance')
      b   a-juyja   'to fish'   *kuyja
      c   a-bësë   'to play'   *bësë

In some derivations of these roots, the incompletive marker is not present:

(12) a   kuyja-ta   'fishing line'
      b   bës-të   'toy'

Other verbal roots require an applied object, which means that they are always prefixed:

(13) ti-n-dyuju-ø   'he tells me.'   *dyuju
      ka-n-kaya-ø   'he gives it to me.' *kaya

I call these verbs that carry applied objects extended transitives or extended intransitives, depending on their basic valency (cf. section 5.1). Normally, applied objects are not required. They can be freely added or left out. With the verbs in (13), however, the applicative marker (+ variable object marker) is required.

3.2.2 Suffixing, prefixing, and infixing

As mentioned, Yurakaré has both prefixes and suffixes. The categories associated with prefixes and suffixes are roughly as follows:

Table 12 - categories of prefixes and objects

prefixes	suffixes
object cross-reference	subject cross-reference
object-oriented valency	subject-oriented valency
aspect	tense, mood, aspect
derivation	derivation

The order of bound morphemes is fixed in Yurakaré, corresponding to their scope, as well as to the distinction between derivation and inflection. By derivational morphemes I mean morphemes that "form new words either by changing the meaning of the base to which they are attached (…) or by changing the word-class that a base belongs to" (Katamba 1993:47). "Inflectional morphemes are only able to modify the form of a word so that it can fit in a particular syntactic slot" (Katamba 1993:51).

  In the following examples, we can see that inflection is generally found more towards the edge of a word, while derivation is closer to the root. Consider first:

(14) a   ana-kka-ø=ti   ka-l-i-sibë-ø
          DEM-MEA-3=DS   3SG-AFO-VBL-house-3
          'When he was this big, she made him a house.' (FA-6MA-6)
      b   tütü-mashi-ø=w=ya
          sit-LD-3=PL=NVR
          'They stayed a little.' (AR-8MI-60)

In (14)a, there are several derivational affixes. On the demonstrative pronoun *ana*, there is a derivational element deriving a measure 'this size'. This derivation also changes the word class, turning it into an adjectival element, used as a predicate here. The derivational element is followed by a zero morpheme. I will argue for the existence of this zero morpheme in section 3.2.5 below. In the same section, I will discuss enclitics, of which *=ti* is an example. The second (main) predicate in (14)a has its cross-referencing object morpheme *ka-* leftmost, more towards the verb root, we find the derivational elements *l-* (shortened form of *la-*) 'affected object'-applicative and *i-* 'verbalizer'. The prefix *la-* (or *l-* before a vowel) is an applicative prefix which increases the valence of a verb, which, in this case, has the role of beneficiary. The prefix *i-* is a category-changing prefix, deriving verbs from nouns. In (14)b, the verb root is followed by a derivational element *-mashi*, which indicates that the event is carried out to a limited degree (a little), followed by the subject marker *-ø* and the plural morpheme *=w*.

As far as tense, mood and aspect are concerned, the order seems to follow the relevance principle (Bybee 1985), which says that an affix is placed closer to the root the more relevant it is to the meaning of the root from a cognitive point of view.

The only tense marker *-shta* 'future tense' is found before the subject markers, as is event-related modality and aspect[5]. Modality and aspect that is more propositional related (epistemic) or related to expressive and interactional motives of the speaker are external to the person markers (cf. sections 7.1 and 7.2)

Infixing is a marginal process in Yurakaré. A first possible example of this is a variant of the imperative singular (cf. section 6.3.5) marker <-n-> (with allomorph [m]) with verbs that start with the vowel /i/. Examples of infixing of this type often involve roots that seem to be complex in one way or another; hence we may not be dealing with infixing after all:

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[5] The only prefixed aspectual markers *a-* 'incompletive and *i-* 'verbal plural' either replace object prefixes (in the case of incompletive *a-*) or they merge with the object markers (in the case of verbal plural *i-*).

(15) a ka-l-isëwëj~së-shti   pillë-të
        3SG-AFO-open~CAU-FUT:1SG.S   mouth-MID
        'I am going to open the door.' [MH-17MA-12]
   b ta-l-i<-n->sëwëj~së   mi-pillë-të
        1PL-AFO-<IMP.SG>-open~CAU 2SG-mouth-MID
        'Open your door for us!' (OR-20MA-1)

With many of the verbs beginning with /i/ the *n-* morpheme is infixed right after the vowel /i/, which seems to pertain to the root. However, this vowel /i/ may very well be a prefix which has lost its function, especially since there are oppositions such as the following:

(16) ka-l-isëwëj~së   'open it' vs.   sëwëj-ta   'be opened'
      ishupë   'urinate' vs.   shupë-të 'bladder'

With non /i/-initial verbs, the morpheme *n-* (in the example below [m]) is simply a prefix:

(17) ka-m-mala   mi-tëë
      3SG-IMP.SG-go.SG   2SG-nephew
      'Take your nephew with you   (OR-20MA-8)

In short, it is questionable if these are clear instances of infixation. Nevertheless, the status of a separate morpheme *i-* in instances such as (15) and (16) is no longer clear synchronically, therefore we have to consider the morpheme *n-* in combination with verbs beginning with /i/ as an infix. Further research may point out, however, that we are in fact dealing with a prefix.
   A better example of infixing is the following:

(18) a lotejta   'slippery'
   b lo<~te>tejta 'slippery all over'

The penultimate syllable is copied and precedes its original. For further discussion of this pattern, see the following section.

3.2.3 Reduplication

There are two types of reduplication in Yurakaré: complete and partial. The latter is subdivided into reduplication of the initial part of the root and reduplication of the final part of the root. Reduplication occurs both before and after the root or stem. Functions associated with reduplication in Yurakaré are iterativity, distribution, causation and intensity.

Complete reduplication indicates distribution over space. It is fairly productive when the stem indicates a physical characteristic of an entity, often a noun. Reduplicating this stem yields the meaning 'X all over':

(19) a   shonko~shonko   'full of holes'   (lit.: hole~hole)
      b   sëmë~sëmë   'naked'   (lit: bald~bald)
      c   pujshi~pujshi   'furry'   (lit.: fur~fur)
      d   bana~bana   'having many twigs'   (lit.: arm~arm)

In many of these property-denoting words, the reduplicational patterns are visible, but the parts of the reduplication do not mean anything (anymore):

(20) a   bolembole   'low, short'
      b   lëbëlëbë   'flat'
      c   worew(o)reshi   'black'
      d   taratara   'dirty'
      e   sobossobo   'swollen'
      f   munëmunë   'hairy'

Many color terms seem to have been derived from a root by means of (complete or partial) reduplication:

(21) a   yënnëjyënnë   'purple' (yënnë = fruit the Yuras used to make the color purple)
      b   tëbëttëbë   'red' (tëbbë = blood)
      c   worew(o)reshi   'black'
      d   shüjshüshi   'black, grey'
      e   pëpëpë   'brown'

A number of other adjectives also seem to be the result of partial reduplication which is no longer synchronically transparent:

(22) a   ñuñujulë   'small'
      b   siwowo   'moist'
      c   sürürü   'greasy'
      d   lumulu   'warm'
      e   sëpisë   'hard'

The following use of partial reduplication involving distribution over space is fairly productive.

(23) a warajta 'hollow'
    b wa<~ra>rajta 'completely hollow'
    c pututa 'loose'
    d pu<~tu>tuta 'completely loose'
    e shujuta 'warm'
    f shu<~ju>juta 'warm all over'
    g lotejta 'slippery'
    h lo<~te>tejta 'slippery all over'
    i arapta 'broken'
    j a<~ra>rapta 'completely broken, all over'

In these examples the onset and nucleus of the penultimate syllable are reduplicated, the copied element precedes its original[6], marking distribution or intensity. All of these elements end in *ta*, which corresponds to the middle marker *-tA*. It seems to be the case that elements such as the ones in (22) derive from a combination of an ideophone plus the marker *-tA*, which probably derives from the verb *ta* 'say' (for a fuller account cf. section 5.3.1).

   The most productive reduplication strategy is the intensity prefix:

(24) a ñuj~ñuñujulë 'really small'
    b bij~binta 'really strong'
    c maj~mala 'walk really far'

The reduplicated prefix usually copies the onset and nucleus of the first syllable of the word it attaches to, followed by [h], spelled *j*, or voiceless lengthening of the vowel. If the first syllable is closed, the coda consonant is not copied into the reduplicative prefix. In some cases the first two syllables are copied:

(25) a tëtë-pshë   milaj~mi-la-shojñe-jti-ø   meme
    what-entity   INTS~2SG-AFO-frighten-HAB-3   mother
    'What really frightens you, mother?' (AR-8MI-51)
    b shamaj~shama-shta-ø=w=ya=chi
    INTS~die.PL-FUT-3=PL=NVR=IGN
    'They really would have died.' (AR-8MI-63)

Sometimes one and the same base can have two different reduplicative prefixes:

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[6] It might also be that the reduplicated element follows its original. There is no way of telling.

(26) a aj~ama-kka   mi-jusu-ø   ta-jukkulë   mi-n-dula-ni=ti
         INTS~WH-MEA   2SG-want-3   1PL-field   2SG-IO-do;make-INTL=DS
         'How big do you want me to make our field?' (AR-8MI-41)

      b amaj~ama-shku   danda-p=chi
         INTS~WH-ADV.CMP   go.up-2PL=IGN
         'However did you guys get up there?' (AY-3NC-8)

The root in both examples is the question-word *ama*. In (26)a the intensifying prefix has a monosyllabic form, in (26)b it is disyllabic. Both stems begin with an open, onsetless syllable, followed by a closed syllable. The difference between the two stems is the stress pattern. The question word *amakka* has antepenultimate, or in this case, initial stress, while *amashku* has stress on the penultimate, closed, syllable.

In the following examples, primary stress is indicated in boldface; the reduplicated prefix always receives stress on its final syllable, which I term pragmatic stress, this and secondary stress are in italics in the example:

(27) a sh*ëwëj*~shëwi-sh**ta**-ø=ti   'when it was really getting dark…' (FA-6MA-5)
     b ma*laj*~ma-*la*-wi**ta**-ø=ya   'She really had the urge [to urinate]: i.e.: the
                                          urine really arrived upon her.' (AY-3NC-6)
     c me*yej*~me**ye**ye-ø=w   'They were really disobedient.' (AR-8MI-65)

In (27)a, the stem (excluding the reduplicative prefix) has no stress on either the first or second syllable, while in (27)b, the second syllable has secondary stress, and in (27)c, the second syllable has primary stress. We cannot account for these facts by assuming a rule like 'copy the first syllable if it is stressed or the first two if the initial syllable is unstressed', because of examples such as the following:

(28) a *maj*~matata   'really big'
     b *shuj*~shu**yu**lë   'really beautiful'

In (28)a and b, the first syllable of the stem is unstressed. Still, only the first syllable gets copied. Which part (the first or the first two) gets copied possibly has to do with stress-attracting and stress-avoiding syllables discussed earlier in sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.6. The stems of the examples in (27) all begin with a stress-avoiding syllable[7]. Apparently, the characteristic 'stress avoiding' is relevant for the reduplicated prefix as well. A syllable that is specified with 'avoid stress' cannot be copied by itself. It needs a host for stress. In the examples in (28), the first syllable is unstressed, but not because it is stress avoiding, or because the

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[7] The case of *shama* in (25)b is somewhat deviant. I did find one instance where the first syllable of *shama* was stressed. On the other hand, *-shama* as a suffix (deceased) systematically avoids having a stressed first syllable.

second syllable is stress attracting. The stress pattern simply follows general prosodic rules outlined in section 2.4.1 above, which say that the stress pattern of Yurakaré words follow an iambic pattern starting from the left side of the word, provided that the ultimate syllable be unstressed.

(29) **ma**ta **ma**la   'big'
      *ma*ta**ti**ma[8]   'big (collective)'
      shuyu **ma**la   'beautiful'
      *shu*yu**li**ma   'beautiful (collective)

As can be seen in (29), the first syllables of mata(ta) and shuyu(lë) can be stressed. They can receive primary or secondary stress.

   The case of the question word *ama* is deviant in this respect. There is no clear explanation for the behavior of *ama*. The only observation that can be reported here is that the question word *ama* behaves in unpredictable ways when followed by an enclitic or suffix:

<div align="center">

Table 13   - stress patterns of question words

ama +	stress	Meaning
=ja (subject-topic)	*a*maja/a*ma*ja	who?
=ti (locative/amount)	a*ma*ti/*am*ti	where? how much?
=jsha (ablative)	a*maj*sha	from where?
=chi (direction)	*am*chi	whereto?
-shku	amashku	how?
-kka	*a*makka	how big?

</div>

Possibly, when there is a choice of stress, as is often the case with the question words (cf. the discussion in section 3.2.3), the reduplication process depends on which choice has been made for the stress of the stem.

   Apart from deriving a number of descriptive adjectives, partial suffixal reduplication serves two functions: distributive or causation. In the distributive function it is the initial syllable of the root that is reduplicated. Causation is normally also marked by reduplicating the first rather than the last syllable, but both occur. Verbal distributive/repetitive mostly combines with the prefix *i-* 'verbal plural' (discussed in section 6.2.2):

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[8] Stress falls on the penultimate syllable here, since underlying, the syllable is heavy: *matata-yma, shuyulë-yma*. The secondary stress on the first syllable is the result of stress-clash resolution, avoiding two adjacent stressed syllables.

(30) a bache   'send'   i-bache~be[9]   'be sending repeatedly'
     b bëbë   'search' i-bëbë~bë   'search everywhere'
     c bobo   'hit'   i-bobo~bo   'hit repeatedly'
     d bëjta   'see'   i-bëjtu~bë   'see repeatedly'

Causation marked by reduplication stands in contrast with the middle marker *-tA* (cf. section 5.3.1):

(31) a shuyuj-ta 'hide (intr)'   shuyuj~shu 'hide (tr)'
     b shuñe-te   'grow up'   shuñe~ñe 'raise'
     c werej-ta   'untie (intr)'   werej~we 'untie(tr)'
     d büsüj-ta   'shattered, torn'   büsüj~bü 'shatter, tear (tr)'

As can be seen in (31), partial reduplication can either be a copy of the final or the initial syllable. A copy of the initial syllable is more common.

The uses of verbal plural are also sometimes in contrast with the middle marker:

(32) a necheta 'kick'   nechene   'kick repeatedly'
     b nometa   'move'   nomenome   'move repeatedly'
     c wita   'arrive.SG'   wiwi   'arrive.PL'
     d sheta   'be lost.SG' sheshe   'be lost.PL'
     e chittu   'cross.SG'   chichi   'cross.PL'
     f letu   'sit down.SG' lele   'sit down.PL'

In the case of *yupa/yupata* 'go in sg/pl', the situation is as follows:

(33) yupa   'go in.SG'
      yupa~pa   'go in.CAU'
      yupata   'go in.PL'
      yupata~pa   'go in.PL.CAU'

All in all this kind of reduplication gives the impression to have been fairly productive at a certain stage, but presently it no longer seems to be very productive. Lexicalization of different types of reduplication associated with different meanings has led to a situation where the different types and functions of reduplications can no longer be distinguished easily.

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[9] It is not clear why the vowel of the reduplicated suffix here is *e* instead of *a*. Reduplicated forms are generally transparent in Yurakaré, but there are some exceptions here and there.

3.2.4 Compounding

Morphological compounding mainly occurs in the nominal domain in Yurakaré. Nominal compounding follows essentially the same rules as affixation in terms of prosody (cf. section 2.4). There are endocentric and exocentric compounds. Examples of the former type are the following:

(34) a   waja-pëlë
          cow-skin
          'cowhide'
      b   talipa-newe
          chicken-excrement
          'chicken-dirt'

The head noun in these compounds is always to the right. Stress follows the normal prosodic rules. In (34)a, the stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable, since that is the rightmost dominant node. In (34)b, the stress also falls on the antepenultimate syllable, since the initial syllable of *talipa* is strong (in isolation it carries primary stress: *tálipa*), and feet are counted from there onwards. Sometimes vowels of the head noun are elided, just as can happen with ordinary suffixes:

(35) tanti-plë   (*tanti*+*pëlë* 'eye+skin')
      eye-skin/mouth
      'eyelid'

Endocentric noun-noun compounds without any possessive relation between them are rather marginal, and these are always person descriptions:

(36) a   sewe-bonto
          child-son
          'young man'
      b   sewe-shoja
          child-daughter
          'young woman'
      c   wësh-shunye
          in.law-man
          'father-in-law'
      d   wësh-shendye
          in.law-young.woman
          'mother-in-law'

Exocentric compounds are more complex both morphologically and semantically. They are contractions of syntactic phrases and have unpredictable meanings:

(37) a pata-n-sibë
        thorn-EXC-house
        'thorn-houser' (birds that make their nests out of thorns)
     b tëbë-n-este
        blood-EXC-drink(N)
        'blood-drinker' (referring to blood-drinking bats)

Animals are often described in this way. The meaning of such a compound refers to a characteristic of some entity. The connection marker *-n-* comes from the proclitic article *an* (cf. sections 3.2.5 and 3.3.1), a short form of the demonstrative pronoun *ana* 'this'.

(38) a patta an   sibbë
        thorn DEM   house
        'The house is thorny.'
     b tëbbë an   este
        blood DEM   drink
        'The drink is blood.'

This structure is still reflected in the prosodic structure:

(39) a pàtansíbë
     b tĕbënéste

According to normal prosodic rules (iambic feet from left to right and avoidance of stressing the final syllable), primary stress would fall on the penultimate syllable and there would be no secondary stress. Still, these compounds can no longer be regarded as a syntactic phrase, since there is only one primary stress, and also because the gemination of the nouns is lost.

   Semantically, these exocentric compounds refer to some object or concept (right-hand member), over which something is predicated (the predicate is the left-hand member). This object or concept is connected in some unspecified way to the entity the compound as a whole refers to. Something is predicated over this noun.

   Compounds in which the verb is the right-hand member are restricted to some lexicalizations, all involving the verb *ta* 'say':

(40) a puchik   mala-ø   manka
        splash   go-3   mango
        '"Splash", the mango went.' [MH-33MA-7]
     b puchijta-ø   manka (*puchik* + *ta*)
        'The mango is/got squashed.' [MH-33MA-7]

In Yurakaré there are many ideophones such as *puchik*, which are often sound-symbolic expressions of an event. These ideophones can be combined with a verb. This can in principle be any verb, but the verbs *ta* 'say' and *mala/bali* go.sg/pl function as semantically empty verbs. The verb *ta* can be compounded with the ideophone to form a middle event. The fact that we are dealing with a compound in (40)b is evidenced by the fact that the plosive /k/ lenites to /h/, spelled *j*. The compounded *ta* is grammaticalized, and can best be interpreted as a middle marker (cf. section 5.3.1).

3.2.5 Cliticization

Yurakaré has a number of clitics of different types in the nominal as well as the verbal domain. The term clitics has been used to describe distinct phenomena (cf. Halpern 1989:101). It is therefore important to define clitics in a particular language.

   Clitics have to be distinguished from independent words on the one hand and from affixes on the other. The main characteristic that sets clitics apart from independent words in Yurakaré is that with combinations of two independent words, each has primary stress, while combinations of a word with one or more clitics have only one stress peak.

(41) a   li-ma-ujwa-ni-jti-ø   na   *ye*e=w
          DEL-3PL-look.at-INTL-HAB-3   DEM   woman=PL
          'He was going to look at those women.'   (AR-8MI-61)

      b   a-ense-jti=w=ya   *a*na   *ye*e=w
          INC-drink-HAB=PL=NVR   DEM   woman=PL
          'These women started drinking' (AR-8MI-61)

The opposition is between the two noun phrases *na yeew* and *ana yeew*. Where the former has only one stressed syllable (indicated in the example with italics), the latter has two. Moreover, the morpheme *na* violates the requirement that a word have minimally two syllables. *Na*, then, does not meet the requirements of wordhood in Yurakaré on two accounts. Since it is furthermore not found in isolation in this reduced form, and it is phonologically dependent I consider it to be a clitic.

   Clitics can also be distinguished from independent words on the grounds that there are phonological processes between stems and clitics, which we generally do not find between words. One such process is vowel sandhi:

(42) a inele elli
　　　 inside earth:LOC
　　　 'inside the ground.' (AR-3NC-1)
　　 b a-bontu
　　　 3SG.P-son:PL
　　　 'her sons' (OR-19MA-29)

In (42)a, the enclitic =*y* has fused with the final vowel of *elle* 'earth', and in (42)b, the plural enclitic =*w* has fused with the final vowel /o/ of *bonto* 'son'.

　 Elision and subsequent resyllabification are processes that occur only within, and not in between words. However, between clitics and words and between two clitics these processes *do* take place:

(43) a l-achama=sh　(underlying: l-achama=jsha)
　　　 REF-be.like.that=ABL
　　　 'nevertheless' (OR-19MA-10)
　　 b a-dujnë=nna (underlying: a-dujnë=tina)
　　　 3SG.P-game=COM
　　　 'with his game' (OR-20MA-8)
　　 c otto-ø=lam=naja (underlying: otto-ø=laba=naja)
　　　 go.out-3=SBJ=DSC
　　　 'It may have come out now.' (OR-20MA-2)

In (43)a, the enclitic =*jsha* 'ablative' has been reduced to =*sh* and is the coda consonant of the final syllable of the stem. In (43)b the enclitic =*tina* loses its first syllable, which is compensated by lengthening. In (43)c finally, the enclitic =*laba* is reduced to =*lam*, thus forming a heavy syllable in stead of two light ones.
Yet another phonological process that does not take place between two words, but does between a clitic and a word, is place assimilation:

(44) a an titanti [ɑntitɑnti] 'this face of mine' (FA-6MA-5)
　　 b an kummë [ɑŋkumːæ] 'this tree'　　　 (OR-20MA-2)
　　 c an puyni [ɑmpujni] 'this sun'　　　 (OR-19MA-29)
　　 d an yarru [ɑɲjarːu] 'this chicha'　　 (OR-19MA-30)

In all of these examples, the nasal assimilates in place to the next vowel[10]. Note that in examples (44)b and d, the proclitic *an* can be contrasted with the possessive

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[10] Since words generally do not end in a consonant in Yurakaré, the situation of a nasal final consonant does not occur very often. I have found one example: *a-embarkashon palantashon* 'his ship, plantation' (OR-20MA-3) where there is no place assimilation. However, there is a slight pause between the two words which makes it dubious as a counterexample, moreover these are loan words.

prefixes, which trigger the loss of the geminate consonant in the root, whereas the proclitics do not:

(45) an ya**rr**u 'this chicha'
        ti-ya**r**u 'my chicha'

There is also a distributional argument to distinguish clitics from independent words: the positional possibilities of clitics are generally more restricted than those of independent words. For instance, if we look at the different possibilities in the internal word order of the noun phrase consisting of the three elements *matata* 'big', *yee* 'woman', and *ja* 'emphatic subject' we can see the distinction between words and clitics:

(46) a matata yee=ja 'big woman'
        b yee matata=ja
        c *ja matata yee

The morphemes *matata* and *yee* can both appear as the first element of the noun phrase, but the element *ja* cannot. In fact, this element attaches to the final element of the noun phrase. The order *yee=ja matata* or *matata=ja yee* is allowed, but this can be explained by the fact that nouns and adjectives can function as predicates and adjectives can function as heads of noun phrases as well (cf. section 3.3). The analysis of these two noun phrases would be:

(47) a [yee]_{NP}=ja   [matata]_{PRED}
        b [matata]_{NP}=ja [yee]_{PRED}

Finally, many clitics are monosyllabic or even non-syllabic, while there is independent phonological evidence that independent words are required to minimally have two syllables (cf. section 2.4.6).

Clitics can be distinguished from affixes on the basis of one or more of the following criteria. First, some of the clitics have more combinatory possibilities than affixes with regard to the host they attach to. For instance, the plural enclitic =*w* can attach to either nouns or adjectives, while the collective marker -*ima* can only attach to adjectives and the possessive prefixes attach to nouns only. Second, affixes generally cannot attach to clitics, whereas clitics can (cf. Zwicky & Pullum 1983:504). Finally, affixes are always taken into account with regard to stress placement; in Yurakaré, most clitics are as well, but some clitics are not.

Clitics in Yurakaré can be classified with respect to each other as well. There are three classes of clitics which can be distinguished on the basis of the following criteria.

Table 14   -   Classification of Yurakaré clitics

	class I	class II	class III
occur independently	no	no	no
have an independent counterpart	yes	no	no
interact with word stress	no	yes	yes
attach to different hosts	yes	no	yes

Class I clitics can be found in the domains of pronouns, conjunctions and adverbs. Examples are the reduced forms of the demonstratives *ana*, *ati* and *naa*: *an*, *a(t)*, and *na*, respectively:

(48) a **an**=ta-buy   tiri   ta-ma-n-dula-ø=ti
         DEM=1PL-chief   Tiri   1PL-3PL-IO-make-3=DS
         'This chief of ours, Tiri, he made them for us.' (OR-20MA-3)

   b a-ewe-ma   të-ta-ø   **a**=shunñe   a-sib=chi
         INC-sweep-IMP.SG   1SG.CO-say-3   DEM=man   3SG.P-house=DIR
         '"Sweep his house"', the man said to me.'   [MH-24MA-4]

   c dürrüm   mala-ø   **na**=pillë-të
         IDEO   go.SG-3   DEM=mouth-MID
         '"Bang", the door went.' (OR-20MA-1)

We find the reduced forms of the demonstratives attached to other hosts as well:

(49) a **na**=tuwa-wa-shku-ta   tuwa   ta-buybu=la
         DEM=1PL.PRN-WA-ADV.CMP-MID   1PL.PRN   1PL-language=INS
         ma-n-dyërërë-jti=ya
         3PL-IO-converse-HAB=NVR
         'They were like us, they spoke in our language.' (AR-8MI-88)

   b **na**=ujwa-ø=ya   **na**=buyta   itta   mappë-n-tanti
         DEM=look.at-3=NVR   DEM=chief   thing   big-EXC-eye;face
         He was looking, this chief bigface.' (OR-19MA-29)

   c nish   mu-chiya-ø=w=ya=**na**   latiji   a-tomte=w
         NEG   3PL.CO-light.up-3=PL=DEM   subsequently   3SG.P-arrow=PL
         'His arrow did not catch fire, subsequently.' (AY-2NC-5)

In these examples the clitic *na* is not used adjectivally, but rather independently, except for the second occurrence of *na* in (49)b. In (49)b and c the corresponding noun phrase follows later, in (49)a, there is no corresponding noun phrase. Note too, that the clitic form of the demonstrative cannot be marked for plural, as can be observed in (49)a and c. Furthermore, in (49)c, the clitic seems to attach to the preceding word instead of the following word. In this specific example, *na* is followed by a small pause. These facts make it hard to classify these clitics as proclitics or enclitics. The clitics *an* and *a(t)* are more restricted. They usually only

appear in adjectival position, and do not alternate with free forms in other positions.

Another group of reduced, unstressed clitics are reduced forms of the adverb *latijsha* 'then, after that, when', which functions as a connector. The forms are *lash* and *la*.

(50) a **la**=bobo-ø=w=ja   ka-deche-che-ø=w   kummë
      SEQ=hit;kill-3=PL=SS   3SG-meet;find-CAU-3=PL   tree
      'When they had killed him, they mounted wood.' (OR-20MA-9)

    b **lash**=li-ujwa-ni-ø=w
      SEQ=DEL-look.at-INTL-3=PL
      'Then they went looking.' (FA-6MA-7)

These proclitics do not interfere with the word-stress of their host either. They are themselves unstressed. They seem to be restricted to clause initial position, but the full form *latijsha* (which is sometimes also reduced to *lashsha*, a reduced form that still carries stress) also mainly occurs in clause-initial position.

Some other adverbs also have reduced forms, such as *achu* 'like that' (*ash*) and *anu* 'like this' (*an*), *ushta* 'before' (*ush*). Examples of *ash=* are given in (51):

(51) a **ash**=ta-ø=ya   latiji (…)
      like.that=say-3=NVR   subsequently
      'Then he spoke as follows.'

    b **ash**=mu-ta-ø=ya   noe (…)
      like.that=3PL.CO-say-3=NVR   Noah
      'Noah said the following to them.'

Finally, the personal pronouns *sëë* (1sg) and *mëë* (2sg) have the reduced forms *së* and *më*, respectively.

(52) a achu   ka-n-dula-y   ushta=**së**
      like.that   3SG-IO-do;make-1SG.S before=1SG.PRN
      'I made it for him like that before.' (DV-14MA-2)

    b tuwi-ø   **së**=ti-bonto
      die.SG-3   1SG.PRN=1SG-son
      'My son died.' (OR-20MA-5)

    c la=ama-shku   danda-m=**më**
      SEQ=WH-ADV.CMP   go.up-2SG.S=2SG.PRN
      '"How did you get up?"' (OR-19MA-9)

    d **më**=mala-m=ti   chili-ta-shta-ø   an mi-tewi   mi-marka
      2SG.PRN=go.SG-2SG.S=DS clean-MID-FUT-3   DEM 2SG-foot:LOC 2SG-mark
      'If you go, the mark on your foot will go off.' (OR-19MA-31)

As can be seen in the examples, it does not matter whether these reduced pronouns precede ((52)b and d) or follow ((52)a and c) the predicate or noun they are cross-referenced with.

In the examples of the remainder of the grammar, I will not indicate the proclitics discussed in examples (48)-(52) by means of the symbol '='. I will in fact not distinguish these enclitics from separate words in their representation, since they do not seem to constitute one word with their host as much as the other clitics do, as we will see. First, they do not form a phonological word with their host as far as prosody is concerned; second, they seem to be more free positionally than class II and class III clitics. Class I enclitics differ furthermore from class II and III clitics in Yurakaré in that whereas the former generally have unreduced and independent counterparts, the latter two do not.

Before discussing class II clitics, I will first discuss class III clitics. Class III clitics can be termed phrasal enclitics because they attach to a phrase-final element. In the nominal domain, the plural marker and the postpositional markers are examples of phrasal enclitics:

(53) a   matata ti-pojore=**w**   vs.   ti-pojore   matata=**w**
           big   1SG-canoe=PL   1SG-canoe   big=PL
           'my big canoes'   'my big canoes'
      b   inele   elle=**y**   vs.   elle   inele=**y**
           inside   earth=LOC   earth   inside=LOC
           'in the ground'   'in the ground'

The order of adjectives and nouns can be reversed, as can be seen in (53). Nevertheless, the plural marker in (53)a as well as the postposition in (53)b remain where they are: they attach to the rightmost element of the NP. Other nominal enclitics are *=chi* 'directional', *=jsha* 'ablative', *=la* 'instrumental', *=tina* 'comitative' and *=ja* 'subject emphasis marker'. I will discuss all of these in sections 4.2 and 4.3 below.

NPs can be discontinuous in Yurakaré (cf. section 4.1). The head of the NP in these circumstances is postverbal, while its modifier is in preverbal, focus position. In these cases, the postpositions are still attached to the (rightmost) head noun, while the preposed modifier does not have any postpositional marking:

(54) a   danda-shti   kummë matata=la
           go.up-FUT.1SG.S   tree   big=INS
           'I am going to climb up that big tree.' [MV-31MA-3]
      b   matata   danda-shti   kummë=la
           big   go.up-FUT.1SG.S   tree=INS
           'I am going to climb up that big tree.' [MV-31MA-3]

Plural markers behave a little differently. When a plural NP is discontinuous, usually both the modifier and the head noun are marked for plural:

(55) lëshie=w ma-bëjti   shunñe=w
      two=PL   3PL-see:1SG.S   man=PL
      'I see two men.'[FL-3MA-4]

Plural markers are generally found more often on both the head noun and the modifier, even if the NP is not discontinuous, and especially with the order noun-adjective. Postpositional enclitics are never found on both elements.

   There are also a few clausal clitics that mostly attach to the clause-final element. These are modal and aspectual particles. Examples are *=la* 'validational', *=bë* 'momentaneous', *=se* 'repetition (among other meanings)' and *=bëla* (continuative). They normally attach to the rightmost element of the clause, and are associated semantically with the propositional level (cf. chapter 1):

(56) a yokkoshe   tiya-m   mem=la
         true   eat-2SG.S   mother=VAL
         'You really did eat it, mother.' (AR-8MI-25)
      b li-ma-n-tomochi-n-tu   petche=w=bë
         DEL-3PL-IO-poison-INTL-1PL.S   fish=PL=MOM
         'Let's go poison some fish.' (AY-3NC-8)
      c ëshë   awëwë-ø   laij   ana=se
         why   cry-3   too   DEM=SE
         'Why was this one crying as well then?' (FL-14MA-1)
      d nij   bëjta-ø=w=ya   na   pi=w=bëla
         NEG   see-3=PL=NVR   DEM   brother=PL=CNT
         'His brothers still had not seen him yet.' (FA-6MA-6)

In (56)a the enclitic *=la* is attached to the noun denoting the addressee, in (56)b *=bë* is attached to the object of the verb, and in (56)c, the enclitic *=se* attaches to the subject. The enclitic *=bëla* in (56)d, finally, is attached to the subject. These enclitics can also attach to other parts of speech:

(57) a tiya-y=la
         eat-1SG.S=VAL
         'I did eat it!' (AR-8MI-25)
      b la   malawismë-ø=ti   itele-ø=w=ya   yosse=bë
         SEQ   3PL-AFO-hit-3=DS   let.go-3=PL=NVR again=MOM
         'When she hit them, they let her go again for a while.' (FA-6MA-5)
      c ati   pëpësu   ma-mala-jti-ø=se
         DEM   Pëpësu   3PL-go.SG-HAB-3=SE
         'This Pëpësu used to take them with him.' (OR-19MA-9)

In (57)a, *=la* attaches to a predicate, as does *=se* in (57)c. In (57)b, *=bë* attaches to an adverb. In other words: these syntactic enclitics can attach to different hosts when they are the last element of the clause. Occasionally, an element that pertains to the clause comes after the clausal enclitic:

(58) a mala-ø=la   noe   li-ja-nama-ø=t=chi
         go.SG-3=VAL   Noah   DEL-3SG-dry-3=DS=DIR
         'Noe went to where it was dry.' (OR-20MA-2)
      b kani   sewe-ø=ya=bë   tiri
         not.yet   born-3=NVR=MOM   Tiri
         'Tiri had not been born yet.' (AR-8MI-9)

In (58)a and b, the enclitics *=la* and *=bë* are followed by the subject-NP of the clause they belong to. This is especially clear with the enclitic *=bëla* 'continuative' in the following example:

(59) nij   bëjta-ø=w=ya   na   pi=w=**bëla**   samu   na   ma-mme-shama
      NEG   see-3=PL=NVR   DEM   brother=PL=CNT   jaguar:PL   DEM   3PL-mother-PST
      che-jbëshë=w
      eat-entity=PL
      'The brothers had not seen him yet, the ones that ate his late mother.' (FA-6MA-6)

   A special group of syntactic clausal enclitics are two types of clitics that change according to the gender of the speaker: *=ri/=ra* for men and *=yu/=ye* for women:

(60) a lat   mapakka-ø   ati-kka-jtë-ø   latiji=la=**yu**
         SEQ   big-3   DEM-MEA-SPC-3   subsequently=VAL=EXPR.F
         'Then he was big. He must have been about that size. (FA-6MA-6)
      b shülül-ta-ø   a-dojo=**ye**
         tickly-MID-3   3SG.P-body=NB.F
         'Her body is tickly.' (DV-14MA-1)
      c am=chi   mala-jtë   latiji=**ri**
         WH=DIR   go.SG-SPC-3   subsequently=EXPR.M
         'Where did he go to?' (AR-8MI-59)
      d media   ora-nñu   kusu-ø=naja   pëpë=**ra**
         half   hour-DIM   want-3=DSC   grandfather=NB.M
         'Half an hour, the old one wanted.' (FL-14MA-1)

As mentioned above, clitics cannot be morphologically followed by affixes. They can, however, be followed by a lexical element in a compound. In (61), the stem *mujumuju* carries the locative postposition *=y*, which in turn is followed by the compounded noun *bëshë* 'thing, entity'.

(61) danda-ma=chi   ku-ta-ø=ya   atta   a-paa   mujumuju=y-bëshë
       go.up-IMP.SG=IGN 3SG.CO-say-3=NVR other 3SG.P-brother middle=LOC-entity
       '"Go up", he said to his other brother, the one in the middle.' (FA-6MA-5)

Class II enclitics are found on verbs only. I consider them to be clitics because they follow the person markers. The marker for third person plural is as follows:

(62) amala-ø=w
       come-3=PL
       'They come.'

I assume a pronominal zero element referring to the third person because the plural marker needs a [+nominal] element to have scope over. This means that we are essentially dealing with a bound form of the subject argument NP, and therefore we should consider verbal =*w* to be an enclitic as well.

   From this it follows that all morphological material following this plural marker should be considered to be cliticized as well, since clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot (Zwicky & Pullum 1983:503). Other such enclitics in Yurakaré are, for instance, the subordination markers =*ti* 'different subject' and =*ja* 'same subject':

(63) la   bobo-ø=w=ja   tiya-ø=w la   bobo-ø=w=ti   ku-benemne-ø=ya (…)
       SEQ hit;kill-3=PL=SS eat-3=PL SEQ kill-3=PL=DS 3SG.CO-lamentable-3=NVR
       'After killing her they ate her. After they killed it, she felt sorry for her…'(AR-8MI-24)

In (64), first the same subject marker =*ja* follows the plural marker, and in the second predicate the different subject marker =*ti* follows the plural marker. When attached to a predicate with the verbal marker, they follow this marker. A number of other clitics fall into this class. They are mainly markers of epistemic modality and situational aspect. Examples are =*ya* 'non-veridical', =*chi* 'ignorative', =*laba* 'subjective', =*naja* 'discontinuative'. They are attached to predicates, but late in the morphological template, i.e. after the subject markers:

(64) a   danda-ø=w=**ya**   kummë=la
           go.up-3=PL=NVR   tree=INS
           'They went up the tree.' (AY-3NC-6)
      b   tëtë-pshë   che-shta-p=**chi=naja**
           what-entity   eat-FUT-2PL.S=IGN=DSC
           'What are you guys going to eat now?' (AY-2NC-8)
      c   benebene-sh   ti-bata-ø=w=**lab**   sinoru
           lamentable-ADV   1SG-leave-3=PL=SBJ   Sinoro:PL
           'Poor me! The Sinoros are taking me with them!' (OR-20MA-8)

In (64)a, the non-veridical marker =*ya* comes after the plural enclitic, in (64)b, the ignorative enclitic =*chi* and the discontinuative enclitic =*naja* follow the subject marker position, and necessarily should be interpreted as enclitics. In (64)c, finally, the subjective marker =*laba* follows the plural enclitic.

There is one exception to the rule that clitics cannot be followed by affixes, the sequence =*ja* (emphatic subject) and -*jti* (the 'limitative' suffix):

(65) a   ati=ja-jti   tuwa   ta-buybu
          DEM=EMPH-LIM   1PL.PRN   1PL-language
          'That is what our language is.' (OR-20MA-5)
      b   ana=ja-jti   mi-bashti-ø
          DEM=EMPH-LIM   2SG-wife-3
          'This here is your wife.'   (AY-2NC-6)

Several authors have commented on the phenomenon of endoclitics (for a concise overview, cf. Nevins 2001). Since one of the characteristics of clitics observed by Zwicky & Pullum (1983) is that clitics cannot be followed by affixes, students have tried to reason away the apparent examples of endoclitics. One of the solutions proposed for some of these cases is that we are dealing with morph metathesis (Haiman 1977). This could be an explanation here as well, considering the fact that there is something which looks like morph metathesis involving what is arguably the same affix -*jti*:

(66) weche   ku-ta-tijti   tuwa   tuwa   ta-buybu=la
      tapyr   3SG.CO-say-HAB:1PL   1PL.PRN   1PL.PRN   1PL-language=INS
      'We call it "weche" in our language.' (OR-19MA-30)

The normal form of the habitual marker is -*jti* and the normal marker for first person plural subject is -*tu*. The slot for subject cross-referencing suffixes is after TMA forms such as -*jti*. Here the two morphemes seem to have swapped places.

3.2.6 Morpheme-internal change

Morpheme-internal change is a marginal morphological process in Yurakaré as it is limited to a handful of verbs and some prefixes. I have found five pairs where one of the stem vowels can be changed to form the causative counterpart. The causative counterpart vowel is always /a/:

(67) a tütü   'to be, to sit'   tüta   'to place, put'
     b bushu   'to lie (down)'   busha   'to lay (down)'
     c shonko   'hole'   shonka   'make a hole'
     d yoyo   'be covered (bed)'   yoya   'cover (bed)'
     e ñumiñu(mi)   'be wrinkled'   ñumiña   'make wrinkled'

Another eleven verbs (for a list, cf. section 6.2.2) have suppletive stems that vary according to the number of the participants involved. This process has an ergative pattern, as is common with verbal participant number cross-linguistically (cf. Corbett 2000: 252-253). The stems of intransitive verbs change according to the number of subjects, while transitive verbs change according to the number of direct objects:

(68) a mala-y   vs.   bali-tu
        go.SG-1SG.S   go.PL-1PL.S
        'I go.'   'We go.'
     b chitta-y   vs.   ma-jokko-y
        throw.SG-1SG.S   3PL-throw.PL-1SG.S
        'I throw it.'   'I throw them.'

Sometimes these singular and plural stems are formally related (like *wita* 'arrive.SG' vs. *wiwi* 'arrive.PL'), sometimes they are not (e.g. *tuwi* 'die.SG' vs. *shama* 'die.PL'). I discuss participant-based verbal number in section 6.2.2.

A final instance of morpheme internal change is the paradigm of the cooperative object (cf. section 5.2.2 below). In Table 15 the paradigms of the comitative object and of the cooperative object, which differ notionally in that the former is a passive co-participant, whereas the latter is an active one, are shown. They differ from each other only in their vowels.

Table 15 - *Comparing the comitative object and cooperative object paradigms*

value	comitative object	cooperative object
1sg	ti-	të-
2sg	mi-	më-
3sg	ka-	ku-
1pl	ta-	tu-
2pl	pa-	pu-
3pl	ma-	mu-

It is hard to think of a phonological rule deriving the cooperative object paradigm from the paradigm of the comitative object or vice versa. That rule would have to account for the fact that /i/ changes to /æ/ and at the same time it should account for the change from /a/ to /u/. I consider this to be a morphologically rather than phonologically driven vowel change.

3.3 Parts of speech

As is shown in Anward *et al*. (1997), languages can differ from each other in several respects when it comes to the inventory of their lexical categories. They can differ in what kind of categories they identify; the distinction between verbs and nouns seems to be universal (Schachter 1985:6-7), though even that is questioned (cf. Hengeveld 1992:67 for Tuscarora). Adjectives, (manner) adverbs and smaller parts of speech are not universal at all. Languages can also differ in terms of the criteria that can be used to distinguish their lexical categories. The general approach in any language to distinguish lexical categories is that "the primary, definitional properties of parts of speech are semantic or pragmatic, rather than form related; (…) semantic or pragmatic features are part-of-speech defining only if there is at least one formal characteristic that correlates with them" (Anward *et al*. 1997:172). Formal characteristics can be found on the syntactic, morphological or phonological level[11]. Languages differ as to which of these formal characteristics correlates with the semantic-pragmatic features.

These differences, together with the fact that the boundaries between the different parts of speech are sometimes rather fuzzy (cf. Payne 1997:32), make it a difficult task to identify the parts of speech of a language. Therefore the distinctions I have chosen to make, although based on notional, syntactic, morphological, and sometimes even phonological criteria, do not reflect rigid classes with clear-cut boundaries, but rather they reflect tendencies associated with certain lexical classes.

When these precautions are taken into consideration, we might say that Yurakaré distinguishes seven lexical classes: verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, ideophones, interjections and clitic particles. I will discuss each of the parts of speech in turn, stating their (prototypical) notional, syntactic and morphological characteristics as well as subclassifications. I will start with nouns (3.3.1), followed by adjectives (3.3.2), verbs (3.3.3), adverbs (3.3.4), ideophones (3.3.5), interjections (3.3.6), and finally clitic particles (3.3.7).

3.3.1 Nouns

Notional features associated with nouns are concreteness, referentiability (Croft 2003), countability, compactness, time-stability (Givón 2001a). Words referring to persons, places and physical objects can be considered to be basic noun concepts (Schachter 1985).

Even though in Yurakaré it is hard to find morphosyntactic arguments for headedness within the noun phrase, we can still say that nouns are typically the

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[11] With the phonological level, Anward *et al*. (1997) mean distinctions like English *die* vs. *death*.

semantic head of the noun phrase. This can be described as follows: "the head of a noun phrase is the one word within the phrase that refers to the same entity the whole phrase refers to" (Payne 1997:33). So in an example such as (69), we might say that *shunñe* 'man' is the semantic head, and *matata* 'big' refers to a property of the man.

(69) matata   shunñe
      big   man
      'a/the big man'

It can be said that the NP as a whole refers to a man, not to a big. In constructions such as the following, however, it seems that typical noun candidates are in fact not the semantic head:

(70) a   chajmu   shunñe
           dog   man
           'male dog' [MV-32MA-9]
     b   dyolojoto   shunñe
           amardillo   man
           'armadillo-man'[12] (AY-2NC-2)

These are not morphological compounds, since each word carries its own primary stress. Nevertheless, constructions such as the ones in (70) are rather marginal. In the prototypical situation it is a property word that is in the modifying role.

   The noun is not obligatory in the noun phrase, even though it is present in the vast majority of cases. If the head noun is missing, we are dealing with elliptic constructions in which it is clear from the context which object is referred to.

(71) a   maj~matata   ti-jusu-ø
           INTS~big   1SG-want-3
           'I want a really big one [i.e. field].' (AR-8MI-41)
     b   sëjsëshi-nñu   tütü-ø   ajani
           green-DIM   sit-3   below:LOC
           'The little green one [i.e. plate] is below.' (FL-14MA-2)

In (71)a, the reference is to a field, which has been the topic of conversation for the last couple of utterances[13]. The same can be said for (71)b, where the topic of

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[12] This might also refer to a male armadillo, but this particular example from a narrative refers to a male person, who has shared characteristics with an armadillo.

[13] The word *maj~matata* cannot be interpreted as a predicative complement of the verb *ti-jusu*, ('I want it to be big'), since then it would have to be marked with the intentional marker *-ni* and the subordinate marker *=ti* (cf. section 8.2.4)

conversation has been plates. It is only in these circumstances, i.e. when the referent is known from the context that we can have an adjective by itself in argument position.

Other criteria to establish the head of the NP are not really useful for Yurakaré. There is no clear agreement within the NP, while grammatical relations, number and articles cliticize to the NP as a whole rather than to one of the words in it.

Functionally, some nouns can be used as adjectives, as is shown in example (70) above. Other such nouns are *pëpë* (grandfather/old), *tejte* (grandmother/old) and *yee* (woman). Nouns can also function as predicates, without any overt marking to signal the change of category. I will come back to this when discussing verbs in section 3.3.3 below.

Morphologically, nouns can be set apart on the basis that they are the only word class that takes possessive marking in the form of personal prefixes, cf. (72)a or predicative possession, by means of the prefix *i-*, cf. (72)b:

(72) a   ti-sibë
          1SG-house
          'my house'
      b   atta=jsha   i-tanti-ø
          other=ABL   VBL-eye;face-3
          'He had his face on the other side.' (OR-19MA-20)

However, some animals, i.e. pets cannot be possessed, they need a lexical classifier:

(73) a   *ti-talipa
      b   ti-tiba   talipa
          1SG-pet   chicken
          'my chicken'

Property words cannot take possessive prefixes:

(74) a *ti-matata   'my big one'
      b *i-matata   'He has a big one.' (JMB-PC)

Action words normally cannot take possessive prefixes either, except for some verbs. When they are marked with the possessive prefixes, these words refer to the result of an action and are nominal:

(75) a   ti-dula
       1SG-do;make
       'my product'
    b   ti-nënë
       1SG-cook
       'my cooking'
    c   ti-sawata
       1SG-work
       'my work.'

In conclusion, even though there is some spill-over and the criteria have exceptions, nouns can be characterized by the fact that they are the semantic head of an NP, control the number behavior of the NP, and that they are by and large the only word class that takes possessive morphology. Nouns, and subclassifications of nouns will be discussed in more detail in section 4.4.

3.3.2 *Adjectives*

Adjectives fall into two subclasses: qualificational and quantificational (quantifiers and numerals). Qualificational adjectives prototypically denote qualities or properties of an object. Yurakaré has an open class of adjectives, which in many respects fall in between nouns and verbs. Functionally, adjectives modify nouns. In this function they are the dependent of the head noun (cf. discussion above). However, in texts, adjectives are most frequently used as predicates:

(76) maj~matata-ø=ya   latiji   a-jukkulë
     INTS~big-3=NVR   subsequently   3SG.P-field
     'His field was really big then. (AR-8MI-42)

In (67), we can see that *matata* 'big' functions as a predicate, because it takes the non-veridical enclitic =*ya*, which is only found on predicatively used elements.

   Some adjectives referring to temperature can also function as heads of NP's in non-elliptic constructions:

(77) a a-paa=w   shama-shtu=ya   dyumë=la
        3SG.P-brother=PL die.PL-FUT:3PL=NVR   cold(weather)=INS
        'His brothers were going to die of the cold.' (OR-19MA-31)

   b süyüyta=ja   pirio   sey   bobo-ø=ya   ati   puyni
        cold(liquid)=EMPH cold   almost kill-3=NVR   DEM   sun
        'The cold had almost killed the sun.' (OR-19MA-31)

   c a-shujushu=la   ma-che-shta=y=chi   a-wëshi=w
        3SG.P-warm=INS   3PL-eat-FUT=NVR=IGN   3SG.P-son.in.law=PL
        'With his warmth he was planning to burn his sons in law.' (OR-19MA-3)

Dyummë[14], *süyüyta* and *shujushu* here really refer to the property and not to some non-overt head. The fact that these properties can function as heads of NP's may have to do with the fact that, in mythological stories, at least *dyummë* 'cold (weather)' and *süyüyta* 'cold (liquid)' are names for god-like creatures:

(78) a ana   samma   ta-mme   süyüyta-j-ye
        DEM   water   1PL-mother   cold(liquid)-?-woman
        'The water [we called] our mother the cold.' (OR-20MA-5)

   b ati   pëp   dyummë
        DEM   grandfather   cold(weather)
        'That was grandfather cold.' (OR-19MA-3)

In (78)a, the narrator is telling how the name of everything changes when the Yurakaré are in grief. The water gets called "our mother the cold". In (78)b, the main character of the story is said to be "grandfather the cold". In another version of the same story it becomes clear that it is because of the fight that the sun (also presented as a person) had with this grandfather cold, that the sun sometimes disappears and it gets cold. It may be, then, that the examples in (77)a and b should be read as: "his brothers almost died because of grandfather cold" and "mother cold almost killed the sun".[15] Example (77)c, however, seems to be different. I have no explanation for this.

   Nevertheless, a class of adjectives can be distinguished on the grounds that they can function as modifiers within a noun phrase without any further marking:

(79) l-ati   matata tutuma mi=ya   ka-ma-n-kodo-jti-ø=w   yarru
      REF-DEM big   gourd   take.SG=NVR 3SG-3PL-IO-invite-HAB-3 chicha
      'When they get the big gourd, they invite her to chicha.' (AY-3NC-3)

There are also morphological grounds for distinguishing adjectives from nouns. Morphology associated with adjectives in Yurakaré includes distributive,

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[14] *Dyummë* gets a geminate consonant when used without syllabic affixes or enclitics.

[15] *Süyüyta* does not refer to the cold of the weather, but rather to the cold of the water.

collective, and intensity/degree marking. Finally, adverbs mostly derive from adjectives in a different manner than from verbs and especially nouns.

Most, but not all property words can take the distributive marker *-uma*. It is at this point not entirely clear what this difference is based upon. In general, adjectives referring to age cannot take this marker, and adjectives referring to dimension most often take the distributive marker. Verbs can also take the distributive marker, but only in combination with the prefix *i-*. Together with *-uma*, this prefix denotes verbal plural. Nouns do not take *-uma*.

The collective marker *-ima* is only found on adjectives and it indicates that the property in question should be considered as relating to a collection of entities:

(80) ñuñuj-ima=w   ti-palanta=w
      small-COL=PL   1SG-banana=PL
      'my small bunch of bananas' [FP-2MA-15]

However, when animate beings are modified, the adjective cannot carry the collective suffix, except for the word *atta* 'other':

(81) achu-ta   dula-tijti   shinama   pa=tina   att-ima
      like.that-MID do;make-HAB:1PL.S before   2PL.PRN=COM other-COL
      jente=w=tina
      person=PL=COM
      'Like that we did with you before, and with other peoples.' (AR-8MI-87)

The intensifying prefix (reduplicative), exemplified in (82) as well as the limited degree marker *-mashi*, cf. (83), are shared by adjectives, verbs and adverbs (though *-mashi* on adverbs is rendered *-mash*).

(82) a **ñuj**~ñuñujulë
        INTS~small
        'very small'(AR-8MI-41)
     b a-paa=w   **shamaj**~shama-shta-ø=w=ti
        3SG.P-brother=PL   INTS~die.PL-FUT-3=PL=DS
        'When his brothers were really dying…' (OR-19MA-31)
     c **lij**~limeye   amala-ø=ya
        INTS~behind   come-3=NVR
        'She came way behind.' (AR-8MI-44)

(83) a i-sibë-shti=naja   kurata ñuñuju-**mashi**-ø=w   kummë=w lëtëmë=y
       VBL-house-FUT:1SG.S=DSC fast   small-LD-3=PL   tree=PL jungle=LOC
       'I'll make my house in the jungle where there are few trees.' [FA-24MA-16]

    b nish   ka-müta-**mashi**-m   ñowwo
       NEG   3SG-pull.out-LD-2SG.S   manioc
       'Didn't you harvest (even) a little manioc?' (OR-19MA-29)

    c latijsha   pënchi-**mash** …
       then   later-LD
       'Then a little later…' (AR-8MI-35)

Finally, manner adverbs can be derived from adjectives by means of the suffix *-sh*, whereas adverbs derived from verbs and especially nouns are mostly marked with the suffix *-shku*:

(84) a santa=w   ënnëtë-**sh**   ma-m-bë-ø=w=ti
       widow=PL   bad-ADV   3PL-IO-treat-3=PL=DS
       'if they treat the widows badly…'   (AR-8MI-55)

    b sebe-**shku**-ta   suwita-ø=ti
       peanut-ADV.CMP-MID   grow-3=DS
       'if it grows like a peanut…'(AR-8MI-67)

However, this is not a difference that necessarily correlates with the difference between adjectives and other word classes, since both verbs and nouns are occasionally found with the marker *-sh*. The difference between *-sh* and *-shku* rather seems to be that the former derives a manner adverb of the type 'in a X way', whereas the latter derives a comparative adverb of the type 'like X is/does'.

   Quantifying modifiers (quantifiers and numerals) can be regarded as a subclass of adjectives, since they share most of the characteristics of adjectives, i.e. they take diminutive, distributive, collective, intensity and degree markers as well:

(85) a   lëshie-wma=w
          two-DST=PL
          'two each'

      b   lëtt-ima   kudawa
          one-COL   lake
          'one lake'

      c   ñunti-nñu   ti-awaryente
          few;little-DIM   1SG-liquor
          'I have little liquor.'   [MH-14MA-10]

      d   bëj~bëmë=w
          INTS~much;many=PL
          'very many'

      e   nish   puchu-shtu=ya   lëtta-mashi
          NEG   save.o.s.-FUT:3PL=NVR   one-LD
          'Not even one is going to save himself.' (AY-2NC-10)

Furthermore, quantifiers and numerals can be used in attributive position, like adjectives. Adjectives will be discussed in section 4.5.

3.3.3 Verbs

Verbs are prototypically actions: agentive actions involving concrete participants, having a relatively short duration, and spatially more diffuse than nouns (Givón 2001-I:52).

   The typical function of a verb is the predicative function (Croft 2003:184-185, Schachter 1985:9). This is not a distinguishing feature of verbs in Yurakaré, however. Nouns and adjectives can also function as (stative) predicates without any overt formal marking that indicates a change in lexical category.

(86) a   së=ja   ulë-y
          1SG.PRN=EMPH   guayabochi.tree-1SG.S
          'I was that, I was the guayabochi tree.' (AR-8MI-7)

      b   Arsenio=ja   poropesor-shta-ø=la
          Arsenio=EMPH   teacher-FUT-3=VAL
          Arsenio will be a teacher.' [AT-3MI-121]

Example (86)a is taken from a mythological text in which a Guayabochi tree changes into a person. Now this person is telling a woman that he was the Guayabochi tree. The subject *sëja* is marked with the emphasis marker *=ja,* which appears almost exclusively on subjects. Furthermore, the predicate *ulëy* takes the subject cross-reference marker *-y* for first person singular. The word that functions as a predicate has the notional characteristics of a noun, referring to a concrete,

even specific item. In (86)b the predicate nominal is marked for future tense, a category normally associated with verbs.

Some predicate nominals can even take applicative prefixes. In the following examples the affected object applicative (cf. 5.2.4) triggers the interpretation of detachment in (87)a; in (87)b, the attachment-reading is caused by the indirect object applicative (cf. 5.2.3):

(87) a   më=ja   ka-la-uli-m   pa=ja   ka-la-uli-p
          2SG.PRN=EMPH   3SG-AFO-penis-2SG.S   2PL.PRN=EMPH   3SG-AFO-penis-2PL.S
          'You (sg) cut off his penis; you (pl) cut off his penis.'(OR-19MA-2)
      b   li-ma-n-shansha-shta-ø   latiji
          DEL-3PL-IO-tooth-FUT-3   subsequently
          'He provided them with teeth.' (AR-8MI-35)

In (87)a, the predicate function is performed by a noun, which also refers to a concrete and specific object. Like in (86)a, this predicate takes subject cross-reference marking (for second person singular and plural) and the overtly expressed subject argument is marked with the emphasis marker =*ja*. However, in (87)a we can also see that the object word can take valency increasing morphology (the prefix *la-* for affected object - cf. section 5.2.4) and consequently an object complement, referring to the person who got his penis cut off. In (87)b, the predicate nominal, not specific this time, takes another kind of applicative and is modified by an adverb. Furthermore it takes the future tense marker -*shta*.

Adjectives can be used as predicates as easily as object-words (nouns):

(88) a   maj~matata-ø=ya latiji   a-jukkulë
          INTS~big-3=NVR subsequently 3SG.P-field
          'His field was then really big.' (AR-8MI-42)
      b   yita-p=naja
          good-2PL.S=DSC
          'You are alright now.' (AR-8MI-37)
      c   tëtë-pshë=ja (…)   mij~mi-n-shuyulë-jti-ø   meme
          what-entity=EMPH   INTS~2SG-IO-beautiful-HAB-3   mother
          'What do you find really beautiful, mother?' (AR-8MI-50)

In (88)a the property word functions as a predicate (cf. the non-veridical enclitic =*ya*, which only attaches to predicates. In (88)b, the property word *yita* takes the subject marker -*p* for second person plural, and in (88)c, *shuyulë* takes the applicative marker *n-* as well as the habitual marker -*jti*.

Verbs, in short, cannot be distinguished from adjectives and nouns on the basis of their function as predicates. However, verbs cannot be arguments of predicates without any overt marking. They can be arguments of verbs either when they

form a compound with the noun *bëshë* 'entity' or under a certain analysis with the different subject marker *=ti* (cf. chapter 8.2.4):

(89) a na=yj ma-ssë-ø=w na wiwi-pshë=w
DEM=DIR 3PL-stand-3=PL DEM arrive.PL-entity=PL
'Overthere are the ones that arrived.' [MH-24MA-8]

b ti-m-pëlë-ø arush ma-pu-y=ti
1SG-IO-finished-3 rice 3PL-take.PL-1SG.S=DS
'I finished harvesting rice (my harvesting rice is finished for me)' [MH-24MA-4]

There is no clear answer to the question whether the *ti*-marked clause indicates a 'when'-clause rather than a real argument, i.e.: 'When I had harvested my rice I was finished.' However, *ti*-marked clauses can take postpositions, which are normally associated with noun phrases:

(90) mashi-ø=ti=**jsha** ajuyja-shta-tu
rain-3=DS=ABL fish-FUT-1PL.S
'Even if it rains we'll go fishing.' [MV-24MA-22]

There are also constructions such as the following:

(91) nij poyde winani-tu puwa-tu=ja
NEG can walk-1PL.S drunk-1PL.S=SS
'We could not walk when we were drunk.' [FA-28MA-1]

The sequence *poyde winanitu* seems to be a case where a verb (*winanitu*), without any further measures being taken is used as an argument of the verb (Hengeveld's 1992 criterion). However, on closer scrutiny, there seem to be measures that have been taken after all. The matrix verb *poyde* does not carry any subject marking, and is conjoined to the adjacent VP. In fact, as I will be discussing in chapter 8.2.1, this is one way of marking subordination. The matrix verb can also be fully inflected, but then the complement verb has to be marked by means of the enclitic *=ti*.

(92) nij poydi=la ma-alkansa=ni=ti
NEG can:1SG.S=VAL 3PL-reach-INTL:1SG.S=DS
'I couldn't reach them.' (AY-3NC-8)

Action-words can modify a noun only if they are marked as a relative clause by means of the different subject marker *=ti*, the same subject marker *=ja*, or by means of a compound with *bëshë* (reduced to *pshë*) 'entity'. In (93)c we again see that nouns can be in adjectival function as long as their meaning allows for it:

(93) a na   shunñe bobo-y=ti   të-dyojlo-shta-ø
        DEM   man   hit-1SG.S=DS   1SG.CO-scold-FUT-3
        'The man that I hit is going to scold me.' [MH-24MA-8]

    b ati   shunñe ku-wita-ø=ja   ka-la-mala-ø
        DEM   man   3SG.CO-arrive.SG-3=SS   3SG-AFO-go.SG-3
        'The man that arrived with him left him.' [MV-31MA-3]

    c ku-dojlo-shti   na   shunñe ti-bobo-pshë
        3SG.CO-angry-FUT:1SG.S   DEM   man   1SG-hit;kill-entity
        'I am going to scold the man that hit me.'   [VL-24MA-13]

Verbs will be discussed in chapter 6 and *in passim* in subsequent chapters.

3.3.4 Adverbs

There is a rather small class of adverbial elements. Adverbs differ from nouns, verbs and adjectives in that they cannot take any inflection. They usually have a more limited distribution as well

In Table 16, some examples are given of inherent adverbs in Yurakaré. Although these are now fixed expressions, one can still see that at least some of these adverbs were once composed of smaller units. Some of them have a relation with the demonstrative pronouns *ati, bëti* or *ana*: time adverbs *shinama, latiji, ati*shija and possibly **ti**shilë, aspect adverbs **ch**ajti, **ach**aya and *lach*a. The intensity adverb *mapakka* is analyzable as *mappë-kka* 'big-MEA', *ñuñuju* or *ñunku* is related to the adjectival stem *ñuñujulë* 'small', and *binta* also occurs as a verb meaning 'be strong' or 'hurt'. Furthermore, many time adverbs, as well as manner adverbs *ëshë* and *yokkoshe* have an element /ʃ/ or /ʃi/ in them. There is an affix *-sh(i)* in Yurakaré, cf. sections 3.3.2, 4.4.3 and 6.4.3, which is used to form adverbs. This morpheme may have played a role in the formation of some of these adverbs. Nevertheless, even though many of these adverbs may once have been derived from non-adverbs, synchronically there is a class of adverbs which can no longer be analyzed any further.

Table 16   - Inherent adverbs in Yurakaré

manner		*place*		*intensity*	
konsono	relaxed	yankala	wherever	mapakka	big, very
kamishë	slowly	limeye	behind	ñuñuju	a little
				binta	fiercely
				idojolë	surpass, very

number		*aspect*		*mood*	
timanchijsha	myself	chajti	always	nentaya	maybe
mumuy	all	yosese	again	sey	almost
dala	alone	kani	not yet	lëmmuy	only
		kaj	still	yokkoshe	true

time			
shinama	before	latiji	subsequently
shëy	yesterday	ushta	before
tishilë	now	atijshija	right now
pënchi	later	liwsha	first

The fact that there are not many adverbs in Yurakaré is presumably because there are alternative strategies for some of the adverb classes. For instance, the very low number of manner adverbs can be explained by the fact that the function of manner adverbs is often fulfilled by ideophones (cf. section 3.3.5). Other lexical categories can be changed into manner adverbs with suffixes *-shkuta* or *-sh*. Place adverbials can be formed from nouns with the help of the local postpositions (cf. section 3.3.7). Number, intensity, aspect and mood can be marked morphologically. Time adverbs are the only category that does not have any alternative strategies, except for the future marker *-shta*.

Adverbs are generally positioned according to their relation to the predicate: the tighter the relation, the closer the adverb is to the predicate:

(94) a l-ati=jsha   ma-dyuja-jti-ø=ya   **lacha**   mororuma
    REF-DEM=ABL   3PL-heal-HAB-3=NVR   **too**   mountain.person
    ma-la-deche-ø=ti
    3PL-AFO-meet;find-3=DS
    'The mountain person also healed the ones who fell ill.' (AR-8MI-88)

  b bali-jti=ya   pëpë-shama=w   **lacha**   arroyo=la   ajuyja-ni-shta=ya
    go.PL-HAB=NVR   grandfather-PST=PL   **too**   creek=INS   fish-INTL-FUT=NVR
    'The ancestors went fishing as well along the creek.' (AY-3NC-6)

  c l-ati=jsha   dula-ø=w=ya   latiji   na   pëpë-shama=w
    REF-DEM=ABL make-3=PL=NVR   subsequently   DEM grandfather-PST=PL
    ma-tomete **lacha**
    3PL-arrow **too**
    'Then the ancestors made their arrows as well.'(AY-3NC-8)

In (94)a, *lacha* marks the fact that the ability to heal comes in addition to other characteristics of the *mororumas* (mysterious angel-like creatures). In (94)b, the contrast is between other persons going along the creek and the ancestors going along the creek as well: the ancestors are included within the scope of the adverb *lacha*. In (94)c we see basically the same situation as in (94)b, only now the object precedes the adverb. The difference between (94)b and c seems to be, that in the former the subject argument is given extra emphasis, much as in English 'the ancestors too went along the creek' versus 'the ancestors went along the creek too'.

   Adverbs of sequentiality, place and discourse structure are usually found at the edges of the clause, whereas adverbs of manner, intensity, and phasality are found in positions closer to the predicate. I will discuss adverbs in section 6.5

3.3.5 Ideophones

Ideophones are widespread in Yurakaré, and even though some ideophones may be made up on the spot, there is a set of shared and lexicalized ideophones. Ideophones can be defined as follows:

> a vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, color, sound, smell, action, state or intensity (Doke 1935:119).

This definition is still used by most scholars studying ideophones, even though there is no consensus as of yet about the exact nature of ideophones (cf. Gabas Jr. & Van der Auwera 2004). Ideophones in Yurakaré often have a function comparable to manner adverbs, modifying a predicate. They are slightly different

from manner adverbs in the sense that they have a wider range of applicability. They can be used as manner adverbs as in (95):

(95) **adyaj**   ka-la-mala-ø=ya   na   tejte-shama
     fast   3SG-AFO-go.SG-3=NVR   DEM   grandmother-PST
     'The old woman ran away from him fast.'   (AY-3NC-9)

Often these ideophones have a descriptive function, expressing (part of) essentially the same thing as the verb they belong to, but adding dramaturgic effects (one of the universal characteristics of ideophones according to Voeltz & Killian-Hatz 2001:3):

(96) ashaa=jsha **chüüsh**   ka-l-ishupë-ø=ya
     above=ABL **urinate** 3SG-AFO-urinate-3=NVR
     'From above 'chüüsh' she urinated on him.'   (OR-19MA-10)

Very often, ideophones are functionally somewhere in between describing and modifying an event:

(97) ka-mala-ø   **rü**   chitta-ø=ya   palajsa=y
     3SG-go.SG-3   **abrupt.movement**   throw-3=NVR   garden=LOC
     'He took him along and "rü" threw him in the garden.'   (FA-6MA-7)

In (97), the ideophone *rü* expresses an act of throwing, which is also expressed by the verb, but there is also an element of abruptness to the ideophone. It is not really clear here whether this has a modifying function, depending on whether this element of force is also present in the verb *chitta*.
Ideophones, unlike adverbs, can occur independently from verbs as well:

(98) elle=y   mala-ø **jjj**   ana-kka=chi   otto-ø=ya
     earth=LOC   go.SG-3 **cover.distance** DEM-MEA=DIR   go.out-3=NVR
     na   shuñe-shama
     DEM   man-PST
     'He went into the earth and "jjj" came out at another point, this old man.'

In (98) the ideophone cannot be said to belong to either of the two predicates (*mala* and *otto*), since *mala* only refers to going into the ground, and *otto* refers to coming out again. The distance covered under the ground is expressed by the ideophone *jjj*, even though the interpretation is made easier by the adjunct *anakkachi*.

A final important characteristic of ideophones in Yurakaré that should be pointed out is the fact that they are often phonologically deviant. This is a general characteristic of ideophones (cf. Voeltz & Killian-Hatz's 2001:3, Schachter 1985:21).

In Yurakaré, phonological peculiarities of ideophones from the rest of the phonological system (cf. chapter 2) are the following:
- Most ideophones have final stress (*adyáj* 'fast')
- A number of ideophones are monosyllabic (*rü* 'abrupt movement')
- Many ideophones do not adhere to the syllable structure requirements of the language, either violating coda restrictions (e.g. *sak* 'entering something with a sharp object') or nucleus restrictions (e.g. *jjj* 'cover distance').

A number of examples of commonly used ideophones in Yurakaré are given in Table 17:

<p align="center">*Table 17 - Ideophones*</p>

form	meaning
tuj	knocking
tip	dripping
rü	abrupt movement
sak	entering with e.g. arrow
dürrüm	roaring, thundering sound
tij	ticking
woom	blowing
porrok, tarrak	galloping
sip	banging
wük	tripping over something
jjj	large distance
mmm	overlooking
chüüsh	pouring
sush, sü	fast light movement (deer)
tos	chewing
kesh	glance off
shük	shooting arrow
toj	arrow hitting st.
boj	dull thud
taj	hitting
tom	reaching highpoint
dun	hammering
dyuuj	strong flowing of water
düüp	narrow escape
shüp	sticking together
toom	put something in mouth, bite

Some ideophones in Table 17 are sound symbolic; others seem to have rather arbitrary sounds. Ideophones that describe punctual events usually end in a plosive (*shük*, *tip*, *sak*, etc.) whereas less punctual events are described by sounds that end in a fricative, nasal or vowel (*woom*, *achash*, *dyuuj*). Also, more punctual

events often have shorter words describing them. Ideophones will be further discussed in 6.6.2.

3.3.6 Interjections

There is a small class of interjections, a group of words which are also phonologically deviant, often consisting of one syllable and ending in consonants that are normally disallowed. Interjections take no morphology, and appear sentence initially (optionally preceded by an adverbial element that has scope over the entire clause). They express the attitude of the speaker. A sample of these particles is given in Table 18:

	Table 18 - Interjections	
item	*attitude*	*gloss*
yoj	approval	okay
baj	agreement	fine
issij	disapproval	ts-ts
(ot)te	affirmation	yes
aj	uncertainty	gee
uchi	curiosity	let's see
të'	attentiveness	well well
arey	pain	auch
anij	sorrow	ayay
eee	surprise	aah
waa	unpleasant surprise	waa
jejeje	pleasure, gloating	hehehe

Examples of the use of these particles are the following:

(99) a **yoj** ku-ta-ø=ya   na   shunñe
         okay   3SG.CO-say-3=NVR   DEM   man
         '"Okay", the man said to him.' (AR-8MI-8)

      b   **issij**   li-lojo-ø=tiba   noe
          ts-ts   DEL-crazy-3=ASM   Noah
          'Ts-ts, Noah must have gone crazy!' (OR-20MA-1)

      c   **të'**   mami   tëtë-pshë=ja   an   sewe-bonto-ø=w=ya
          well.well   mum   what-entity=EMPH   DEM   child-son-3=PL=NVR
          'Well well mum, what are those young men?' (OR-19MA-2)

      d   ma-seta-nta-ø=ya   düüp   ma-n-dojo-ø   **jejeje**   bali-ø=w
          3PL-grab-DES-3=NVR   IDEO   3PL-IO-surpass-3   hehehe   go.PL-3=PL
          He wanted to grab them but missed them. 'Hehehe' they went.' (OR-19MA-3)

      e   **waa**   benebene-sh   ti-bata-ø=w=laba   l-ati   sinoru
          waa   lamentable-ADV   1SG-leave-3=PL=SBJ   REF-DEM   Sinoro:PL
          '"Waa", regretfully the Sinoros are kidnapping me!'

I will further discuss interjections in 6.6.1.

3.3.7 Enclitic particles

Finally, there is a set of clitic particles. These clitics are distinguished from other words on purely formal grounds. These formal characteristics have been discussed in section 3.2.5 above and will not be repeated here. Instead, I focus on the subclassification of the clitics. Clitics in Yurakaré fall into three groups: nominal, verbal and clausal.

    Nominal clitics attach to the last word of the noun phrase, obeying the following template:

(100) [NP]=number=postpositions

As far as their meaning is concerned, nominal enclitics have to do with relational marking (postpositions) and number.

    Verbal clitics attach to the right of the predicate, independently of the position of adverbs, objects and the like:

(101) samu=ja   tiya-ø=w=ya latiji   a-tata
      jaguar:PL=EMPH   eat-3=NVR   subsequently   3SG.P-father
      'The jaguars ate his father.' (FA-6MA-5)

In (101), the verb is followed by an adverb and an overt expression of the object. Still, the enclitics =*w* and =*ya* attach to the verb. The meaning of verbal enclitics is related to number, modality, and aspect.

Finally, the third type is the clausal type. These enclitics are also modal or aspectual in nature. They mostly attach to the final word of a clause, sometimes allowing for a word to appear to their right, as in (102)b:

(102) a   bobo-ø=ya   a-bashti=bë
           hit;kill-3=NVR   3SG.P-wife=MOM
           'He hit his wife for a while.' (OR-19MA-9)
     b   kani   sewe-ø=ya=bë   tiri
           not.yet   born-3=NVR=MOM   Tiri
           'Tiri had not been born yet.' (AR-8MI-9)

Nominal clitics will be discussed in 4.2 and 4.3; verbal enclitics will be the topic of chapter 1.

4.   The Noun Phrase

Nominal morphology and syntax can be best understood by studying the Noun Phrase (NP) as a whole. Some morphological categories concern the entire NP rather than just one of its parts, and other operations (e.g. modifier floating) can only be understood with reference to the NP as a whole. I will first give a general overview of the NP in Yurakaré (4.1), then continue to describe the number enclitic =*w* (4.2) and postpositional clitics (4.3). In 4.4 I will discuss the head of the NP, the noun; in 4.5 I will discuss adjectives, including quantifiers, numerals and adjectivally used demonstratives.

4.1 Introduction

In this section I will make some general remarks on the structure and composition of the NP in Yurakaré, with special reference to the order of words within the NP.
The template of the Noun Phrase in Yurakaré is as follows[1]:

(1)   [DEM {QN / NUM}   A POSS   N (POSS)   A] =PL=POSTP   (REL CLAUSE)
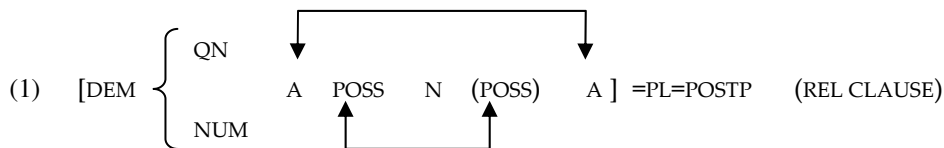
Noun phrases are headed by a noun, the element that determines the syntactic function of the whole phrase (cf. Payne 1997:31). Nouns can be modified by adjectives, quantifiers, numerals, possessor phrases or adjectivally used demonstratives. Demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals always precede the noun they modify. All three can be used independently as well, forming an elliptic NP of their own. Numerals and quantifiers are mutually exclusive in one and the same NP for semantic reasons. Demonstratives and quantifiers do co-occur:

(2)   ati   lëtta   yee
       DEM   one   woman
       'this one woman' (AR-8MI-3)

Possessors are cross-referenced on the possessed noun. Since they are cross-referenced, the overt expression of the possessor NP is not obligatory. When expressed, possessors in the vast majority of cases precede the possessed noun. It is not prohibited however, for the possessor to follow the possessed noun:

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[1] I am leaving relative clauses out of the discussion in this chapter; they will be treated below in section 8.2.

(3) ati-jti=ja   ta-buybu   tuwa
     DEM-LIM=EMPH   1PL-language   1PL.PRN
     'That is our language.' (OR-20MA-5)

Adjectives can either precede or follow the head noun. There seems to be no semantic distinction connected to the different orders. The normal case, however, is that adjectives are used as predicates, a point also observed by Day (1980). It is often hard to decide whether a semantically modifying element is used as a predicate or a dependent adjective, since there is partial overlap in morphology (cf. section 3.3). Nevertheless, examples like (4) show that within the NP, there are two possible positions for the adjective.

(4) shuyulë   yee=w   ~   yee   shuyulë=w
     beautiful   woman=PL
     'beautiful women'

Plurality is generally marked once for every NP. The number clitic appears on the final element of the NP. The fact that the adjective and the noun 'share' a number marker (a phrasal enclitic) suggests that they are within one and the same NP. Nevertheless, the number enclitic is not exemplary for a phrasal enclitic, since it is often expressed on the noun as well as the adjective, especially with the order NA. I will come back to this point below (4.2).

   Another set of enclitics are the postpositions marking the relationship of the NP to its head. These postpositions follow the position of the plural enclitic. There is only one slot for postpositions; there are no instances of a combination of two or more postpositions on one NP. An example of such a postposition is the comitative marker is given in (5):

(5) … a-bonto=w=tina
        3SG.P-son=PL=COM
     '…with his sons'   (AR-8MI-64)

As far as relation-marking strategies are concerned, dependent-marking strategies compete with head-marking strategies where the relationship between the verb and its dependent NPs is encoded on the verb. This has to do with topicality and animacy. Animate topical participants are more likely cross referenced on the verb, e.g. by means of applicative constructions, non-topical, inanimate participants are more likely to be marked by means of a postposition (cf. Van Gijn 2005)[2]. Postpositions will be discussed in 4.3; head marking of grammatical relations will be the topic of sections 5.1 and 5.2

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[2] Some relations, such as subject and direct object, are always marked on the verb.

A final general point to be made about NPs in Yurakaré is that noun phrases can be discontinuous[3]; quantifying elements can be taken out of the NP and placed in the first position of the clause. This often happens in elicitation:

(6) a   lëshie   ma-bëjti   ta-ëshëta=w
         two   3PL-see:1SG.S   1PL-friend=PL
         'I see our two friends.' [AA-8MA-5]
     b   mammuy   yupa-ta-ø=w   ti-nñu   eskwela=chi
         3PL-totality go.in.PL-3=PL   1SG-child:PL   school=DIR
         'All of my children are in school.' [DV-11MA-2]

This is a process generally known as quantifier floating, where a quantifier appears nonadjacent to the NP it quantifies (cf. e.g. Sportiche 1988). It seems to be most productive with quantifiers of core participants, but it happens with adjectives, and with peripheral participants as well:

(7) a   ana-ja-l-ima   ka-mala-jti-ø=ya   a-werta
         DEM-MEA-AMP-COL   3SG-go.SG-HAB-3=NVR   3SG.P-basket
         'He brought with him a tiny basket.' (AY-3NC-6)
     b   matata   danda-shti   kummë=la
         big   go.up-FUT.1SG.S   tree=INS
         'I am going to climb up that big tree.' [MV-31MA-3]

In (7)a, the comitative object[4] is dicontinuous, the derived adjective preceding the verb, the head noun following it. The collective marker on the modifier is due to the nominal class of the head noun, cf. section 4.2. In (7)b, the NP is marked with the postposition =*la*, but the adjective is placed before the verb.

4.2 Number

Number in Yurakaré has two basic values: singular and plural. Singular is unmarked, while plural is normally marked by the enclitic =*w*, which minimally appears on the last element of the NP:

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[3] Discontinuous NPs are a frequently observed feature in languages with a flexible word order (Givón 2001-II:13).

[4] I consider this construction to be an applicative construction with a comitative object, cf. section 5.2.1.

(8) a matata shunñe=w
         big   man=PL
         'big men'
     b shunñe matata=w
         man   big=PL
         'big men'

In some cases the plural marker appears both on a modifying element and the noun:

(9) lëshie=w ti-bisi=w
     two=PL   1SG-brother=PL
     'I have two brothers.' [MH-8MA-3]

It is not clear how (9) should be analyzed. We may be dealing with a simple noun phrase with clitic copying, but we could also analyze either one of the words in (9) as verbs, since the ending =*w* is also found on verbs as the marker for 3ʳᵈ person plural subject, and non-verbs can be used as predicates without any overt derivational marking (cf. section 3.3.3).

(10) a [[lëshiew tibisiw]ₙₚ]ₛ   'My two brothers (exist).'
     b [[lëshiew]ᵥ [tibisiw]ₙ]ₛ   'There are two, my brothers.'
     c [[lëshiew]ₙ [tibisiw]ᵥ]ₛ   'The two (things) are my brothers.'
     d [[lëshiew]ᵥ [tibisiw]ᵥ]ₛ   'There are two, they are brothers'

Example (9) could have all the interpretations of (10)[5]. We cannot say with certainty whether the construction in (9) represents clitic doubling or not. However, since the final element is the minimally marked element, I consider the marker =*w* to be an enclitic.

   Not all noun phrases can be marked for plural:

(11) lëshie sibbë(*=w)
     two   house(*=PL)
     'two houses'

It is not clear, however, what determines which nouns can be marked for plural. Typological literature suggests that animacy frequently interacts with number marking (cf. Corbett 2000: 55-66). Cross-linguistically, elements that are higher on the animacy hierarchy (Figure 1) are more likely to mark the opposition between singular and plural than elements lower on the scale.

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[5] I have disregarded the fact that =*w* should be placed outside the NP to get a clearer representation.

1 > 2 > 3 > kin > human> non-human animate > inanimate

Figure 1 - The animacy hierarchy (Corbett 2000: 56-57)

In Yurakaré the split between nouns that do and nouns that do not mark the opposition between singular and plural is somewhere within the inanimate category; both animate and inanimate nouns can be marked for plural:

(12) a shunñe   'man'
          shunñe=w   'men'
      b mitchi   'cat'
          mitchi=w   'cats'
      c pojore   'canoe'
          pojore=w   'canoes'

All animate nouns mark plurality, but within the group of inanimate nouns there is a split between plural-marking and non-plural-marking noun phrases. Animacy, in other words, may play a role, but is not fully explanatory.

   Apart from these two groups (plural-marking and non-plural-marking nouns[6]) there is a third group of nouns, which are marked for plural, even if they denote conceptually singular entities:

(13) a ewete=w
          broom=PL
          'broom'
      b kamisa=w
          shirt=PL
          'shirt'
      c tomete=w
          arrow=PL
          'arrow'

When these nouns denote conceptually plural entities, they often lack the plural marker:

(14) ma-tomete=la   li-m-bop-tu
      3PL-arrow=INS   DEL-R-hit;kill-MID:3PL
      'They fought each other with their arrows.'   (AR-8MI-90)

---

[6] Strictly speaking we should be talking about noun phrases, but since the (im)possibility of number marking of the noun phrase is determined by the head noun, I will speak of nouns.

This looks like a markedness reversal for these types of nouns: marked singular reference and unmarked plural reference. However, the division between singular and plural with these nouns is not so strict. Plural reference can also be marked:

(15) bëm-ima=w   ti-ewte=w
      much;many-COL=PL 1SG-broom=PL
      'I have many brooms.' [AA-9MA-6]

In spite of this example, the tendency is the higher and the less specific the number of entities, the more likely it is that these noun phrases lack a plural marker.

In conclusion, there are three classes of nouns based on plural marking[7]:

Table 19   - Three nominal classes based on plural marking

example	translation	class	singular	plural
shunñe	man	class A	ø	=w
sibbë	house	class B	ø	ø
ewete	broom	class C	=w	=w/ø

Before turning to a partial explanation for the system, I will discuss how these three classes interact with some other parts of the grammar: modifier marking and verb-agreement marking. When a NP headed by a class A noun is plural, elements modifying the head noun can be marked for distributive, collective or they can be left unspecified. These markers are of a derivational nature. Distributive markers divide the quality or quantity expressed by a modifying element over the participants, stressing the fact that the quality or quantity concerns each member individually.

(16) ñuñuj-uma=w   ti-palanta=w
      small-DST=PL   1SG-banana=PL
      'small bananas/small banana trees' (each one is small)   [FP-2MA-15]

Collective markers on a modifier stress the fact that the quality or quantity expressed by that modifier concern a group as a whole.

(17) a   lëtta palanta
          one   banana
          'one banana/*one bunch of bananas'   [FP-2MA-15]
      b   lëtt-ima   palanta=w
          one-COL   banana=PL
          'one bunch of bananas/*one banana' [FP-2MA-15]

---

[7] For the present purposes I will give the three classes these labels, I will come back to this classification below, and relabel them.

In (17)b, the fact that the numeral *lëtta* is marked with the collective suffix, indicates that this quantity refers to the whole plurality of bananas, yielding the interpretation of a bunch of bananas.

The marker *-ibe/-ybe* on modifiers indicates that we are dealing with more than one collective. It tells us that the quantity expressed by the root does not concern the smallest units, but rather a larger grouping of these units:

(18) a   lëshie   palanta=w
          two   banana=PL
          'two bananas/two bunches of bananas'
      b   lëshie-ybe   palanta=w
          two-COL.PL   banana=PL
          'two bunches of bananas /*two bananas'

In addition to the marker *-ibe/-ybe*, the modifier can be marked with a distributive suffix, dividing the quality expressed by it over the different collectives:

(19) bëmë   ti-palanta=w   matat-ibe-wma=w
      much;many   1SG-banana   big-COL.PL-DST=PL
      'I have many big bunches of bananas' [AA-9MA-6]

Collective and distributive marking, being derivational elements, are optional. In (19) for instance, the quantifier *bëmë* is not marked for collective where it might have been. Everything can be left unspecified:

(20) lëshie   palanta   matata=w
      two   banana   big=PL
      'two big bananas/banana trees/bunches of bananas'

Furthermore, the presence of the collective marker is restricted by the meaning of the modifier and of the head noun. Collective markers can in principle appear on any adjective, but they most often appear on adjectives of dimension (cf. section 4.5.1 below). As for the head noun they modify, some entities con only be considered separate entities when plural. Elements modifying animate nouns, for instance, are normally not marked for collective. There is one exception: the adjective *atta* 'other':

(21) att-ima   jente=w
      other-COL   people=PL
      'other (kind of) people'

With *atta*, the whole group is considered to be 'the others', while with other modifiers, e.g. *matata* 'big', can apparently not refer to group size when talking about animate objects:

(22) * matat-ima   shunñe=w
     big-COL   man=PL
     'a big group of men/a large kind of men.'

Dependent elements modifying class B NPs can often still be marked for collective or distributive:

(23) a   bëmë   sibbë   matat-uma
       much/many   house   big-DST
       'many big houses'
     b   bëmë   elle   shuyul-uma
       much/many   earth   beautiful-DST
       'many beautiful pieces of earth'   [AA-8MA-5]

(24) a   lëtt-ima   kabu
       one-COL   soap
       'one package of soap (containing several pieces)' [MH-26MA-8]
     b   lëtt-ima   biskotcho
       one-COL   bread
       'one bag of bread (containing several pieces)' [MH-26MA-8]

Apart from the absence of the number marker =*w*, the nouns in (23) and (24) fully behave as count nouns. The suffix -*uma* on a modifier divides the quality or quantity over several, discrete entities, while -*ima* forces the interpretation of a collection of entities.

   Not all nouns that are in this class behave like this, however. Collective marking on a modifier of a noun denoting a substance triggers the interpretation of a bounded body of mass, deriving bounded, countable entities from conceptually unbounded substances:

(25) a   lëtt-ima   asuja
       one-COL   sugar
       'one bag of sugar' [VP-6MA-2]
     b   liwi-be   samma
       three-COL.PL   water
       'three lakes' [FL-1MA-22]

Furthermore, there are class B nouns whose modifiers cannot take the collective marker, and there are yet other class B nouns whose modifiers almost always take the collective marker, without any clear semantic effect:

(26) a *lëtt-ima sibbë
      one-COL   house
      'a collection of houses' [AA-12MA-1]
   b lëtt-ima   ëshshë
      one-COL   stone
      'one stone' [FL-3MA-4]

The fact that not all class B-noun modifiers can take the collective marker may be due to semantic reasons. It seems that the collective marker can only be present if there is genuine structural integration of the subparts of an entity, i.e. when they are physically connected[8]. With highly individuated entities, like *sibbë* 'house', but also the animate nouns of class A, it is harder to construe a collective interpretation. Nouns of the type *ëshshë* 'stone' seem to form a genuinely different class that also behaves differently with respect to verb agreement, as we will see below.

   Modifiers of class C nouns generally carry the collective marker:

(27) a lëtt-ima   ti-ewte=w
      one-COL   1SG-broom=PL
      'I have one broom' [MH-14MA-8]
   b matat-ima   ti-tupta=w
      big-COL   1SG-mosquito.net=PL
      'I have a large mosquito net.' [FP-2MA-10]

In fact, the distinction between the two types of class B nouns (e.g. *sibbë* 'house' vs. *ëshshë* 'stone') is parallel to the distinction between class A and class C nouns, yielding a four-way class distinction:

Table 20   - Four nominal classes based on plural marking and collective marking

	non-inherently singular	*inherently singular*
non-inherently collective	shunñe 'man'	sibbë 'house'
inherently collective	ewete 'broom'	ëshshë 'stone'

This classification replaces the classification given in Table 19 above, and I will refer to them in the remainder of this grammar as class I (type *shunñe*), class II (type *ewete*), class III (type *sibbë*), and class IV (type *ëshshë*).

   These four classes also have repercussions for object agreement marking on the verb. Object agreement markers are prefixed to the verb root. Class I objects are cross-referenced by means of ø- (singular)[9] or *ma-* (plural):

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[8] An exception is example (21), where the connection is symbolic rather than physical.
[9] I do not consider a zero element to be present, but for the sake of clarity I will indicate lack of marking here with the symbol 'ø'.

(28) a lëtta **ø-**bëjti shunñe
      one   **3SG-**see:1SG.S man
      'I see one man.'[FL-3MA-4]

    b lëshie **ma-**bëjti shunñe=w
      two   **3PL-**see:1SG.S man=PL
      'I see two men.' [FL-3MA-4]

Class II nouns are cross-referenced with *ma-* for both singular and plural:

(29) a lëtt-ima ewete=w **ma-**dula-shti
      one-COL broom=PL **3PL-**do;make-FUT:1SG.S
      'I am going to make one broom.' [FP-13MA-13]

    b lëshie-ybe ewete=w **ma-**dula-shti
      two-COL.PL broom=PL **3PL-**do;make-FUT:1SG.S
      'I am going to make one broom.' [FP-13MA-13]

However, when the noun phrase is not marked for plural, class II nouns are cross-referenced with ø:

(30) tomete **ø-**dula=ya ku-bay-tu
     arrow **3SG-**do;make=NVR 3SG.CO-go.EXH-1PL.S
     'Let's make arrows and follow him.' (OR-19MA-30)

Class III nouns are cross-referenced with ø-, whether they denote singular or plural entities:

(31) a lëtta sibbë **ø-**dula-shti
      one house **3SG-**do;make-FUT:1SG.S
      'I am going to make one house.' [FP-13MA-13]

    b lëshie sibbë **ø-**dula-shti
      two   house **3SG-**do;make-FUT:1SG.S
      'I am going to make two houses.' [FP-13MA-13]

However, if the NP is marked for collectivity, it is cross-referenced with *ka-*:

(32) lëtt-ima kabu **ka-**jompara-shti
     one-COL soap **3SG-**buy-FUT:1SG.S
     'I am going to buy one package of soap.' [AA-26MA-18]

Class IV nouns finally, are always cross-referenced with *ka-*:

(33) a lëtt-ima   **ka**-bëjti   ëshshë
         one-COL   **3SG**-see:1SG.S   stone
         'I see one stone.'   [FL-3MA-4]

     b lëshie-ybe **ka**-bëjti   kudawa
        two-COL   **3SG**-see:1SG.S   lake
        'I see two lakes.'   [FL-5MA-7]

Judging from the data on direct-object cross-reference, we can say that *ka-* is associated with collectivity, and *ma-* with plurality, whether collective or not.

In Van Gijn (2004) I made an attempt to explain the classification of Yurakaré nouns on the basis of notional features of the entities involved. I considered class I nouns to be the default class, and the other classes to be somehow marked, which meant that class membership of class II-IV had to be explained.

Class II nouns can be subdivided into four groups on semantic grounds:

Table 21   - Semantic subclassification of inherently plural nouns

artifacts, utensils	body parts	hair	clothing items, textiles
ewetew 'broom'	bannaw 'arm'	simpatiw 'braid'	tuputaw 'mosquito net'
tenchew 'necklace'	kajaw 'jaw'	possow 'facial hair'	chamarraw 'jacket'
tometew 'arrow'	wishwiw 'tail'	tushku 'pubic hair'	ossow 'traditional shirt'
puptaw 'fan'	tewwew 'foot'	dallaw 'hair on head'	kamisaw 'shirt'

These nouns can be seen as inherently plural, i.e. consisting of smaller parts that together form a new object. For instance, *ewetew* 'broom' is a bunch of twigs tied to a larger wooden stick and these together form a broom. A *bannaw* 'arm' runs from just below the shoulder down to the fingers can possibly be seen as a collection of bones. Different forms of hair are seen as collections as well: *simpatiw* 'braid' is seen as different hairs tied together. The fact that a mosquito net is a plural noun may have something to do with the way it used to be made. It was originally made of *corocho*, a fiber which was taken from the inside of the bark of a ficus tree, and which was also used for making clothing items, which are also inherently plural. Note the following observation by Richter (1930:391):

> The raw outside and the soft inner texture were scraped off before pounding the bark. Then they put together the different pieces at the rims and pounded them until they stuck together seamlessly [my translation].[10]

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[10] Die rauhe Aussenseite und das weiche Innengewebe wurde vor dem Klopfen abgeschabt. Während der Klopfprozedur legten sie die einzelnen Stücke an den Rändern ein wenig aufeinander bis sie nahtlos fest zusammen hafteten.

The last observation entails that clothing consisted of several patches of the inside of the bark of the Ficus, hence the inherently plural status of clothing items, and the mosquito net[11]. Although we can explain the occurrence of the plural marker =*w* in singular contexts with these nouns, we cannot predict which nouns will behave like this. There are other artifacts and utensils that do not behave like this, like *norpe* 'paddle', which can be either singular or plural, or other body parts like *shishta* 'finger', which is also a collection of bones, but can be either singular or plural. The noun *pujshi* means 'body hair' or 'fur' and is always singular (see below). Only clothing items always seem to belong to class I generically. There are, furthermore, other nouns in this class that cannot be explained straightforwardly, such as *yarru* 'chicha', *shuppëw* 'urine', *ulliw* 'penis (adult)', *wiwiw* 'penis (child)'[12]. This means that, although there is a semantic basis for this behavior, whether some noun is seen as inherently plural or not is ultimately a lexically determined matter.

Class III and IV nouns (together forming a class of inherently singular nouns) are among others typical mass nouns, scenery, some body parts, tools and utensils, crops, as well as other categories. Examples are given in Table 22 (Spanish loanwords in italics):

Table 22   - Inherently singular nouns according to semantic type

1.substances		2.scenery		3.body parts	
bombo	smoke	püü	road	*perente*	forehead
samma	water	puyni	sun	dyukku	buttocks
asuja	sugar	lubujlu	beach	meyye	ear
sëjsë	grease	lëtëmë	jungle	unti	nose
awaryente	alcohol	mororo	hill	ërumë	tongue

4.utensils		5.crops		6.other	
kuchilu	knife	ñowwo	manioc	sibbë	house
werta	basket	winnu	pepper	shonko	hole
shoshto	comb	shilli	maize	bishmita	cigarette
martilu	hammer	korre	tobacco	*libru*	book
katcha	ax			ëshshë	stone

These semantic types do not seem to have anything in common. There are some semantic patterns that emerge, but, as with the inherently plural nouns, we cannot predict the nouns that fall into this class on purely semantic grounds, since there are many exceptions to the semantic generalizations given in Table 22. For instance, substances do not fall into these classes uniformly. There are substances that fall into

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[11] In spite of the quote from Richter (1930), Vincent Hirtzel (p.c.) commented that clothing is usually made out of one single piece of bark. In that case another explanation should be sought.
[12] Modifiers of *ulliw* and *wiwiw* cannot take the collective marker, so these two nouns are somewhat deviant.

class II, like *yarru* 'maize beer' and *shuppëw* 'urine'. Looking at the body parts, the list includes concepts that prototypically come in pairs, like *meyye* 'ears', *dyukku* 'buttocks' (and also e.g. *tanti* 'eyes' and *tululu* 'lips'). There are also concepts in this class that are prototypically singular, like, *perente* 'forehead', *unti* 'nose', *ërumë* 'tongue'. However, a noun like, *pullë* 'testicle' is a 'normal' count noun, which can be marked for plural. Utensils are found in both the inherently plural class and the count noun class as well. There are many crops in the count noun class, most of them larger crops than the ones in the class of inherently singular nouns[13], but a noun like *arush* 'rice' can be pluralized.[14] In short: meaning does not fully allow us to predict class membership. This is ultimately a lexically determined matter; there seems to be a partially covert system of number marking.

Within the semantic categories of Table 22, class IV nouns are mainly found in the group of utensils (all inherently singular utensils are class IV) and in bounded mass. Especially this latter observation might give us more insight into the nature of collectivity in Yurakaré:

(34) a   shudyul-ima   kudawa
         beautiful-COL   lake
         'a beautiful lake' [FL-1MA-4]
     b   matat-ima   adyuma
         big-COL   river
         'a big river' [HC-4MA-3]

The word *samma* 'water' can be used as a mass noun or as a count noun; in the latter case modifiers are generally marked for collectivity:

(35) matat-ima   samma
     big-COL   water
     'a big lake/river' [FA-5MA-1]

The suffix *-ima* apparently does not only denote that the quality or quantity expressed by the modifier applies to a plurality as a whole, but it also means that this plurality is bounded. This double function can be explained with the following overview from Jackendoff (1991), taken from Corbett (2000:80):

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[13] The size of crops may have something to do with the mass-count distinction (cf. Corbett 2000:80, Jackendoff 1991).

[14] The noun *arush* does not take the plural marker =*w* for phonological reasons, but it does trigger plural agreement on the verb.

Table 23   - Semantic categories of noun phrases

feature values	category
+bounded, -internal structure	individuals
+bounded, +internal structure	groups
-bounded, -internal structure	substances
-bounded, +internal structure	aggregates

The addition of *-ima* to a modifier of a normal plural noun (aggregates in Table 23) forces the interpretation that we are dealing with a bounded plurality:

(36)   [-bounded,+internal structure] $\longrightarrow$ [+bounded,+internal structure]

If we look at substances, the addition of *-ima* forces the interpretation 'a bounded body of mass':

(37)   [-bounded,-internal structure] $\longrightarrow$ [+bounded,-internal structure]

It is not clear whether class IV nouns denoting artefacts can be integrated into this analysis. A list of some of the inherently singular nouns that take collective markers on their modifiers is given in Table 24:

Table 24   - Non-substance inherently singular nouns that trigger collective marking

artifacts		substances	
kuchilu	knife	samma	lake/river
machitu	machete	kudawa	lake
shoshto	comb	adyuma	river
shirra	scissors	ëshshë	stone
martillu	hammer	pilili	iron
werta	basket		

The items in the left column of Table 24 are artifacts, items that might be considered to consist of smaller parts or bounded mass. For instance a comb (as well as a basket) was made out of lianas tied together (cf. Nordenskiöld 2003b:58), knives are bounded bodies of iron, etc. However, this explanation is rather speculative and has a danger of being circular. Therefore this hypothesis should ideally be tested with psycholinguistic experiments. This falls outside the scope of this grammar.

There are contexts in which normal count nouns do not receive the plural marker in contexts where they are plural, nor do they trigger plural agreement on the verb:

(38) too-jti   ka[15]-ssë-ø=ti pu-ø=ja   decheche-ø=ya
      bone-LIM   3SG-be-3=DS take.PL-3=SS meet;find.CAU-3=NVR
      'It was full of bones, which she picked up and collected.' (FA-6MA-5)

In the example the speaker is talking about a plurality of bones, a fact that is stressed by the presence of the plural stem *puu* 'take' (cf. section 6.2.2). The form *too* 'bone' is a class I noun that can be marked for plural, but here it does not take the marker =*w*, nor does it trigger plural verbal agreement. This is due to recategorization of the noun *too*. It is represented as a mass of bones. Speakers translate this into Spanish with *había puro hueso* '(lit.) there was pure bone', meaning 'there was bone all over the place', much in the same way it is possible to say 'There was dog all over the road' in English (cf. Corbett 2000:81).

   I have also found one instance of the reverse, where a class III noun is marked for plural:

(39) pela-jti-ø=w   ñowwo lëshpëni=bë
      peel-HAB-3=PL   manioc first=MOM
      'First they peel the yucca for a while.'

      ñowwo pela=ya   li-**ma-**tta-ø=w   ayma=y
      manioc peel=NVR   DEL-**3PL-**put-3=PL   fire=LOC
      'When the yucca is peeled, they put **them** in the fire.'

      latijsha **ati** kula-ø**=w**=ti   **ma-**müta-jti-ø=w
      then   DEM boil-3**=PL**=DS **3PL-**take.out-HAB-3=PL
      'Then, when **they** boil, they take **them** out.' (FL-1MA-14)

In the beginning of this text explaining how to make chicha (a drink made of – in this case – manioc), the manioc is singular in the first sentence (*ñowwo* is a class III noun), but in the second sentence, in between the verbs *pelaya* (singular agreement) and *limattaw* (plural agreement) there is a switch from singular to plural where *ñowwo* triggers plural verb agreement. In the last sentence the demonstrative pronoun *ati* has no plural marking, but triggers plural marking on the verb.

   It might be that somewhere in the process of making chicha something happens, which makes the substance plural (e.g. the addition of water). This might be connected to the fact that 'problematic' class II nouns *dyarru* 'chicha' and *shuppëw* 'urine' have undergone processes (fermentation and digestion, respectively)[16]. And it might also be connected to the fact that artefacts (most of which are in class II and IV, being

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[15] The prefix *ka-* marks a special state-construction here. This construction will be discussed in section (5.1) below.

[16] I am grateful to Vincent Hirtzel for pointing out this fact to me.

inherently collective) also undergo a process: manufacturing. However, how this is connected to collectivity is not clear.

A final point worth mentioning here is that Yurakaré has a vocative plural marker, optionally used when addressing a group:

(40) dula-n-tu   ta-pojore   ti-lele-ypa
     do;make-INTL-1PL.S   1PL-canoe   1SG-grandchild-VOC.PL
     'Let's make our canoe, my grandchildren.'   (OR-20MA-1)

This vocative marker is simply added to the addressee, which is plural but loses the redundant plural marker. The form of the suffix is related to the second person plural object marker *pa-*. Interestingly, the collective marker *-ima* has exactly the same formal relation to the third person plural object marker *ma-*, and both *-ipa* and *-ima* has the function of grouping together aggregates.

Table 25   - Possible correlations between affixes

	object marker	with i
1pl	ta-	--
2pl	pa-	-ipa 'vocative plural'
3pl	ma-	-ima 'collective'

The relations are not exactly parallel, however. For instance, *-ipa* attaches to nouns, while *-ima* attaches to adjectives. Furthermore, the paradigm is not complete, since there is no such form as *-ita*.

4.3 Postpositional clitics

The marking of grammatical relations in Yurakaré is a mixed system of head (cf. sections 5.1 and 5.2) and dependent marking. Less central participants are usually dependent marked by means of postpositional clitics. Yurakaré has the following postpositional markers:

(41) =tina   comitative
     =la   instrument
     =y   locative
     =chi   direction
     =jsha   ablative

I consider these markers to be postpositions rather than case markers for two reasons. First, Payne (1997:100) describes case markers and adpositions as two extremes of a continuum ranging from marking central participants (case) to marking more peripheral participants (adpositions):

> Case marking is the morphosyntactic categorization of noun phrases
> that is imposed by the structure within which the noun phrase
> occurs. Adpositions are free of such configurational constraints.

The markers in (41) mark non-central (non-obligatory) participants; therefore they are on the adpositional side of Payne's continuum. Second, there is another way to make the distinction between case markers and adpositional markers: "Adpositions can be considered analytic case markers as opposed to synthetic case markers like the suffixes of Turkish or Latin" (Blake 2001:9). The adpositions in Yurakaré are phrasal enclitics, attaching to the rightmost element of the noun phrase (cf. section 3.2.5), therefore they are analytic markers rather than synthetic:

(42) a inele   elle=**y**
        inside   earth=LOC
        'inside the ground'
     b elle inele=**y**

4.3.1 =tina comitative

The central relation *=tina* encodes is the comitative, having the same role in the predication as a core participant (subject or direct object). The comitative participant is less topical than the core participant.

(43) na   yolojoto   shunñe a-ye=**tina**   li-tütü-ø   a-sibë=y
     DEM   armadillo   man   3SG.P-sister=COM   DEL-sit;be-3   3SG.P-house=LOC
     'That armadillo-man was in his house with his sister.' (AY-2NC-3)

The roles of the core participant and the comitative object do not have to be exactly parallel:

(44) yupa-ø-ya   a-mumuy   a-ballata=**tina**
     go.in.SG-3=NVR   3SG.P-all   3SG.P-seed=COM
     'He went in with all of his seeds.' (AR-3NC-1)

In the above example both the subject and the comitative object go in, but the subject actively, and the comitative object passively.

The interpretation of *=tina* can also be slightly reciprocal:

(45) lëtta më-jti=ja   achu-ta   dula-shta-m   mi-ye=**tina**
     one   2SG.PRN-LIM=EMPH   like.that-MID   do;make-FUT-2SG.S   2SG-sister=COM
     'Only you will do like that (i.e. making babies together), with your sister.'(AY-2NC-6)

Sometimes 'comitative' is translated into something like 'concerning' (46) or a shared location:

(46) a achu-ta   dula-tijti   shinama   pa=**tina**
     like.that-MID   do;make-HAB:1PL.S   before   2PL.PRN=COM
     'That is what we used to do with you, and other kinds of people.' (AR-8MI-87)

   b l-achu-ta   ma-n-tütü-ø=w   yarru=**tina** chajti=ya   ma-ba=w
     REF-like.that-MID 3PL-IO-sit;be-3=PL   chicha=COM   always=NVR 3PL-husband=PL
     'Like that, they always awaited their husbands with chicha.' (AR-8MI-90)

In the above examples, the comitative object is not involved in the participant marking on the verb. This is not always the case:

(47) li-ma-tütü-ø=w=ya   a-ye=tina   inele   a-sibë=y
     DEL-3PL-sit;be-3=PL=NVR   3SG.P-sister=COM   inside   3SG.P-house=LOC
     'They were inside the house together, with his sister.' (AY-2NC-3)

The story from which this utterance was taken deals with two persons: a brother and a sister. The plural subject marker refers to both the brother and the sister, but the sister is additionally marked with the comitative marker. This is a construction that is often heard, also in local Spanish, as in e.g. *vamos conmigo* 'let's go with me' (meaning let's go you and I).

4.3.2 *=la instrument*

The postposition *=la* has a range of functions; the three most common are reason, path and instrument. I will gloss the suffix with INS for instrument, since this seems to be the basic notion from which the other uses are derived:

Reason
(48) ati   a-bombo=**la**   shama-ø=w=ya   ta-ppë-shama=w
     DEM   3SG.P-smoke=INS   die.PL-3=PL=NVR   1PL-grandfather-PST=PL
     'Our ancestors died because of its (the fire's) smoke.' (AY-2NC-3)

Path
(49) a danda-ø=w=ya   kummë=**la**
     go.up-3=PL=NVR   tree=INS
     'They went up the tree.'   (AY-3NC-6)

   b ana sekure=**la**   mala-ø   ku-ta-jti-ø   dojo=chi
     DEM Sécure=INS   go.SG-3 3SG.CO-say-HAB-3   body=DIR
     'They say he went upstream on the Sécure River.' (AR-8MI-57)

Instrument

(50)　wissa-jti-ø=w=ya　　　ana　　a-dala　　　katcha=**la**
　　　 hit-HAB-3=PL=NVR　　 DEM　 3SG.P-head　ax=INS
　　　 'They hit his head with an ax.' (AY-3NC-7)

Notionally, the core function of the marker can be argued to be 'instrument' regarding instrument as something that you can use to get from situation (or location) A to B. In (48), *bombo* 'smoke' is the metaphorical instrument that causes a change of state of the ancestors: from living to dead. A path is an instrument that connects two places. There are some other constructions where =*la* occurs:

(51)　mu-ta-jti-ø-w-ya　　　　　　 tuwa　　 ta-buybu=**la**
　　　 3PL.CO-say-HAB-3=PL=NVR　 1PL.PRN　1PL-language=INS
　　　 'They spoke with them in our language.' (AR-8MI-87)

(52)　ma-ba=w　　　　 ma-l-iwaja-jti-ø=w=ya　　　　 ma-yaru=**la**
　　　 3PL-husband=PL　 3PL-AFO-invite-HAB-3=PL=NVR　 3PL-chicha=INS
　　　 'They invited their husbands to chicha.' (AR-8MI-90)

The use in the examples (51) and (52) is related to the 'instrument' function: the language is used as an instrument to intermediate between two people; the inviting is done with the help of chicha.

　 The examples in (53) are related to the 'reason' function of =*la*. Water and food, or rather the lack of them, are the reasons for the starving and the almost dying of the subjects.

(53)　a　imi-ø=ya　　　latiji　　　　　 samma=**la**
　　　　 starve-3=NVR　 subsequently　 water=INS
　　　　 'She was starving with thirst, craving for water.' (AY-2NC-10)
　　　 b　sey　　shamu=ya　　　　shama-shtu=y=chi　　　　 latiji　　　　　 chata=**la**
　　　　 almost　die.PL:3PL.S=NVR　 die.PL-FUT:3PL.S=NVR=IGN　 subsequently　 food=INS
　　　　 'They almost died of hunger.' (FA-6MA-7)

The path function, finally, also has some extensions:

(54)　a　ashaa=y　　li-ma-ssë-ø=w　　　 lëshie　 shunñe=w　　kummë=**la**
　　　　 above=LOC　 DEL-3PL-stand-3=PL　 two　　 man=PL　　 tree=INS
　　　　 'That men are hanging from the tree.' [MH-11MA-6]
　　　 b　a-tushu=**la**　　　 bushu-ø=ya
　　　　 3SG.P-chest=INS　 lie(down).SG-3=NVR
　　　　 'He lay down on his chest.' (FA-6MA-8)

These are instances of what Talmy (2000:99-175) calls fictive motion. I will come back to this phenomenon when discussing local cases below.

   Another use of *=la* as a marker of 'theme' is not straightforwardly linked to either instrument, reason or path:

(55) ishete   ka-n-dyuju-ø   a-tata-shama=w=la
      agouti   3SG-IO-inform-3   3SG:P-father-PST=PL=INS
      'Then the agouti informed him about his parents.' (AR-8MA-52)

4.3.3 Local postpositions

There are three local postpositions in Yurakaré, apart from the path function of *=la*.[17] The postposition *=y* marks the stative location of an object or person:

(56) a   basu   tütü-ø   mesa=**y**
           cup   sit;be-3   table=LOC
           'The cup is on the table.' [MH-14MA-8]
      b   mesa=**y**   bushu-ø   emme
           table=LOC   lie(down).SG-3   meat
           'The meat lies on the table'   [MH-14MA-8]
      c   lampara daja-ø   ashaa=**y**
           lamp   hang-3   above=LOC
           'The lamp hangs in the air.'[FR-PC]

The marker *=chi* marks the goal of a movement:

(57) a   ye=ja   mala-ø   a-sibë=chi
           woman=EMPH   go.SG-3   3SG.P-house=DIR
           'I went to my house.' [JUB-1MI-128]
      b   ëshshë=ja   ka-mala-ø   inele   sibbë=chi
           stone=EMPH   3SG-go.SG-3 inside   house=DIR
           'The stone rolled inside the house.' [FR-1TA-4]
      c   juan=ja   mala-ø   adyum=chi
           Juan=EMPH   go.SG-3   river=DIR
           'Juan went to the river.'   [FR-1TA-4]

The marker *=jsha* marks the source of a movement:

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[17] Many of the example sentences in this section were elicited with the help of Bowerman (1993) and Ameka *et al*. (1999).

(58) a   juan=ja   otto-ø=ja   mala-ø   a-sibë=jsha
          Juan=EMPH   go.out-3=SS   go.SG-3   3SG.P-house=ABL
          'Juan went from his house.' [FR-1TA-4]

      b   pelota=ja   ka-mala-ø   sibbë   inele=jsha
          ball=EMPH   3SG-go.SG-3   house   inside=ABL
          'The stone rolled out of the house.' [FR-1TA-4]

      c   mitchi shopto-ø   mesa   a-dojo=jsha
          cat   go.down-3   table   3SG.P-body=ABL
          'The cat came down from the table.' [FR-PC]

As with =*tina* and =*la* above, the use of these markers is extended on the basis of these core functions. The stative location marker can sometimes also mark the goal of a movement:

(59) a   patta   yupa-ø   Juan a-tewe=y
          thorn   go.in.SG-3   Juan 3SG.P-foot=LOC
          'A thorn entered Juan's foot.' [FR-PC]

      b   sulayle=ja   dele-ø   mesa   a-dojo=jsha   elle=y
          leaf=EMPH   fall.SG-3   table   3SG.P-body=ABL   ground=LOC
          'The leaf fell from the table onto the ground.' [FR-PC]

      c   mitchi danda-ø mesa   a-dojo=y
          cat   go.up-3 table   3SG.P-body=LOC
          'The cat climbed onto the table.' [FR-1TA-4]

The marking of a goal with the stative locative marker happens with predicates that have an inherent direction, like *yupa* 'to enter', *dele* 'to fall down', *danda* 'to go up'. This marking is optional: the complement can also be marked by the directional marker:

(60) Juan yupa-ø   a-sib=chi
      Juan go.in.SG-3   3SG.P-house=DIR
      'Juan entered his house.' [FR-PC]

There is no difference in the interpretation of a complement marked by =*y* and a complement marked by =*chi* with these movement verbs with inherent direction.

   The other way round is also possible: a directional marker marking location. It is not clear what the difference is between stative locations marked with =*chi* and =*y*.

(61) Juan=ja   li-tütü-ø   a-sibë   inel=chi
      Juan=EMPH   DEL-sit;be-3   3SG.P-house   inside=DIR
      'John is inside his house.' [FR-1TA-4]

The examples in (61) and, as mentioned, (54) are examples of fictive motion (Talmy 2000:104): "(…) languages systematically and extensively refer to stationary

circumstances with forms and constructions whose basic reference is to motion. We can term this constructional fictive motion."

There are more instances of fictive motion in Yurakaré: the ablative marker can mark a stative location, and even the goal of a movement in some instances:

(62) a   lëtta   shunñe   li-tütü-ø   ayma   a-pasha=jsha
         one   man   DEL-sit;be-3   fire   3SG.P-bank=ABL
         'One man is sitting next to the fire.'[FR-1TA-9]

      b   ana=jsha   i-tanti-ø=w
         DEM=ABL   VBL-eye-3=PL
         'They had eyes on this side (the back of their head)' (AR-8MA-22)

      c   ti-la-dyalala-ø   ti-tanti=jsha
         1SG-AFO-spit-3   1SG-eye=ABL
         'He spat into my eye.' [FP-15MA-3]

If an entity is on the outside of some bounded location, it can be marked by the ablative marker. So in (62)a, the entity *Juan* is on the outside of the location *fire*, and in (62)b, on the outside of the back of the head, referred to by the demonstrative *ana*. Example (62)c has a predicate with inherent direction (*yupa*, 'to enter'), so the complement may be marked as a stative location. Since we are dealing with a figure (mosquito) which is on the outside of the location (eye), the complement can be marked by the ablative marker =*jsha*, even if it marks the goal of a movement.

Another extension of the locational markers =*y* and =*jsha* is that they can be used to derive temporal adverbs:

(63) a   ati-kka=y
         DEM-MEA=LOC
         'in, during that time'

      b   numa=jsha
         night=ABL
         'tomorrow'

      c   l-ati=jsha
         REF-DEM=ABL
         'then, after that'

The first example literally means 'in the size of that', but can be interpreted as a temporal adverb, meaning 'in that stretch of time'. *Numajsha* 'tomorrow' literally means 'from the night', interpreted as 'after the night'. *Latijsha*, finally, is a frequently used discourse-structuring adverb. The prefix *l-*, together with the demonstrative *ati*, refers to a previously mentioned event; the ablative marker indicates that the event that follows occurs subsequently.

The ablative marker =*jsha* is also used to mark the standard in comparative clauses:

(64) së=ja   tëchi-kka-y   më=jsha
      1SG.PRN=EMPH   tall-MEA-1SG.S   2SG.PRN=ABL
      'I am taller than you.'[MH-7MA-7]

Finally, the ablative marker is used in the following construction (data from Day 1980-28):

(65) lëshie=w=jsha
      two=PL=ABL
      'one of the two'[DAY-1980-28]

As already transpired in some of the above examples, location can be made more specific by the use of a limited set of relator nouns:

(66) | *noun* | *meaning* | *locational meaning* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| dojjo | 'body' | 'on top of' |
| tatta | 'backside' | 'behind' |
| shëli | 'side' | 'next to' |
| pujta | 'outside' | 'outside of' |
| pasha | 'bank' | 'next to' |
| ajana | 'downside' | 'under' |
| inele | 'inside' | 'in' |
| mujumuju | 'centre' | 'in the middle of, in between' |
| dullu | 'right side' | 'to the right of' |
| chobbe | 'left side' | 'to the left of' |

These relator nouns specify the location in the following way:

(67) a Juan=ja   tütü-ø   a-bisi=w   ma-mujumuju=y
         Juan=EMPH   sit;be-3   3SG.P-brother=PL   3PL-centre=LOC
         'Juan sits in between his brothers.' [FR-PC]
     b lëtta wowore=ja   tütü-ø   matata tuwë   a-dojo=y
         one   snake=EMPH   sit;be-3   big   trunk   3SG.P-body=LOC
         'One snake lies on top of a big treetrunk.' [FR-1TA-5]
     c li-bushu-ø   ayma   a-pasha=jsha
         DEL-lie(down).SG-3   fire   3SG.P-bank=ABL
         'He is lying next to the fire.' (OR-19MA-2)

These nouns are marked as a possessed element (see 4.4.1 below), except for *inele*:

(68) a   sibbë   inele=y
         house   inside=LOC
         'inside the house'
      b * sibbë   a-inele=y
         house   3SG.P-inside=LOC
         'in the inside of the house'

4.3.4 The enclitic =ja

The enclitic *=ja* is in complementary distribution with the adpositions mentioned above. It is found almost exclusively on subjects, but it does not mark a grammatical relation. Firstly because, if it did mark subject, one would expect the marker to be obligatory, and it is not. Second, it is possible to mark non-subjects with this marker, though it is extremely rare:

(69) na   ma-wësh-shunñe-jti=**ja**   ka-chamashi-ø=w
      DEM   3PL-in.law-man-HAB=EMPH   3SG-control-3=PL
      'As for their father-in-law, they controlled him.' (OR-19MA-3)

In almost all cases it is found on grammatical subjects. According to Day (1980), it serves as a disambiguating subject marker: "[it] marks the subject and must be used when there might be the slightest ambiguity" (Day 1980-5). Though this may certainly be one of its functions, it also appears in sentences where there is no ambiguity at all:

(70) Juan=**ja**   li-tütü-ø   sibbë   inel=chi
      Juan=EMPH   DEL-sit;be-3   house   inside=DIR
      'John is inside his house.' [FR-1TA-4]

There is no possible interpretation that the house is inside Juan. It can also appear in sentences where the marking on the verb in itself is disambiguating enough:

(71) lëtta   yee=**ja**   ti-n-wita-ø
      one   woman=EMPH   1SG-IO-arrive.SG-3
      'A woman came to me.' (AR-8MA-24)

In sentences without any complement it can also appear, even when there is no one to confuse the subject with:

(72) së=**ja**   ulë-y
      1SG.PRN=EMPH   guayabochi.tree-1SG.S
      'I was the guayabochi tree.'(AR-8MA-7)

And it is also used in the following way:

(73) mi-meme=**ja**
      2SG-mother=EMPH
      'And your mother? (where is she?)'

Its main function is to mark emphatic topics. This is its function in the examples (70)-(73). For instance, the context of the myth from which example (72) is taken is that a man changed from a guayabochi tree into a man, because a woman always scratched that tree. He appears before the woman and says that he was the one that was the guayabochi tree (he and no other), which could be translated into English with a cleft construction: "it was I who was the guayabochi tree". In (69), where a non-subject is marked with =*ja* there is a switch of topic. In the preceding context the subjects of the sentence first punished their father-in-law for something he did to them, and then they punish their spouses, then the utterance in (69) follows. Finally, sudden appearances of participants in a story are often marked with =*ja* (from the same story):

(74) latijsha   maj~matata   wowore=**ja**   tütü-ø=ya   püü=y
      then   INTS~big   snake=EMPH   sit;be-3=NVR road=LOC
      'Then (suddenly) there was a big snake on the road.' (AR-8MA-77)

In conclusion we can say that =*ja* is a marker of emphatic topic and not of subject.

4.4 Nouns

Nouns are the heads of noun phrases. In most cases they are the rightmost element of the NP (disregarding the phrasal clitics discussed in 4.2 and 4.3), but some elements may appear to the right of the noun within an NP, notably adjectives and relative clauses. The morphological template of nouns in Yurakaré is as in (75):

(75) { posssession } - nominal root - other derivation
      { verbalization }

I will discuss possession (4.4.1), non-category-changing derivation (4.4.2) and category-changing derivation (4.4.3), and finally I will make a subclassification of nouns (4.4.4).

4.4.1 Possession

Attributive possession is marked on nouns only. It involves a relation between two nouns. A person prefix is added to the head noun; the dependent noun is not marked. The possessive prefixes constitute a paradigm which shows some formal similarities

with the free pronouns as well as the object markers. There is no straightforward synchronic derivational relationship, however:

Table 26 - Possessive markers, free pronouns and object markers

poss. marker	free pronoun	object marker	meaning
ti-	sëë	ti-	1sg
mi-	mëë	mi-	2sg
a-	(l)ati, ana, naa	ø/ka-	3sg
ta-	tuwa	ta-	1pl
pa-	paa	pa-	2pl
ma-	(l)atiw, anaw, naaw	ma-	3pl

The sound /t/ in the first person possessive marker can be explained by the fact that the free pronoun *sëë* is pronounced [ˈsææ], with a slight [t] in the onset. The third person singular and the plural are not transparently related. As for the prefix *a-* for third person singular possessive, we can say that the vowel /a/ is present throughout the demonstrative paradigm, and may have a deictic meaning. The prefix *ma-* may be related to the word *mumuy* or *mumay*, which means 'all'. The possession paradigm is also identical to the object paradigm formally, the third person singular being the exception.

The possessive prefix is obligatory[18], there are one or two instances where the possessor prefix is absent, but these can be considered exceptions. The possessor is often lexically expressed, but this is not obligatory. When expressed, the possessor can occur either before or after the head noun; the order possessor-possessed is most often encountered, however:

(76) a shunñe   a-sibë
        man   3SG.P-house
        'the man's house'
    b tuwa   ta-pojore
        1PL.PRN   1PL-canoe
        'our canoe'
    c ta-ppë-shama=w   tuwa   ma-oshewo=w
        1PL-grandfather-PST=PL   1PL.PRN   3PL-pot=PL
        'our deceased ancestor's pots'   (AR-8MI-16)

Example (76)c also shows the recursive possibilities of possession marking, where a possessed noun (*tappëshamaw* 'our grandfathers') can in turn be a possessor (of *maoshewow* 'their pots'). Possessed nouns can be modified by e.g. adjectives and numerals:

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[18] With the exception of compounded possessive relations.

(77) a matat-ima   ti-werta
    big-COL   1SG-basket
    'my big basket' [DV-11MA-2]
   b lëshie ti-jumpañero=w ma-ssë-ø=w   ti-sibë=y
    two   1SG-friend=PL   3PL-stand-3=PL 1SG-house=LOC
    'My two friends/two of my friends are in my house.' [FL-5MA-7]

The plural possessive prefixes are generally more prominent metrically that the singular possessive prefixes, i.e. the plural possessors usually receive secondary or primary stress, while the singular possessors almost never receive stress (cf. section 2.4.2 above). The resulting metrical pattern can cause some stems to change:

Table 27 - Stem changing possessive prefixes

root	meaning	1sg possessive	1pl possessive
*pë*pë	grandfather	ti*pë*pë	*ta*-ppë
too	bone	ti*to*o	*ta*to
po*jo*re	canoe	ti*po*jre	*ta*po*jo*re
to*me*te	arrow	ti*tom*te	*ta*to*me*te

This stem-changing effect is a purely formal matter and does not correspond to a difference in meaning, but rather with stress shift and subsequent vowel elision.

  Almost all non-animate nouns can be possessed in the way outlined above; there are some restrictions on animate nouns. Animals, especially domestic animals, need a classifier in order to be possessed:

(78) a ti-tiba   talipa
    1SG-pet   chicken
   b *ti-talipa

Animals like lice, however, can be possessed without *tibba*[19]:

(79) ma-che-shta-ø=ya   a-ñishshë=w
   3PL-eat-FUT-3=NVR   3SG.P-louse=PL
   'He was going to eat his lice.' (AY-3NC-6)

The explanation for this is that the nature of the possessive relation of a person to his lice is different from the relationship between a chicken and its owner. In the former there is simply a locality relation, whereas the latter refers to ownership.

  Nouns denoting human beings can only be possessed if the noun denotes a kinship relation (80), or occasionally a possessor prefix is found on proper names (81):

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[19] The gemination appears in the citation form for prosodic reasons (cf. section 2.3.3)

(80) a ti-paa
         1SG-brother
         'my brother'

      b ta-ppë-shama
         1PL-father-PST
         'our former grandfather, our ancestor'

      c * ti-shunñe
            1SG-man
            'my man'

      d mi-yee
         2PL-woman/sister
         'my sister/*woman'

(81) a entonces tishilë-jti   i-bali-wma-ø=w   **ti-añelu**=la=ri
         so   now-LIM   VPL-go.PL-DST-3=PL   1SG-Angel=VAL=EXPR.M
         'So they went in a second, my Angel!' (FL-27MA-11)

      b sëë   **ti-winu**-shama mi-dyama   modestu   ma-winani-tu=ti
         1SG.PRN 1SG-Winu-PST   2SG-sibling Modesto   3PL-walk-1PL.S=DS
         'Myself, the late Winu, your brother Modesto, they were the ones we went with.'
                                                                    (AA-27MA-11)

From the examples in (80) it becomes clear that nouns denoting humans can only be possessed when they express kinship. In (80)d, the fact that *yee* 'woman; sister' is possessed forces the interpretation of 'sister' rather than 'woman'.

Possession marking in Yurakaré is used to express different kinds of relations between two entities. Kinship can be extended to express affection: people call each other *ti-bisi* 'my brother' or *ti-dyama* 'my sister' even if no such family relation exists, to express affection. The possessive markers in (81) on the proper names are other examples of the affective use of the possessor prefixes.

Part-whole relations are also expressed by possession:

(82) a kuchilu   a-dala
         knife   3SG.P-head
         'knife-blade'

      b waja   a-pëlë
         cow   3SG.P-skin
         'cow-hide'

This part-whole relation can also be expressed by a compound:

(83) a   waja-pëlë
           cow-skin
           'cow-hide'
      b   tanti-plë
           eye-skin
           'eyelid'

The two nouns are simply juxtaposed. Stress normally falls on the final syllable of the first part of the compound; the head noun is always on the right. Stress placement can cause stems to change here as well. In example (83)b, the compound is made up of *tanti* 'eye' and *pëlë* 'skin'. Stress falls on the final syllable of *tanti*, and vowel elision takes place in the first syllable of *pëlë* consequently. This type of compounding is not used exclusively for part-whole relations. It is generally used to indicate a kind of X, associated with the entity expressed in the first noun:

(84) a   talipa-newe
           chicken-excrement
           'chicken-dirt'
      b   dulsi-sa
           orange-fruit
           'fruit of the orange tree'

Some experiencer events are expressed by means of a possessive construction, which can function as a complete sentence:

(85) a   a-wështi-ø[20]
           3SG.P-hunger-3
           'He is hungry.'
      b   a-samti-ø
           3SG.P-thirst-3
           'He is thirsty.'
      c   a-dyolti-ø
           3SG.P-anger-3
           'He is angry.'

In these constructions, the physical or emotional state felt is represented as a possessed noun, whereby the possessor is the experiencer of this state.

   Finally some quantifiers are obligatorily possessed; this will be discussed in section 4.5.2 below.

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[20] I regard these forms as existential predicates: 'my hunger is', hence the zero form.

4.4.2 Non-category-changing derivation

-nñu 'diminutive'

The suffix *-nñu* is used to express small size or refinement. It is a cross-categorical suffix found on nouns, verbs and adjectives. On nouns it usually only indicates small size (86), on proper names it can also mean affection (87).

(86) a ëshshë-**nñu** ka-tütü-ø   matata   ëshshë a-dojo=y
        stone-DIM   3SG-sit;be-3 big   stone 3SG.P-body=LOC
        'The little stone is on top of the big stone.' [FR-PC]

     b soboto=y   li-tütü-ø   sewe-**nñu**
        belly=LOC DEL-sit;be-3   child-DIM
        'The small child was inside the belly.' (FA-6MA-6)

(87) nij   ama-kka=y   bali-tu   biriki-**nñu**
     NEG   WH-MEA=LOC   go.PL-1PL.S   Brigida-DIM
     'We did not go far, did we, little Brigida? (AA-27MA-10)

-tebe: 'meant for'

The suffix *-tebe* on a noun denotes a supportive relation. The derived noun refers to a utensil that can be used with respect to the entity expressed by the root noun.

(88) a ti-bana-tebe
        1SG-arm-FOR
        'my bracelet' [FL-5MA-7]

     b arush-tebe
        rice-FOR
        'a barrow' [FL-5MA-7]

What exactly the purposive or usefulness relation entails is different from situation to situation. In (88)a, the derived noun serves to put around the root noun, in (88)b, it serves to load or carry the root noun. But there are also instances such as the question-answer pair in (89), where it denotes a role the derived noun could play:

(89) a mi-n-tëpshë-**tebe**   mi-jusu-ø=chi   shunñe
      2SG-IO-what-FOR   2SG-want-3=IGN   man
      'What do you want a man for?' (AR-8MI-6)

    b ti-jusu-ø   ti-ba-**tebe**-ni[21]
      1SG-want-3   1SG-husband-FOR-INTL
      'I would like for him to be my husband.' (AR-8MI-6)

Tebe also occurs as an independent, usually possessed root:

(90) pëpësu   a-tebe-ni
      pëpësu   3SG.P-utensil-INTL
      '[the ax] was meant for Pëpësu (to hit him)'   (OR-19MA-11)

As an independent noun it has essentially the same function as in suffix form: it marks an object as purposive, supportive for another object.

-j: 'material'

A marginally used suffix is *-j*, found on nouns; it denotes the material out of which something is made:

(91) a pilili-j   lewle
      stone-MAT   plate
      'a stone plate'   [MV-32MA-8]

    b elesha-j   bajsu
      aluminum-MAT   cup
      'an aluminum cup' [MV-32MA-8]

It is also used in a slightly different way in the following construction:

(92) lëyshu-j   (…) bali-ø-w
      squirrel-MAT   (…) go.PL-3-PL
      'They changed into squirrels.'   (FA-6MA-8)

-jti: 'limitative'

The suffix *-jti* on a noun indicates that the proposition applies only or purely to the marked noun. It is translatable with the English 'only', 'just' or 'purely':

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[21] Note that the modal marker *-ni* 'intentional (cf. section 6.3.1) can be used with nouns, even if they are not in predicative function. On nouns, it marks an intended function.

(93) a a-wishwi-**jti**=w   ka-ma-n-turuma-ø=ya
         3SG.P-tail-LIM=PL   3SG-3PL-IO-shoot-3=NVR
         'He shot only his tail.' (FA-6MA-8)

      b më-**jti**   che-cha-m   nish   ti-wështi   së
         2SG.PRN-LIM   eat-JUS-2SG.S   NEG   1SG-hunger   1SG.PRN
         'You alone eat. I am not hungry.' (AY-2NC-4)

      c lëtta-**jti**   ka-la-puchu-ø=ya
         one-LIM   3SG-AFO-be.saved-3=NVR
         'Only one managed to save himself from him.' (AR-8MI-53)

      d l-ati-**jti**=ja   tütü-ø=ya
         REF-DEM-LIM=EMPH   sit;be-3=NVR
         'Only he was there.' (AR-8MI-74)

The verbal habitual marker has the same form *-jti*. I gloss them differently, but there might be a shared element of meaning revolving around the term 'exclusivity', if habitual action is seen as exclusive action (he did only X all the time). Nevertheless, since the link is not very strong I will use different glosses for limitative and for habitual aspect.

-shama: 'past'

The suffix *-shama* on nouns means 'former', or 'dead'. The source of this suffix is clearly the plural stem of the verb 'to die' which is also *shama*.

(94) a ti-tata-shama
         1SG-father-PST
         'my deceased father'

      b ti-pojore-shama
         1SG-canoe-PST
         'my former canoe' (a canoe-wreck)

As can be seen in the examples in (94), *-shama* can be used to refer to entities that no longer exist as such. The suffix does not tell us anything about the possessive relation that no longer exists, it solely relates to the object.

-tA: 'association, metaphorical extension, former possession'

The marker *-tA*[22], normally found on verbs, where it marks middle voice (cf. section 5.3.1), is occasionally also found on nouns, where it has a function quite separate from

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[22] The vowel of *-tA* assimilates in place and manner to the preceding vowel, if this is a mid vowel or a low vowel.

middle voice. On nouns it marks association (95)a, metaphorical extension (95)b, or former possession (95)c:

(95) a   ti-dala   'my head'   ti-dala-ta   'my pillow

      ti-meye   'ear'   ti-meye-te   'my earring'

   b   ti-pilë   'my mouth'   a-pilë-të   'its door'

      ti-bana   'my arm'   a-ban-ta   'its twig'

      ti-tiba   'pet'   a-tiba-ta   'its creature'

      samma   'water'   a-sama-ta   'its juice (of fruit)'

      mororo   'mountain'   a-mororo-to   'its bulge, lump (of the ground)'

   c   ti-sibë   'my house'   ti-sibë-të   'my ex-house; sort of house'

      ti-jukkulë   'field'   ti-jukkulë-të   'my ex-field'

      bashti   'wife'   ti-bashta-ta   'my ex-wife'

      ti-ñaba   'sister-in-law'   ti-ñabaw-ta   'my ex-sister-in-law'

The derivation with *-tA* is restricted to a subset of nouns, most of which are given here. The function of *-tA* on nouns is diverse: it can mark an object associated with the entity expressed by the root (e.g. *dala-ta* 'pillow', *meye-te* 'earring'), it can be an extension based on certain functional or physical similarities (e.g. *pilë-të* 'door', *sama-ta* 'juice') and it can also mean ex-X, marking the past possessive relation (e.g. *sibë-të* 'ex-house[23], *bashta-ta*[24] 'ex-wife').

-tilijti: among

I have no data on this suffix, but Day (1980-35) mentions the following examples:

(96) a   l-ati-tilijti   ma-n-dyërërë

       REF-DEM-AMONG   3PL-IO-converse

       'They talked amongst themselves.' [DAY-1980-35]

   b   tuwa-tilijti   nish   ta-yle   dula-n-tu=ti   achu-ta

       1PL.PRN-AMONG   NEG   1PL-know   do;make-INTL-1PL.S=DS   like.that-MID

       'Amongst ourselves, we don't do that.' [DAY-1980-35]

-ba associated time

I have no instances of this suffix either, so I will just give some of Day's (1980-35) data:

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[23] *Sibë-të* can also mean 'sort of house', such as *bishmita a-sibë-të* /cigarette its-house-ta/ meaning the package of the cigarettes.

[24] It is unclear why the original /i/ of *bashti* changes into /a/.

(97)   a   dyummë-ba=y
           cold(weather)-AST=LOC
           'in the time of the cold weather' [DAY-1980-35]

       b   ma-josecha-ba=y
           3PL-harvest-AST=LOC
           'in the time of their harvest' [DAY-1980-35]

4.4.3 Category-changing derivation

There are three category-changing derivational suffixes that can be found on nouns: an adjectivizer *-kka*, a verbalizer *i-* and an adverbializer *-shku(ta)*.

-kka: 'measure'

The suffix *-kka* is added mostly to demonstrative pronouns to indicate that the size of something is comparable to a size indicated (mostly by holding the hand on a certain height).

(98)   ana-kka-ø
       DEM-MEA-3
       'He is this big.' (indicating height with hand)

The suffix *-kka* changes the nominal element into an adjectival one; consequently it can receive the collective marker *-ima* or the distributive marker *-uma*:

(99)   a-werta   ana-kk-ima
       3SG.P-basket   DEM-MEA-COL
       'His basket was about this big.' (AY-3NC-7)

It is also found on proper names (100), as well as on the question word *ama* (101):

(100) ti-tëë   karina-kka   ati
       1SG-niece;nephew Karina-MEA   DEM
       'She was the size of Karina.' (BT-27MA-10)

(101) aj~ama-kka   mi-jusu-ø   ta-jukkulë   mi-n-dula-ni=ti
       INTS~which-MEA   2SG-want-3   1PL-field   2SG-IO-do;make-INTL:1SG.S=DS
       'What size would you like me to make our field?' (AR-8MI-41)

The suffix *-kka* in the sense of size is often found in combination with the amplification marker *-lë*. When this suffix is attached, the marker *-kka* loses its gemination and is

rendered *-ja* after a vowel (because of the lenition of [k], see section 2.3.2 above). The interpretation of this combination is small size:

(102) kumë-nñu   ana-**ja**-lë   ajtilya-nñu   ti-ja-mal-cha-m
     tree-DIM   DEM-MEA-AMP   splinter-DIM   1SG-3SG-go.SG-JUS-2SG.S
     'Bring me a small tree, only this size, a splinter!' (OR-20MA-2)

Even though the marker seems to attach mostly to nominal elements, it can also appear on the verb *abibë* 'to be enough':

(103) abibë-**kka**-ø-naja   ta-jukkulë
     be.enough-MEA-3-DSC   1PL-field
     'Our field is big enough now.' (AR-8MI-42)

As mentioned in section 4.3 above, in combination with the locative marker =*y* and the ablative marker =*jsha*, this suffix can also indicate a certain stretch of time:

(104) a   nentaya   ati-**kka**=y   ka-toro-ø   ati
       maybe   DEM-MEA=LOC   3SG-end-3   DEM
       'Maybe he died in that time.' (AR-8MI-88)
     b   latijsha dula-ø   ati-**kka**=jsha   kokko   mala-cha-m
       then   do;make-3 DEM-MEA=ABL   throw.PL   go.SG-JUS-2SG.S
       'Then he made [salt], and after that time (she said): "Leave me some."'
                                   (AR-8MI-82)

In this sense of time reference, the suffix *-kka* seems less rigid as to the word class of the root it attaches to. This is probably for semantic reasons: to indicate the size of something presupposes a root that has some size, while in the temporal sense, it only presupposes a state or event that is (or can be) durative, even though some speakers have difficulties interpreting the following words[25]:

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[25] These examples are taken from a traditional song, which not many people know anymore. Consultants said that the language of traditional songs is somewhat different from everyday speech. Possibly, the examples in (105) are not very good representatives of what is and what is not possible in the language.

(105) a ñuñujulë-kka-y
      small-MEA=LOC
      'childhood (lit. in the time of smallness)' (AY-3NC-4)

    b winani-kka-y
      walk-MEA=LOC
      'lifetime' (AY-3NC-4)

    c lanalë-kka-y
      closeby-MEA=LOC
      'not long ago' (AY-3NC-3)

A suffix that can appear in combination with temporal *-kka* is *-shbache*, meaning eversince:

(106) l-ati-kka-shbache
     REF-DEM-MEA-SINCE
     'From that time onwards…'

This suffix can be decomposed into *-sh*, *-ba* and *-che*. The suffix *-shi* normally derives an adverb from an adjective or noun, and *ba-che* is a verb that means 'to send'. This verb has a non-causative counterpart *ba-ta* 'to go', with the middle marker *-tA*.

i- 'verbalizer'

Since nouns and adjectives can occur in predicative position (cf. section 3.3.3), there is not much need for verbalizing morphology. There is one verbalizing prefix, however: *i-*. Addition of this prefix triggers the interpretation 'to have X':

(107) a ana=jsha   i-tanti-ø=w
      DEM=ABL   VBL-eye-3=PL
      'They had eyes here (on the back of their heads).' (AR-8MI-22)

    b i-wishwi-ø ushta   na   ishete   layshu-shku-ta
      VBL-tail-3 before   DEM agouti   squirrel-ADV.CMP-MID
      'The agouti once had a tail, he was like a squirrel.' (AR-8MI-44)

    c nish   i-tulë-jti   sëë   nish   che-jti   tullë
      NEG   VBL-salt-HAB:1SG.S   1SG.PRN NEG   eat-HAB:1SG.S   salt
      'I don't have salt, I don't eat salt.'(AR-8MI-82)

In combination with some nouns, the interpretation of *i-* can differ somewhat. The interpretation is nevertheless always connected to possession:

(108) a i-jukkulë-ø   d i-sama-ø
         VBL-field-3   VBL-water-3
         'He makes a field.'   'He gets water.'

      b i-sibë-ø   e i-buybu-ø
         VBL-house-3   VBL-language-3
         'He builds a house.'   'He speaks'

      c i-tomte-ø   f i-luli-ø
         VBL-arrow-3   VBL-egg-3
         'He makes an arrow'   'It lays an egg.'

In the examples (108)a-c the verbalizer marks the creation of an entity which will ultimately be the possession of the maker, in (108)d the subject gets water that will be in his possession. The example in (108)e, finally, can be rephrased as 'he has language, he has the word'.

-jta 'smell'

The suffix *-jta* on a noun means that it smells like what is expressed in the noun:

(109) a dyarru-jta-m
         chicha-SML-2SG.S
         'You smell of chicha!'[FL-PC]

      b chajmu-jta-ø
         dog-SML-3
         'It smells of dog.' [FL-PC]

      c oytoto-jta-ø
         nice.fragrance-SML-3
         'It smells nice.' (AR-8MI-23)

-shku(ta) 'comparative adverb'

The suffix *-shku* on a noun, often followed by the middle marker *-tA,* derives an adverb from a noun, and can be translated as 'like X':

(110) a i-wishwi-ø   ushta   na   ishete   layshu-shku-ta
         VBL-tail-3   before   DEM   agouti   squirrel-ADV.CMP-MID
         'The agouti used to have a tail, like a squirrel.' (AR-8MI-44)

      b dyujare-shku-ta   ka-n-otto-ø=ya
         Yurakaré-ADV.CMP-MID   3SG-IO-go.out-3=NVR
         'He appeared to her as a Yurakaré.'   (AR-8MI-3)

The form *-shku* is probably decomposable into *-sh* and *-ku*. The element *-sh* is found on adjectives to form manner adverbs; *-ku* is harder to interpret, but it may be that it is the

ku- which denotes cooperative object third person (cf. section 5.2.2). The verb *ta* 'say', which is probably the source for the middle marker *-tA*, takes the cooperative object applicative form to mark addressees.

First and second person pronouns can take the adverbializer *-shku* as well as *-sh*, but if they do, they take an intervening morpheme *-wa*:

(111) a tuwa-**wa**-shku-ta   tuwa   ta-buybu=la   ma-n-dyërërë-jti
         1PL.PRN-WA-ADV.CMP-MID   1PL.PRN   1PL-language=INS   3PL-IO-converse-HAB
         'They spoke our language like us.' (AR-8MI-87)
     b më-**wa**-sh-i   sëë
         2SG.PRN-WA-ADV-VBL:1SG.S   1SG.PRN
         'I am like you.' [MH-7MA-7]

4.4.4 Subclassification

Apart from the subclassification of nouns proper on the basis of number and collective marking (cf. section 4.2), the class of nouns can be further subdivided into a number of subclasses. First, we can distinguish pronouns. There are three types of pronouns: demonstrative, personal and the question word *ama*.

Personal pronouns

There are four personal pronouns in Yurakaré:

(112) sëë   I
      mëë   you (sg)
      tuwa   we
      paa   you (pl)

There is no inclusive/exclusive distinction for first person plural. Third person pronouns are indicated by demonstrative pronouns, which will be discussed later in this section. Personal pronouns are distinguished from other nouns firstly on the basis of plural marking. They are the only nominal forms that have suppletive plural forms. Second, as mentioned in 4.4.4, personal pronouns behave differently when the adverbializer *-shku* is added, cf. example (111). Furthermore, they are restricted with respect to derivational morphology. The only derivational affixes that I have found on personal pronouns are limitative *-jti* and adverbializer *-shku(ta)*. Personal pronouns cannot be possessed either. Yurakaré is a pro-drop language, so personal pronouns can be left out. This will be discussed in section 8.1.

Demonstrative pronouns

Yurakaré has three basic demonstrative pronouns. They take normal plural marking and postpositional marking.

(113) ana 'this'
     ati 'that' (neutral)
     naa 'that' (distal)

Speakers are very liberal in their use of these three demonstratives. The proximate *ana* is generally used for referring to objects near the speaker, but its use may extend to entities further away, especially when the speaker points or gives some other gestural cue. *Naa* is used for reference to entities further away, especially when they are out of sight. *Ati* can be used for objects at different distances, especially objects that are closer to the hearer. In practice, however, the three demonstratives can often be used in roughly the same situation[26].

Like the personal pronouns, there are some features that distinguish demonstrative pronouns from other nominal forms. They cannot be possessed, nor can they take the verbalizer *i-*. The most productive affixes on nominally used demonstrative pronouns are limitative *-jti* and measural *-kka*.

The demonstrative pronouns *ana* and *ati* can be prefixed by *l-*, which confines the interpretation of the pronoun to the immediately preceding (anaphorical) or following (cataphorical) sentence topic or proposition in the discourse, excluding other, more distant referents:

(114) a l-ati   ka-n-dula-ø=ti (…)
       REF-DEM   3SG-IO-do;make-3=DS
       'when she had made him that (=arrows, preceding topic)' (AR-8MI-27)
    b l-ati   bëjta-ø=w=ja (…)
       REF-DEM   see-3=PL=SS
       'when they saw that (Tiri shooting birds)' (AR-8MI-32)

An example of the cataphorical use of *l-* is given below:

(115) l-ati=w   ma-pu-ø=ja   ma-ma-n-chiwa-ø=ya too=w
     REF-DEM=PL 3PL-take.PL-3=PL 3PL-3PL-IO-try-3=NVR bone=PL
     'When he had taken them$_i$, he tried the bones$_i$.' (AR-8MI-36)

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[26] This liberal use of the demonstratives in spatial deixis may be due to the fact that there are more factors determining which demonstrative is used, e.g. (non-)accessibility to the hearer, previously introduced participants; functions which play a clear role in discourse functions of the demonstratives. Further research is needed to establish this with any certainty.

The prefix *l-* also occurs with *ana* and the locative marker *=y* to form the deictic *lani* 'right here', which is usually more restricted than *ani* 'here':

(116) a   l-ani   mu-tütü-n-tu
        REF-DEM:LOC   3PL.CO-sit;be-INTL-1PL.S
        'Let's stay here, with them.'   (AR-8MI-61)
    b   oytoto-jta   ani
        nice.fragrance-SML   DEM:LOC
        'There is a nice fragrance around here.' (AR-8MI-23)

Demonstratives can also be prefixed by *bë-*, forming *bëti* and *bëna*. It marks special attention:

(117) a   bë-ti   ka-winani-tu=ti
        ATT-DEM   3SG-walk-1PL.S=DS
        'He was the one we went with.'   (AA-27MA-11)
    b   bë-na   ense-ma
        ATT-DEM   drink-IMP.SG
        'Look here: drink!' (offering a cup of alcohol)

Furthermore, a number of derivations apply only to demonstrative pronouns *ana* and *ati*:

Table 28   - Demonstrative pronouns ana and ati and their derivations

basic form	*verbal derivation*	*adverbial derivation*
ana	anama	anu(ta)
ati	achama	achu(ta)

The form *anama* means 'be/do like this' and the form *anu(ta)* means 'like this'; likewise, *achama* means 'be/do like that', *achu(ta)* means 'like that'. Although there are some formal idiosyncrasies (e.g. *ti* of *ati* changing into *cha* in *achama*, and the *u* in both *anu(ta)* and *achu(ta)*), the basic forms and there derivations still seem quite clearly related, especially since the derived forms can also be prefixed with *l-* and *bë-*.

   Demonstratives can be marked with local postpositions *=y* 'locative', *=chi* 'direction', *=jsha* 'ablative', and *=la* 'path/instrument'. Some of these combinations seem to be lexicalized:

(118) a   ani   here

          an=chi   to here, here

          ana=jsha   from here, here

          ana=la   via here, with this

     b   ati   here, there

          at=chi   on the other side, there, to the other side, to there

          ati=jsha   then, after that

          ati=la   because of that, via that, with that

     c   na=y   overthere

          na=chi   overthere, to overthere

          na=jsha   from overthere

          ?na=la   not encountered

In discourse, the uses of the demonstratives are somewhat different. The demonstrative *naa* seems to retain its purely deictic function, but *ati* has a discourse deictic function, referring to preceding or following discourse stretches or participants, as can be seen in (114) and (115) above. The pronoun *ana* can have several functions within a narrative:

(119) a   latijsha   ma-dula-jti-ø=w   **ana**   isopo   (recognitional)

          then   3PL-do;make-3=PL   DEM   chuchio.wood

          'Then they make **this** chuchio-torch.' (AY-3NC-6)

     b   achu-ta   imbëtë-ø=w=ya   shinama (…) **ana**=w   (anaphoric)

          like.that-MID   behave-3=PL=NVR   before   DEM=PL

          ta-ppë-shama=w   ma-bonto=w

          1PL-grandfather-PST=PL   3PL-son=PL

          'That is what **they**, the sons of our ancestors did before.' (AY-2NC-5)

     c   tëtë-pshë=ja   mi-m-bobo-jti-ø   **ana**   itta   siribinñu   (deictic)

          what-entity=EMPH   2SG-IO-hit;kill-HAB-3   DEM   thing   bird:PL

          'What thing killed **these** birds for you?'   (FA-6MA-7)

In (119)a, *isopo* is mentioned for the first time. This may be an instance of recognitional use (cf. Himmelmann 1996:230-239, Diessel 1999:105-109), where the speaker activates specific shared knowledge. An important characteristic of recognitionally used demonstratives is that they can identify not previously introduced participants. The speaker here apparently assumes that the hearer knows what *isopo* is. *Ana* can also be used to mark topical discourse referents in some circumstances. In (119)b, *tappëshamaw* has been the topic of the previous discourse, here it is used anaphorically. The difference with discourse-deictic *ati* is not entirely clear; it seems that *ana* is often used when making a general concluding remark about some participant. In (119)c, finally, *ana* simply has its spatial deictic use, referring to an element in the deictic space of the situation within the narrative.

Initial topics that persist over time can be marked in three ways. Either they do not get any marking (120)a, or they are marked with *ati* (120)b, or they are marked with *lëtta* 'one' (120)c:

(120) a achu   imbëtë-ø=w   ta-ppë-shama=w
       like.this   behave-3=PL   1PL-grandfather-PST=PL
       'This is what our grandfathers did.' (OR-20MA-1)
    b inele elli   yupa-ø=ya   ati pëpë-shama
       inside earth:LOC   go.in.SG-3=NVR   DEM grandfather-PST
       a-ye=tina
       3SG.P-woman;sister=COM
       'This grandfather entered the ground with his sister.' (AR-2NC-1)
    c latijsha tütü-ø=ya   lëtta shunñe
       then   sit;be-3=NVR   one   man
       'Then there was a man.' (AY-2NC-2)

In (120)b, the use of *ati* is like English *this* in 'there was this guy who…' when a topic is introduced. The example in (120)c is an existential construction meant to introduce a new topic, which is the topic for the remainder of the narrative.

As mentioned in 3.2.5 above, there are two short demonstrative forms *na* and *an*. *An* has the same functions as *ana*, and seems to be no more than its short form:

(121) a **an** ta-buy   tiri ta-ma-n-dula-ø=ti   (recognitional)
         DEM 1PL-chief   Tiri 1PL-3PL-IO-do;make-3=DS
         'When this chief of ours Tiri had made them for us…' (OR-20MA-3)
    b   **an** noe=ja   nijta-ta-ø   nijta-shta-ø=ya latiji   (anaphoric)
         DEM Noah=EMPH   NEG-POT-3   NEG-FUT-3=NVR   subsequently
         ta-chata   tuwa=se
         1PL-food   1PL.PRN=SE
         'If it had not been for this Noah, we would not have had our food.' (OR-20MA-3)
    c   **an** püü=la   mala-cha-m   (deictic)
         DEM   road=INS   go.SG-JUS-2SG.S
         'You must go through this road.' (FA-6MA-5)

In (121)a, *tabuy tiri* has not yet been introduced, but he is a key character in almost every mythological Yurakaré narrative so that the speaker can refer to him with *an* as a recognitionally motivated demonstrative. In (121)b, Noah has been the topic of disourse throughout the story. At the end of the story the narrator makes some general remarks, among which this one: 'If it had not been for this Noah [that we have been talking about all along], we would not have our food. ' In (121)c, finally, *an* is used in a spatial deictic function, referring to a road in the vicinity of the characters; the road had not been introduced before this point.

The form *na* is used to mark highly topical or accessible, unstressed NPs; it can mostly be translated with English *the*:

(122) a tiya-ø=w=ya   latiji   puydara=w   puydara   ana   samu
          eat-3=PL=NVR subsequently Puydara=PL   Puydara DEM jaguar
          'Then the Puydaras ate her. The puydara is this jaguar.' (AR-8MI-13)

     b nijta-jti-ø   ati   nish   ana-pshë   na   puydara   atta   samu
          NEG-HAB-3   DEM NEG   DEM-entity DEM   Puydara   other   jaguar
          'No! that is not like this one, the puydara is another jaguar.' (AR-8MI-14)

Here the speaker introduces the Puydaras, which are ancestors of the present-day jaguar. He first says that the Puydaras are jaguars, then he says that those (discourse deictic *ati*) Puydaras are not like these (*ana-pshë*, exophorically used), the (*na* established referent) Puydaras are other jaguars.

The question word *ama*

There are three basic question words in Yurakaré: *ama* 'which, what, who', *ëshë* 'why' and *tëtë* 'what'. Of these three only *ama* is nominal; *tëtë* is adjectival and *ëshë* is adverbial.

The question word *ama* can combine with a number of markers to form new question words:

(123) ama   'which, what, who'
       ama=ti   'where'
       am=chi   'whereto'
       ama=jsha   'from where'
       am-ti   'how much/many'
       ama=la   'with what, using which way, why'
       ama-sh(ku) 'how'

Day (1980) mentions a further nominal question marker *aa* 'who':

(124) aa   a-pojore   ati
      who   3SG.P-canoe DEM
      'Whose canoe is that?' [DAY-1980-1]

This marker is not used very often in the areas that I worked in at the time of my fieldwork. Instead, *ama* is used to express 'who':

(125) a   ama=ja   a-sëwwë-ø
         WH=EMPH   INC-scream-3
         'Who is screaming?' [MH-7MA-5]
     b   ama=w   ma-bëjta-ø geronimo
         WH=PL   3PL-see-3 Geronimo
         'Who (pl) did Geronimo see?'   [GS-3MI-19]

I did, however, find one example of *aa*:

(126) aa   a-bajsu
      who   3SG.P-cup
      'Whose cup is that?' (FL-27MA-12)

4.5 Adjectives

There are two types of adjectives in Yurakaré: qualifying and quantifying (numerals and quantifiers).

4.5.1 Qualifying adjectives

Qualifying adjectives can occur in attributive position, but are mostly used as predicates, relatively loose from the noun they modify. Adjectives are found in minimally the following semantic domains (cf. Dixon's 1977 seven universal categories):

Table 29   - The seven universal adjective categories in Yurakaré

semantic field	examples
dimension	matata 'big', ñuñujulë 'small'
physical property	sëpisë 'hard', tarattara 'dirty'
color	sëjsëshi 'blue', tëbëttëbë 'red'
human propensity	meyeye 'naughty', ayra 'lazy'
age	oshpe 'young, new', pëpë 'old'
value	ënnëtë 'bad' shudyulë 'beautiful'
speed	adyajta 'fast', kamishë 'slow'

The category of qualifying adjectives is not very well defined in Yurakaré. Probably a separate category, or the expansion of this category, was a relatively recent innovation in the language, possibly under the influence of Spanish. An argument for this is that many adjectives are, or seem to be, derived. This has been discussed in section 3.2.3 above.

Proper adjectives (attributively used adjectives) hardly receive any morphological marking. The collective and distributive markers mentioned above are found on adjectives (but also on quantifying modifiers). Apart from these markers, adjectives can be marked by the diminutive *-nñu* (partially discussed in section 4.4.2 above), the amplifier *-lë* (partially discussed in 4.4.3 above) and the intensifier prefix (also found on verbs), which is a partial reduplication followed by the sound /j/.

-nñu: diminutive, affection

The suffix *-nñu* is, next to nouns (cf. 4.4.2) also found on some adjectives (and verbs, cf. 6.4.1). To stress the small size of something, the adjective *ñuñuju(-lë)* can be marked with the diminutive marker. Other adjectives, such as *shudyulë* 'beautiful' can also take the diminutive marker:

(127) a   ñuñujulë-**nñu**-ø   ta-ëtëjñu

        small-DIM-3   1PL-son

        'Our son is very small' [FL-2MA-16]

    b   todito anu   shuyulë-**nñu**-ø   (…)   a-alparatu-nñu

        all   like.this   beautiful-DIM-3   3SG-adornment-DIM:PL

        'All its little adornments were beautiful.' (OR-20MA-9)

The diminutive marker *-nñu* can also mean endearment; the speaker is moved by what is happening:

(128) shuyu-**nñu**-sh   a-pumi-ø

      beautiful-DIM-ADV   INC-blow-3

      'He is whistling beautifully.' (AY-3NC-32)

-lë amplification

The suffix *-lë* on an adjective amplifies its meaning:

(129) a   ana-ja-**lë**

        DEM-MEA-AMP

        'very small'

    b   latijsha idojo-**lë**   mashi-ø

        then   surpass-AMP   rain-3

        'Then it rained very much.' (AR-8MI-82)

    c   së-ja   pëpë-**li**   më=jsha

        1SG.PRN=EMPH   old-AMP:1SG.S   2SG.PRN=ABL

        'I am older than you.' [FL-3MA-7]

In (129)a, the marker *-lë* is found on a derived pronominal measure adjective. This combination is somewhat lexicalized, since it always means 'very small', in spite of the fact that *ana-kka*[27] is neutral with regard to big or small. In (129)b, the verb/adverb *idojo*, which in this context is a grammaticalized marker of augmentation, is marked with *-lë* to amplify its meaning. In (129)c, finally, *-lë* is used in a comparative construction. It is not obligatory here, so it is not a case of comparative marking; it simply amplifies the meaning of *pëpë* 'old'. The fact that this is a comparative is marked by the ablative postposition *=jsha*.

The amplification marker is also found on (pro)nouns and verbs:

(130) eskwela l-ana-**lë**=y   dula-shti   ti-sibë
      school   REF-DEM-AMP=LOC   do;make-FUT:1SG.S   1SG-house
      'I am going to build my house near the school.'   [MH-24MA-6]

In (130), the pronoun *ana* carries the marker *-lë* as well as the referential prefix *l-*. This combination of morphemes is lexicalized and means 'close by'.

intensifier reduplicative prefix

The meaning of a verb or adjective can be stressed or intensified by partially reduplicating the stem, followed by *-j-*:

(131) a   maj~matata
            INTS~big
            'really big'
       b   shuj~shuyulë
            INTS~beautiful
            'really beautiful'
       c   maj~mala-ø
            INTS~go.SG-3
            'He walked really far.'

adverbializer -sh

An adjective can be made into an adverb by means of the suffix *-sh*:

(132) nish   sëmë~sëmë-sh   winani-tijti
      NEG   bald~bald-ADV   walk-HAB.1PL.S
      'We did not walk around naked.' (AR-8MI-80)

These derived manner adverbs always directly precede the predicate they modify.

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[27] The geminate [k:] of the suffix *-kka* changes to [h], spelled *j*, when followed by *-lë*.

Adjective phrase or verb phrase?

There is a construction that can be viewed as a syntactic compound of an adjective and the verb *mala/bali* 'to go sg/pl':

(133) a matata mala-ø
         big   go.SG-3
         'He is fat'
     b shudyu   bali-ø=w
         beautiful go.PL-3=PL
         'They are beautiful.'

The question is whether we are dealing with an adjectival phrase or a verb phrase. It is in fact a hybrid construction:

(134) a matata ka-mal-ima   ëshshë
         big   3SG-go.SG-COL stone
         'a big stone'
     b matata ka-bal-ima   ëshshë
         big   3SG-go.PL-COL   stone
         'big stones'

The marker *-ima* appears on modifying elements only (see 3.3.2 and 4.2 above). The fact that collective *-ima* appears on the verb here indicates that we are dealing with a modifier phrase [*matata ka-mala*]*-ima*. On the other hand, the verb shows suppletion for number, which is associated with predication. Semantically, it is not clear what the use of *mala/bali* adds.

4.5.2 *Quantifying adjectives*

Most quantifying adjectives (*bëmë* 'much, many', *ñunti* 'little, few', *nish amti* 'not much, many' *peshe* 'some; foreign'), as well as numerals, behave in the same way as adjectives, taking the same morphology (cf. section 3.3.2). They do not constitute a separate class, but they are a subclass of adjectives. I will first consider quantifiers, then I will continue to discuss numerals.

(135) a bëm-ima   palanta=w
   much;many-COL banana=PL
   'many bunches of bananas'
  b ñunti-nñu-ø   ti-awaryente
   little;few-DIM-3   1SG-alcohol
   'I have only a tiny bit of alcohol.'
  c ñunti-lë-ø   ti-awaryente
   little;few-AMP-3   1SG-alcohol
   'I have only a tiny bit of alcohol.'
  d bëj~bëmë-ø   ti-awaryente
   INTS~much;many-3   1SG-alcohol
   'I have MUCH alcohol.'

There is also a quantifier *mumuy*/*mumay* which means 'all'. This quantifier behaves as a noun, and it is obligatorily possessed:

(136) a a-mumuy
   3SG.P-all
   'all of it.'
  b ta-mmuy
   1PL-all
   'all of us'
  c pa-mmuy
   2PL-all
   'all of you'
  d ma-mmuy
   3PL-all
   'all of them'

When prefixed by the heavy plural possessive prefixes (cf. section 2.4.2), the stress shifts to those prefixes and the first vowel of *mumuy* is elided. Another element that functions in this way is *machijsha* 'self', which is also obligatorily possessed:

(137) a ti-manchijsha
   1SG-self
   'myself'
  b a-manchijsha
   3SG.P-self
   'himself'

The same elements (i.e. *llipi* 'all; each' and *kiki* 'self') are mentioned by Muysken (1994:191) for Quechua as quantifiers that are obligatorily inflected.[28]

Yurakaré has four indigenous numerals: *lëtta* 'one', *lëshie* 'two', *liwi* 'three' and *lëpsha* 'four'. The rest of the numerals are borrowed from Spanish. These four numerals have always stood apart in the more elaborate numbering system. LaCueva (1893:7) gives the following list of numerals:[29]

> Los numerales son: 1 lecta; 2 lasie; 3 livi; 4 lapsa; 5 cheti; 6 chicheti; 7 livi tese; 8 lasie tese; 9 lecta tese; 10 tibanti; 11 lecta-n-dojo; 20 lasie tibanti, lasie-juta tibanti, lasie sata; 100 tibanti sata, ca-sata, tibanti-ve. Regularmente señalan la cuenta con los dedos.[30]

Apart from the numerals 1-4, one could also say that *cheti* is also a basic numeral, and it seems that this was the last numeral to have been lost, judging from the data in Day (1991). She indicates that numerals six and upward are only encountered in the more remote national park Isiboro-Sécure, while *cheti* is still found in her fieldwork sites. Day (1991) also shows some differences with LaCueva in the higher numerals:

(138) numerals 6 and further (Day 1991)

chichiti	6
chichiti lëtta; lëtta tësë	7
chichiti lëshie; lëshie tësë	8
chichiti liwi; liwi tësë	9
tibanti	10
tibantija chetindojo	50

These differences between Day's (1991) and La Cueva's (1893) data suggest that numerals, at least from 7 upward, were not grammaticalized. The element *ti* is an enclitic or suffix, nowadays found on the Spanish numerals, meaning something like 'quantity' (e.g. also on the question word *am-ti* 'how much, many'). *Tibanti* can be interpreted *ti-banna-ti*, 'the quantity of my hand(s)'. *Tësë* is a verb meaning 'to stand'. If we then look at the numerals of La Cueva, we might expect that counting was done by leaving out fingers and then indicating how many fingers of the second hand were left standing: with seven there are three fingers left standing, with eight there are two and with nine only one. Eleven (*lecta-n-dojo*) can also be explained more or less: *idojo* means to surpass, *ti-n-dojo* means to pass me by, *lëtta-n-dojo* then could have meant 'to pass one by, or surpass with one'. The meaning of *lasie tibanti* for twenty is clear, *lassie-juta*

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[28] Muysken (1994:191) also mentions *sapa* 'alone'. In Yurakaré, *dala* 'alone' also has deviant behavior in that it takes indirect objects.

[29] In La Cueva's orthography, *c* refers to /k/, *b* and *v* both refer to /b/ and no distinction is made between /s/ and /ʃ/ or between /a/ and /æ/.

[30] They regularly signal the counting with their fingers [my translation].

tibanti means 'two times my hands' (the suffix *-juta* is still used to form numeral adverbs from cardinal numerals) and *sata* in *lassie sata* means 'to be finished or terminated'. *Ca-sata* for 100 means 'to be finished with it'; the *-ve* suffix is the same as the collective plural marker *-ybe* discussed below.

The counting in the more recent data from Day (1991) is done in a somewhat different way: not by leaving out fingers, but by adding fingers, where apparently one of the fingers (possibly the thumb or the little finger) does not count, so *lëtta tësë* (one is standing) for seven, actually means that two are standing, plus the other hand, and so on for 8 and 9. *Tibantija chetindojo* cannot be interpreted otherwise than 'five times my hand'.

Numerals can undergo several morphological operations. The most common is the addition of the suffix combination *-ju-ta* 'frequency' and 'middle voice':

(139) a lëshie-ju-ta
        two-FRQ-MID
        'twice'
      b siete-ti-ju-ta
        seven-QN-FRQ-MID
        'seven times'

This use of the numerals can be made personal (data from Day 1980-28):

(140) a ti-n-lëttu-ju
        1SG-IO-one-FRQ
        'once for me'
      b ti-n-nishi-ju
        1SG-IO-two-FRQ
        'twice for me'
      c ti-n-niwi-ju
        1SG-IO-three-FRQ
        'three times for me'
      d ti-n-napshu-ju
        1SG-IO-four-FRQ
        'four times for me'

In a phrase:

(141) ta-n-lëttu-ju   bali-tu   uwal-chi
      1PL-IO-one-FRQ   go.PL-1PL.S   cochabamba=DIR
      'We went once to Cochabamba.' (DAY1980-28)

My scarce data on this subject are a little different from Day's examples:

(142) a   ti-n-lëshie=w=ju
          1SG-IO-two=PL=FRQ
          'I do it twice.'[MH-25MA-9]
     b   ti-n-lëpshu-j-ta
          1SG-IO-four:PL-FRQ-MID
          'I do it four times.' [MH-25MA-9]

In (142), the numerals are made plural, and occur with the element /l/. Example (142)b, moreover, contains both the indirect object prefix and the middle marker. The translation is 'to do something X times'.

Numerals can also be prefixed with the passive comitative applicative. In this way adverbs of time are formed (data from Day 1980-28):

(143) ti-lëtta   'one day for me/it takes me one day'
     ka-shie   'two days for me/it takes me two days'

Many of these features seem to have been lost, at least in the areas that I have worked in, since the consultants I worked with do not accept the forms in (140)-(143). Interestingly, in constructions like the ones in (140) and (143), numerals 2-4 lose their initial *l*-. It is therefore very probably that this *l*- used to be a prefix, possibly related to delimitative *li*-.[31]

The marker -*(j)cha* on numerals and quantifiers indicates that the number refers to the complete collection:

(144) a   lëshie-p=cha   pa-dayu=ya   pa-bati
          two-2PL.S=TOT   2PL-carry.on.back=NVR   2PL-leave:1SG.S
          'I will carry the both of you on my back and take you with me.' (AY-3NC-7)
     b   ma-mmuy-cha   vivu   a-wëshi=w
          3PL-all-TOT   alive:3PL   3SG.P-son.in.law=PL
          'All of his sons-in-law were alive.' (OR-19MA-30)

The question word tëtë

The question word *tëtë* 'what, which' is adjectival in nature. It is usually found compounded with the form -*pshë*, which is short for *bëshëë*. The noun *bëshëë* can be used independently, in which case it most often means 'clothes', 'animals', 'stuff'. *Bëshëë* compounded with other words means 'the one who (is) X':

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[31] It is also possible that the same element is present in *lëmmuy* 'only, just; in vain'. The second part is probably the same as *mumuy*/*mumay* 'all'.

(145) a matata-pshë
    big-entity
    'the big one'
 b shuñeñe-pshë
    grow.CAU-entitiy
    'parent, the one who raises'

The combination *tëtë-pshë* (lit. 'what thing') seems to be a rather fixed combination, which is also often fused to *tëpshë* or even *tëp*:

(146) tëp dula-m aysa
    what do;make-2SG.S Aysa
    'What are you doing Aysa?' (OR-19MA-9)

Tëtë without *-pshë* occurs in situation where a specific type of entity is questioned:

(147) tëtë petche müta-p=chi
    what fish take.out-2PL=IGN
    'What kind of fish did you catch?' (AY-3NC-7002)

5.   Verbal agreement, voice and valency

Grammatical relations in Yurakaré are mainly marked through verbal cross-referencing. Word order does not play a role in identifying grammatical relations, and dependent marking (postpositions - cf. section 4.3) is used mainly to mark peripheral participants. Subjects and objects are marked on the verb; subjects are suffixes and objects are prefixes. In addition to this, Yurakaré has an elaborate system of applicatives, as well as a middle marker and a causative construction to modify the valency of a verb. In this chapter I will discuss transitivity, valency and the encoding of subjects and direct objects on the verb (5.1), applicatives (5.2), and voice (5.3).

5.1 Person marking, valency and transitivity

Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000:3) make a distinction between valency and transitivity: "There are two main transitivity types - intransitive (with core argument S) and intransitive (with A and O) - and plain and extended subtypes of each (depending on whether or not E [extension to core - RvG] is also in the core". Schematically, this can be represented as follows:

(a) intransitive	S		
(b) extended intransitive	S		E
(c) transitive	A	O	
(d) extended transitive	A	O	E

Valency, in this view, relates to the number of core arguments, i.e. one in (a), two in (b), two in (c) and three in (d). I will follow Dixon & Aikhenvald in making the distinction between valency and transitivity, since it is a useful one for describing the Yurakaré system.

   In Yurakaré, the distinction between valency and transitivity is directly reflected in the formal behavior of the verb. Subjects and direct objects are obligatorily cross-referenced on the verb; intransitive verbs do not have object markers, whereas transitive verbs do. Any extension of transitivity is formally marked, e.g. by means of applicative or causative markers, even if the extended argument belongs to the semantic argument structure of a verb.

   As mentioned, the two basic arguments, subject and direct object are both cross-referenced on the verb, subjects are cross-referenced by suffixes, objects by prefixes. The paradigms look as follows:

Table 30   - Person marking paradigms

gloss	object	root	subject
1sg	ti-	x	-y
2sg	mi-	x	-m
3sg	Ø/ka-	x	-ø
1pl	ta-	x	-tu
2pl	pa-	x	-p
3pl	ma-	x	-ø=w

There is no distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive, nor is there a gender distinction[1]. As for the two zero elements in the paradigm, I do not consider the zero element in the object paradigm to be actually present; it is simply a gap in the paradigm triggering a default interpretation of third person singular, the typical interpretation for a zero element cross-linguistically (Siewierska 2004: 24). The zero element in the third person singular and plural subject is a different matter. The nominal plural marker is =*w* (cf. section 4.2). I assume that this plural enclitic needs a nominal element to have scope over. Viewing the subject paradigm as such furthermore has the advantage that it shows that the bound subject affixes follow the same pattern as the free pronouns:

Table 31   - Comparison of free pronouns and subject markers

	free pronouns	*bound subject markers*
1sg	sëë	-y
2sg	mëë	-m
3sg	l-ati	-ø
1pl	tuwa	-tu
2pl	paa	-p
3pl	l-ati=w	-ø=w

Judging from the forms of some of the markers in comparison to the free pronouns (e.g. *mëë* vs. *-m*, tuwa vs. *-tu*, *paa* vs. *-p*) the subject paradigm and the free pronouns are related. The free pronoun paradigm, which consists of four personal pronouns – for third person reference demonstrative pronouns are used – shows suppletive forms for singular and plural first and second person pronouns, whereas the demonstratives referring to third persons are marked for plural in a regular way, by means of the enclitic =*w*. This same distinction between first and second persons on the one hand and third on the other is observed in the subject marking paradigm.

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[1] We might see the opposition between Ø and *ka-* in the third person object paradigm as reflecting gender, that is if we define gender broadly as a form of classification of nominals, shown by agreement (cf. Corbett 1991). Too little is known about the nominal classification system in Yurakaré, however to make any definite statements (cf. section 4.2).

There is no difference in subject marking between intransitive and transitive verb stems. The main difference between intransitive and transitive roots is that, in the unmarked case, the former simply lack the object paradigm.

(1)   a   dele-m
          fall.SG-2SG.S
          'You fall.'
      b   ti-bobo-m
          1SG-hit;kill-2SG.S
          'You hit me.'

If a transitive verb lacks object markers, the interpretation is that there is a third person singular object:

(2)   bobo-m
      hit;kill-2SG.S
      'You hit him.'

There are, however, instances such as the following:

(3)   a   mala-m
          go.SG-2SG.S
          'You (sg) go.'
      b   ti-mala-m
          1SG-go.SG-2SG.S
          'You take me.'
      c   ka-mala-ø   (a-nñu)
          3SG-go.SG-3   (3SG.P-baby)
          'She took it (her baby).' (AR-8MI-25)

The root *mala* 'go' is intransitive, but seems to behave as a labile verb which might be used intransitively, as in (3)a, or transitively, as in (3)b and c. However, I consider the constructions in (3)b and c to be extended intransitives, and the marker *ka-* in these constructions as an applied object, marking third person singular comitative, to be discussed in more detail in 5.2.1. Extended intransitives of this type can be contrasted with 'real' transitives on two accounts.

First, with transitive roots, the unmarked case is that there is no overt marking of the third person singular direct object on the verb, but there is an alternative overt marker *ka-*. This marker appears on an inherently transitive verb root in limited circumstances, depending on the type of noun it refers to.

Table 32   *- Direct object marking on inherently transitive verbs and noun types*

noun type	3sg direct object	3pl direct object
class I nouns	ø	ma-
class II nouns	ma-	ø/ma-
class III nouns	ø/ka-	ø/ka-
class IV nouns	ka-	ka-

In section 4.2 above, I have characterized class I nouns as the default type: nouns that have a marked opposition singular versus plural; class II nouns are inherently plural and inherently collective; class III nouns are inherently singular; class IV nouns, finally, are inherently singular and inherently collective.

As can be observed in Table 32, the marker *ka-* as an indicator of third person singular direct objects only occurs with class III nouns in some cases and with class IV nouns in all cases. In constructions such as in (3), *ka-* is used as a cross-reference marker for all third persons singular, no matter what nominal class. In Table 33, an overview is given of the paradigms of the direct object and the comitative object with regard to class I nouns:

Table 33   *- Comparing inherently transitive with extended transitive*

bobo	hit, kill	mala	go
ti-bobo-ø	he hits me	ti-mala-ø	he brings me
mi-bobo-ø	he hits you	mi-mala-ø	he brings you
bobo-ø	he hits him	**ka-mala-ø**	he brings him
ta-bobo-ø	he hits us	ta-mala-ø	he brings us
pa-bobo-ø	he hits you (pl)	pa-mala-ø	he brings you (pl)
ma-bobo-ø	he hits them	ma-mala-ø	he brings them

A second difference between transitive roots and extended intransitives of the type exemplified in (3)b and c, is related to verbal number (cf. section 6.2.2). A handful of verbs in Yurakaré vary in their form according to the number of participants taking part in the event. This system of participant-based verbal number is organized according to an ergative pattern: intransitive verbs change form according to the number of the S argument, transitive verbs change according to the number of the O argument, a pattern universally attested in languages that have such a system of participant based verbal number (cf. Corbett 2000: 253):

(4)   a   mala-y   b   bali-ø=w
            go.SG-1SG.S   go.PL-3**=PL**
            'I go.'   'They go.'

       c   chitta-ø=w   d   ma-jokko-y
            throw.away.SG-3=PL   3PL-throw.away.PL-1SG.S
            'They threw it away.'   'I threw them away.'

The verb roots *mala* (for singular) and *bali* (for plural) change according to the number of the subject participant, cf. (4)a and b; *chitta* and *kokko*[2] in (4)c and d, change according to the number of the direct object participant. With an extended intransitive like ka-mala-ø, the number of object participants has no consequences for the form of the verb: it still changes according to the number of the subject participant. In other words: the ergative pattern of verbal plural marking is sensitive only to the transitivity value of the root.

(5)   a   ma-mala-ø
          3PL-go.SG-3SG
          '**He** takes **them** with him.'
      b   ka-bali-ø=w
          3SG-go.SG-3=PL
          'They take it with them.'

In these two respects (i.e. consistant overt marking of third person singular direct object and no influence on participant based verbal number) the comitative object construction patterns with other, more clearly marked applicative constructions.

There is another construction worth mentioning in the context of the discussion on transitivity and valency in Yurakaré:

(6)   a   latijsha   **ka-posojto-ø=ya**   a-tulujta
          then   3SG-explode-3=NVR   3SG.P-brain
          'Then her brain exploded.' (AR-8MI-52)
      b   ti-tenche=w   **ma-dele-ø=w**
          1SG-necklace=PL   3PL-fall.SG-3=PL
          'My necklace fell.' [FP-13MA-13]

In these constructions, the verb is still semantically intransitive, but formally, two participants are marked: the zero element for subject and *ka-* for object in (6)a[3], and the third person plural prefix *ma-* for object and the markers *-ø* and *=w* together for third person plural subject. *Tulujta* 'brain' is a class III noun, *tenchew* 'necklace' a class II noun. It seems that the verbs in (6) agree twice with the S-participant. There is some evidence, however, that the object agreement only refers to the number of the participants, and not to the person:

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[2] The form *jokko* is a surface variant of *kokko*: /k/ changes into [h], spelled *j* after a vowel, cf. section 2.3.2.

[3] The form marked with *ka-* is not found with class I nouns.

(7) a ma-daja-tu   tuwa
        3PL-hang-1PL.S   1PL.PRN
        'We are hanging together.' [AA-PC]
     b ta-n-dala   ma-ssë-tu   ani
        1PL-IO-alone   3PL-stand-1PL.S   DEM:LOC
        'We stand here alone.' (AY-2NC-5)

Here we see a first person plural S participant, marked as such in subject position, but the object marker matches only in number, not in person.

The meaning of this construction, which is found with intransitive verbs indicating some state or change of state, is not entirely transparent, but in most cases it seems to stress the fact that we are dealing with a coherent collective or bounded piece of mass that is affected in some way. In relation to this, it is mostly found when S participants are of class II or IV, which are inherently collective nouns.

5.2 Extending basic valency: applicatives

Having established the basic opposition between transitive and intransitive and its formal corrollaries, we can now go on to discuss modifications of these basic values. In this section I will discuss valency-increasing by means of applicative constructions. According to Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000:6) an applicative prototypically applies to an intransitive verb root, deriving a transitive verb. In this sense most applicatives in Yurakaré are not prototypical: three of the five types can apply to both intransitive and transitive roots. I will still call all of the constructions discussed in this section applicatives, since they add an O argument to the verbal core, normally without rearranging the original organization of arguments.

Yurakaré has five different applicatives that differ in the meaning they add to the verb stem. Applied objects are cross-referenced by one of the prefixes of the paradigm given in (8).

(8) ti-   1SG
     mi-   2SG
     ka-   3SG
     ta-   1SG
     pa-   2SG
     ma-   3SG

This paradigm is identical to the direct object paradigm for transitive roots, given in Table 30, with the exception of the third person singular object, a fact which has been discussed in the previous paragraph. It is questionable whether we should speak of two different paradigms. They seem to be too much alike to be considered separate.

The applicative derivations themselves are marked by some overt marking in addition to the paradigm in (8) in all but one type of applicatives. In Table 34 I show the types of applicatives, their formal marking, the kind of roots they apply to, and the section where I discuss the type.

Table 34   - Overview of applicatives

meaning	marker	applies to	section
comitative object	ø	intransitives	5.2.1
cooperative object	vowel change	intransitives, transitives	5.2.2
indirect object	-n-	intransitives, transitives	5.2.3
affected object	-la-	intransitives, transitives	5.2.4
purposive object	-y-	intransitives	5.2.5

5.2.1 Comitative object

The comitative applicative is the only applicative in Yurakaré without an overt applicative marker. It is formed simply by adding a marker from the paradigm in (8) to an intransitive stem. They can be applied best to intransitive stems that express some event in which there is a change of state or location of the subject participant. The comitative object then marks participants that passively undergo this same change. To give an idea of the effect of this applicative construction, consider the following pairs:

(9) mala   'he goes'   ka-mala   'he brings, takes it'
     abayla   'he is dancing'   ka-bayla   'he picks her to dance with'
     ayajta   'he jumps'   ka-yajta   'he jumps holding something (e.g. a child)'
     bata   'he leaves'   ka-bata   'he leaves with it'
     chittu   'he crosses'   ka-chittu   'he (or the canoe) crosses him'
     danda   'he ascends'   ka-danda   'he ascends with something (e.g. his load)'
     dele   'he falls'   ka-dele   'he falls with someone/something (e.g. child)'
     urupta   'he is covered'   ka-urupta   'he is covered with someone'
     wilita   'he returns'   ka-wilita   'he brings something back'
     winani   'he walks'   ka-winani   'he takes something along'
     wita   'he arrives'   ka-wita   'he arrives with something'
     yupa   'he enters'   ka-yupa   'he enters with someone'

There is a causative element in the meaning of this applicative construction. The meaning of this comitative object cannot be equaled to a normal direct object, however. This can be seen in the following examples:

(10) a yupa-ø   inel=chi   choponi
         go.in.SG-3   inside=DIR   pigeon
         'The pigeon entered [the boat].'(OR-20MA-1)

      b yupa~pa-ø   a-nñu   a-sip=chi
         go.in.SG~CAU-3   3SG.P-baby   3SG.P-house=DIR
         'He put his baby in the house.'   [FP-15MA-3]

      c ka-yupa-ø   a-nñu   a-tupta=y
         3SG-go.in.SG-3   3SG.P-baby   3SG.P-mosquito.net=LOC
         'He goes into the house with his child.'[FP-15MA-3]

The interpretations of (10)a and c are the same in the sense that they both indicate that there is a change in location of the subject; the difference between (10)a and c is, that in the latter, there is a second participant undergoing the change of location. In (10)b, on the other hand, there need not be a change of location of the subject; the change may be limited entirely to the direct object. For a discussion of causatives in Yurakaré, cf. section 5.3.2 below.

Not all verb roots can take this applicative. Only intransitive roots, preferably with an agentive subject that acts in such a way that his/her state or location is changed.

5.2.2 Cooperative object

The cooperative object (CO) can be contrasted with the comitative object. It also has a comitative meaning, the difference is that the cooperative object is in most cases a conscious and responsible participant, almost always human.

The cooperative object applicative construction is marked by changing the vowel of the cross-referencing prefixes. The paradigm of the cooperative object looks as follows:

(11) të-   1SG
      më-   2SG
      ku-   3SG
      tu-   1PL
      pu-   2PL
      mu-   3PL

This paradigm is essentially the same as the paradigm in (8), except for the fact that the vowels are different. The vowels /i/ and /a/ in (8) correspond to /æ/ (spelled *ë*) and /u/ in (11), respectively. Although the correspondences are regular, there does not seem to be a phonological rule responsible for this. It is hard to imagine a single phonological rule deriving /æ/ from /i/ when that rule at the same time derives /u/ from /a/.

Examples of the prototypical use of this cooperative object applicative are the following:

(12) abëssë-ø   'he is playing'   ku-bëssë-ø   'he is playing with him'
      abayla-ø   'he is dancing'   ku-bayla-ø   'he is dancing with her'
      mala-ø   'he goes'   ku-mala-ø   'he follows him, goes with him'
      dula-ø   'he makes it'   ku-dula-ø   'he helps him make it'
      anënë-ø   'he is cooking'   ku-nënë-ø   'he helps him cooking'

Normally, in these constructions the subject and the cooperative object participants are equally responsible for the event expressed by the predicate. They have the same semantic relation to the predicate. An alternative way of representing such a situation is of course by means of a plural subject:

(13) a   abëssë-ø=w
          play-3=PL
          'They are playing.'
      b   ku-bëssë-ø⁴
          3SG.CO-play-3
          'He is playing with him.' [HC-22MA-6]

The difference between example (13)a and b is that in (13)b, the cooperative object is lower in topicality relative to the subject, the state of affairs is presented from the viewpoint of the subject, not of the cooperative object. The subject participants in (13)a are equally topical, the state of affairs is presented from the viewpoint of both or all of the subject participants.

Not all predicates can take this applicative construction. The best candidates for this applicative derivation are verb roots denoting activities, defined by Van Valin & LaPolla (1997:93) as being [-static][-telic][-punctual]. This can be illustrated by showing the (un)grammaticality of some causative constructions:

(14) a   * ku-bëjche-ø
            3SG.CO-see.CAU-3
            'He showed it to him with him (?).'
      b   * ku-danche-ø
            3SG.CO-go.up.CAU-3
            'He sent him up with him.'

The ungrammaticality of the examples in (14) is determined by the lexical semantics of the predicate of effect. Apparently, the cooperative object should be interpreted as coordinate with the causee, not the causer, a fact which will become clearer when discussing example (15) below. The predicates of effect do not conform to the ideal type of activity to be marked for cooperative object. *Bëjta* 'see' is a predicate that does

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⁴ The /a/ of *abëssë* is lost when prefixed with *ku-*. The /a/ represents a lexicalized incompletive marker, cf. section 3.2.1.

not have a controlling agent. Moreover, the event of seeing can be, and often is punctual. It is not absolutely clear why (14)b should be ungrammatical, but it might have to do with a natural endpoint for the verb *danda* 'to go up', which is moslty used for describing someone climbing a tree, where the top is the natural endpoint. Nevertheless, a situation like the one in (14)b is perfectly imaginable, and it is not entirely clear why this should be ungrammatical.

The following causatives *can* be marked for cooperative object:

(15) a ku-bache-ø
         3SG.CO-leave.CAU-3
         'He sent him as well, made him go with another.' [DV-12MA-25]
      b ku-wiliche-ø
         3SG.CO-return.CAU-3
         'He sends him back with him.' [FP-14MA-20]

The difference between (14) and the examples in (15) is that in the latter examples, the underlying predicate of effect has a controlling agent, and is a more prototypical example of an activity.

Another case – like the causative examples – where the coordination concerns the direct object rather than the subject is the following:

(16) ku-bëjta-y
      3SG.CO-see-1SG.S
      'I see him with what he has.' [DV-12MA-25]

The example in (16) is of a unique type. It represents an exception to the tendency stated above that verbs should be prototypical activities. Notionally, the cooperative object is rather deviant as well, it does not conform to the prototype interpretation of cooperative object.

Spanish verbs that have been adapted to the system of Yurakaré can sometimes also get the cooperative object application:

(17) a të-lee-m
         1SG.CO-read-2SG
         'You help me read, you are co-reading.' [MH-13MA-2]
      b ku-yuda-shta-ø
         3SG.CO-help-FUT-3
         'He will help him.' (OR-20MA-1)

There are some verbs where the roles of the subject and the cooperative object are not the same, or even alike:

(18) a   ku-ta-ø=w
          3SG.CO-say-3=PL
          'They say to him.'

      b   ku-ite-jti-ø=w=ya
          3SG.CO-ask-HAB-3=PL=NVR
          'They used to ask him.' (AR-8MI-77)

      c   të-dyojlo-m
          1SG.CO-scold-2SG.S
          'You are angry with me.'

Even though the participants do not have the same role, they do have a complementary role, and one can say that the event expressed by the predicate is a joint effort in a way of the subject and the cooperative object. The verb *ta* with the cooperative object prefixes can be contrasted with the same verb without these prefixes:

(19) arey   arey   ululche=w   ti-tiya-ø=w=la   **ta-ø=ya**   na   ta-ppë   tiri
      ayay   ayay   bee=PL   1SG-eat-3=PL=VAL   **say-3=NVR** DEM   1PL-grandfather Tiri
      '"Ayay! Ayay! The bees are eating me!", our grandfather Tiri said.'   (AR-8MI-52)

In (19), the speaker does not share his information with anyone, it is an expressive statement. As soon as the speaker is speaking with someone, the cooperative object prefixes appear. In that sense we are dealing with a joint effort. The same can be said for *ite* 'ask'. However, as we will see in section (5.2.3), addressees are generally encoded as indirect objects in Yurakaré. The predicate *dyojlo* is much harder to analyze in this way. I have no clear explanation for this at this point.

   In conclusion, even though the term 'cooperative object' does not fit neatly to all instances, I still consider it to be the core notion of which the other uses are somehow derived. It may be that further research will lead to a higher level of abstraction that will better fit all uses.

5.2.3 Indirect object

The indirect object applicative construction is marked by the morpheme *n-* or *m-*[5] . This prefix is attached to the root and preceded by one of the cross-reference prefixes of the paradigm in (8) above, in the following way:

(20) cross-ref. marker - n - root

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[5] The sound adapts to the place of the following consonant – cf. section 2.3.4. In the spelling, the morpheme is normally written *n*, except when it changes to [m], before a labial plosive or nasal. In that case the morpheme is written *m*.

This applicative construction has several related meanings. First, with verbs of movement or caused-movement verbs such as 'giving', 'sending' and the like, it indicates the *goal* of that movement, or the *recipient*.

(21) a ti-n-wita-m
         1SG-IO-arrive.SG-2SG.S
         'You came to me, arrived at my place.' (AR-8MI-19)

      b mi-m-bache-ni
         2SG-IO-leave.CAU-INTL:1SG.S
         'I am going to send it to you.'[FA-2MA-8]

      c a-mumuy   pa-n-kaya-shti
         3SG.P-all   2SG-IO-give-FUT:1SG.S
         'I will give it all to you (pl).' (AY-2NC-9)

      d ka-n-chaya-ø=ya
         3SG-IO-feed-3=NVR
         'She gave him food.' (AR-8MI-20)

Related to this is the use of the indirect object applicative with communication verbs, where the indirect object encodes the *addressee*:

(22) a mi-n-dyuju-shti
         2SG-IO-inform-FUT:1SG.S
         'I am going to inform you.' (AR-8MI-46)

      b ti-n-kama-ø
         1SG-IO-call-3
         'He is calling me.'   [HC-23MA-5]

      c ti-n-dyajuya-m
         1SG-IO-gossip-2SG.S
         'You are telling me gossip.'[VP-6MA-29]

Apart from these two related meanings, the indirect object indicates an interested party, often called 'ethical dative', 'dative of (dis)advantage' or 'dative of interest' (cf. Payne 1997:192-194, Palmer 1994:32). Semantically, an ethical dative construction can be described as follows: "The circumstances described by the predicate have significant consequences for the interested party, whose referent is not in control of the event" (Fried 1999:492). The type of interest that is indicated by this kind of construction can, in many languages be either beneficiary or adversative, without any formal distinction (cf. Shibatani 1994:463). In Yurakaré, however, these two subtypes of the ethical dative have different formal encodings, with which they more or less coincide. The 'indirect object' encoding, with the prefix *n-*, is by and large associated with goal/approach and beneficiary, while the 'affected object' encoding, with the prefix *la-* which is discussed in section 5.2.4 below, is associated with source/separation and adversity.

The beneficiary reading of the direct object can be observed in the following instances:

(23) a ti-n-dula-ø   ti-sibë
         1SG-IO-do;make-3   1SG-house
         'He made me my house.' [RF-16MA-12]

      b ti-n-ewe-ø   ti-sibë=y
         1SG-IO-sweep-3   1SG-house=LOC
         'He swept my house for me.' [MH-7MA-3]

      c ti-n-tëptë-ø   ti-bëshë
         1SG-IO-wash-3   1SG-entity[6]
         'She washed my clothes for me.' [FL-10MA-2]

Verbs denoting states, processes or achievements also often carry this applicative. The indirect object denotes the person that benefits from the state of affairs that has arisen:

(24) a ti-n-duta-ø   ayma
         1SG-IO-burn-3   fire
         'The fire is burning (after I prepared it).' [AA-17MA-2]

      b ti-n-kula-ø   ti-chata
         1SG-IO-boil-3   1SG-food
         'My meal is boiling.' [FP-16MA-15]

      c ti-n-sa-ø=naja   ti-sawata
         1SG-IO-finish-3=DSC   1SG-work
         'My work is done.' [VP-22MA-8]

      d nij   ti-n-suwita-ø   ti-ballata
         NEG   1SG-IO-come.up-3   1SG-plant.seed
         'My plants are not coming up.' [FL-10MA-2]

In all of the examples in (24) the indirect object profits somehow from the coming about of a state. This benefit often has to do with the fact that the indirect object is the possessor of one of the core participants, a construction known as external possession. Core instances of external possession are described as "constructions in which a semantic possessor-possessum relation is expressed by coding the possessor as a core grammatical relation of the verb and in a constituent separate from that which contains the possessum" (Payne & Barshi 1999:3). Note that we are not dealing with possessor raising here, since the possessor may still be marked on the noun, as is the case in (24)b-d.

   The indirect object can sometimes also mark a detrimentally affected dative of interest:

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[6] *Bëshëë* (which loses its final vowel when prefixed with a singular possessive prefix) has a rather vague meaning, but it is often interpreted as 'clothing', sometimes 'game' for hunting.

(25) a   ti-m-bititë-ø   ti-waderno
          1SG-IO-tear-3   1SG-notebook
          'He tore my notebook.' [FP-15MA-3]

      b   ka-n-worojwo-y   a-pojore
          3SG-IO-pierce-1SG.S   3SG.P-canoe
          'I pierced him his canoe.' [FP-14MA-20]

      c   ti-n-sapa-ø   ti-chichi
          1SG-IO-bruise-3   1SG-nail
          'He bruised my nail.' [FP-15MA-3]

In constructions such as (25), the indirect object seems similar to the affected object discussed in the next section. I will come back to this matter there.

5.2.4 *Affected object*

Formally, the encoding of affected objects is similar to that of the indirect object: the cross-reference marking prefixes are followed by an applicative marker. The marker for affected object application is *la-*. The type of relation marked by the affected object is in many ways opposite to that of the direct object. Whereas with verbs of movement or caused movement the indirect object marks the goal or recipient of the action, the affected object marks exactly the opposite:

(26) a   mi-la-bache-ni
          2SG-AFO-leave.CAU-INTL:1SG
          'I am going to send it away from you.' [FA-2MA-8]

      b   ti-la-danda-ø
          1SG-AFO-go.up-3
          'He went up on me (when he saw me he went up)' [MA-7MA-2]

      c   ti-la-shta-m[7]
          1SG-AFO-throw.away.SG-2SG.S
          'You took it from me and threw it away.' [MH-7MA-2]

      d   ti-la-mi-m
          1SG-AFO-take-2SG.S
          'You took it from me.' [MH-7MA-2]

Another way in which the affected object is opposite to the indirect object is that where the indirect object participant benefits from some state of affairs, the affected object participant is detrimentally affected:

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[7] The underlying form of this root is *chitta*. It changes to *shta* in these circumstances for reasons of prosody.

(27) a ti-la-che-m   ti-chata
        1SG-AFO-eat-2SG.S   2SG-food
        'You ate my food on me.' [MH-7MA-2]

     b ti-la-ense-ø   ti-awaryente
        1SG-AFO-drink-3   1SG-alcohol
        'He drank my alcohol on me.' [MH-7MA-3]

     c ti-la-dyinde-ø   ti-nñu
        1SG-AFO-sad-3   1SG-baby
        'My baby is sad (on me).' [FP-2MA-8]

Here we can see that there is some overlap with the separation reading of the examples in (26), since examples (27)a and b also have a separation meaning; on the other hand the examples in (26) might also be explained as cases of detrimental affect. Similar to the indirect object, many of these instances of malefactive/detrimental affect can be analyzed as external possessors. External possession is certainly a subtype of the affected object. Nevertheless, like the indirect object, the affected-object applicative has a wider use. Apart from the already mentioned use as a marker of entities undergoing separation, the affected object also marks locations which are used for some purpose, or entities being located in such a way that they are affected or bothered by the event, either consciously or unconsciously:

(28) a a-shuye=la   ka-la-pëjta-jti-ø=ya   (…) kummë
        3SG.P-crown=INS   3SG-AFO-place-HAB-3=NVR   tree
        'He placed his head against the tree.' (OR-19MA-9)

     b ti-la-dapa-ø   papel
        1SG-AFO-stick-3   paper
        'The paper sticks on me.' [FP-15MA-3]

     c ti-la-dele-ø   ti-dala=y
        1SG-AFO-fall-3   1SG-head=LOC
        'He fell on my head.' (*tiladele* can also mean: 'it fell from my hands') [FL-10MA-2]

     d ti-la-bishmi-ø
        1SG-AFO-smoke-3
        'He smoked on me (e.g. blew his smoke into my face).' [FA-2MA-8]

As can be seen in (28)a, where the cross-referencing prefix licensed by the presence of the marker *la-* refers to *kummë* 'tree', the affected object does not need to be animate, which makes the construction slightly different from the typical ethical dative, which is always animate (Fried 1999:492). Nevertheless, in Yurakaré too, affected objects are in almost all cases animate.

   As mentioned in the previous paragraph, sometimes the distinction between indirect objects marking beneficiaries and affected objects marking detrimentally affected participants evaporates. This can be seen in (29), which is a repetition of (25) above:

(29) a   ti-m-bititë-ø   ti-waderno
          1SG-IO-tear.apart-3   1SG-notebook
          'He tore my notebook (while I had it in my hand).' [FP-15MA-3]

      b   ka-n-worojwo-y   a-pojore
          3SG-IO-pierce-1SG.S   3SG.P-canoe
          'I pierced his canoe on him.' [FP-14MA-20]

      c   ti-n-sapa-ø   ti-chichi
          1SG-IO-bruise-3   1SG-nail
          'He bruised my nail.' [FP-15MA-3]

The difference between examples like (27) and (29) is difficult to grasp. Speakers say that affected objects and indirect objects in these circumstances are exactly the same. If there is a difference, it is indeed a very subtle one. At this point it is not possible to tell the difference.

   A final point to be made about the affected object is that, instead of adding an argument to the existing arguments, it can also rearrange the valency of a transitive root:

(30) a   ti-duya-ø   isuna
          1SG-sting-3   stingray
          'The stingray stung me.' [VP-18MA-2]

      b   ti-ma-la-duya-ø   ti-nñu
          1SG-3PL-AFO-sting-3   1SG-baby:PL
          'He stung my children on me.' [VP-18MA-2]

      c   ti-la-duya-ø   isuna
          1SG-AFO-sting-3   stingray
          'The stingray is stinging me' [MA-7MA-3]

In (30)a, the normal, bivalent use of the verb *duya* 'sting' is illustrated. Example (30)b shows an extension of the valency from two to three. Both the direct object and the affected object are marked on the verb (for a discussion of combinations of argument marking on the verb, cf. section 5.2.8). The prefix *ti-* refers to the affected object, the prefix *ma-* to the direct object. In (30)c the verb is still bivalent after the application of the affected object, but the action is interpreted as being progressive. Telicity is one of Hopper & Thompson's (1980:252) components of transitivity. Atelic verbs are lower on the transitivity scale than telic verbs, so in a way, the transitivity of the verb seems to be relatively diminished by the applicative in this case[8]. There is an incompletive marker (discussed in section 6.2.1), which is the prefix *a-*. A transitive verb which is marked for incompletive aspect can only take generic direct objects, and can also appear without any direct objects. It is possible – but impossible to prove empirically –

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[8] Wise (2002:330-331) reports both valency increase and decrease functions for one and the same applicative in Chayahuita and possibly also Iquito.

that the stem input is in fact *a-duya*. In that case we are not dealing with diminished valency, since the incompletive-marked stem is less transitive already, adding the affected object increases the valency in this reading.

The atelic, or incompletive aspect is also present in the following constructions, where the affected object in (31)b seems to indicate a beneficiary rather than a detrimentally affected participant:

(31)　a　ti-n-ëwwë-ma　　　　ti-jukkulë
　　　　　1SG-IO-dig-IMP.SG　1SG-field
　　　　　'Cave my field for me!' [FL-22MA-3]
　　　b　ti-la-ëwwë-ma
　　　　　1SG-AFO-dig-IMP.SG
　　　　　'Dig for me for a while.' [FL-22MA-3]

The comment of the consultant for (31)b was that he digs for a while and then goes away. It seems that this has to do with the atelic character of the verb with the affected object application.

5.2.5 Purposive object

The purposive object applicative is formed by adding object cross-reference markers and the marker *y-* to an intransitive root. This applicative is found with intransitive movement verbs only; caused movements cannot take the purposive object. It marks the entity which is the ultimate goal of the movement, and can often be translated as 'to get X', where 'X' is the purposive object:

(32)　ka-y-danda-ma　　　　asha=chi　　toronja
　　　　3SG-PO-go.up-IMP.SG　above=DIR　grapefruit
　　　　'Go up to get me a grapefruit.'　　[MH-13MA-2]

In (32), *ka-* refers to *toronja* 'grapefruit', the full NP receives no marking. The purposive object can also be animate:

(33)　ka-y-mala-ma　　　　mi-bashti
　　　　3SG-PO-go.SG-IMP.SG　2SG-wife
　　　　'Go and get your wife.' [HC-21MA-2]

The purposive object can also more generally refer to an entity which is associated with the goal of the movement without the intention of getting this entity:

(34) a të-y-yupa-ø
       1SG-PO-go.in.SG-3
       'He entered my house.' [AA-10MA-8]

   b pa-y-yajta-n-tu   li-ma-ssë-p=chi
       2PL-PO-run;jump-INTL-1PL.S   DEL-3PL-stand-2PL.S=DIR
       'Let's run to where you guys are!' [FL-1MA-3]

   c ka-y-dele-ø   bëjta-ø=ja
       3SG-PO-fall.SG-3   see-3=SS
       'When he saw himᵢ, he fell where heᵢ was.' [RF-16MA-12]

In (34)a, the form of the first person singular slightly deviates from the expected form *ti-*, cf. the paradigm in (8) above. The same holds for the second person singular, which, in combination with the purposive object marker *y-*, is not cross-referenced with the prefix *mi-*, but rather with *më-*. The reason for this seems purely phonological; it is a process of dissimilation, to avoid the sequence /ij/.

Like the comitative object versus coordinated object opposition, there is a marginally used distinction for purposive objects as well in the same fashion:

(35) pëpësu ka-la-pëjta-jti-ø   kummë **ku-y**-danda-nta-ø=chi
    pëpësu 3SG-AFO-place-HAB-3   tree   3SG.CO-PO-go.up-DES-3=IGN
    'Pëpësu placed himself against the tree, wanting to go up (to reach another person who went up already).' (OR-19MA-9)

The purposive object (the other person) is active here in the sense that he climbed the tree himself. It might be that we have to distinguish four in stead of five applicatives, two of which (comitative object and purposive object) have alternations for active and passive:

1. indirect object
2. affected object
3. comitative object
   - passive (= comitative object)
   - active (= cooperative object)
4. purposive object
   - passive (= purposive object)
   - active, cf. example (35)

However, the construction with the active purposive object as exemplified in (35) is too marginal to make any definitive statements.

5.2.6 Verbs beginning with /i/

Transitive verbs beginning with the sound /i/ usually mark their direct object in a deviant way. First and second persons and the third person plural are encoded as an indirect object:

(36) a   ti-n-dëjta-m
      1SG-IO-miss-2SG.S
      'You miss me.' [MH-8MA-14]

    b   lëshie=w   ma-n-du-shti   palanta=w
      two=PL   3PL-IO-fry-FUT:1SG.S   banana=PL
      'I am going to fry two bananas.' [FL-23MA-1]

    c   ti-n-dumaja-yu
      1SG-IO-molest-PROH
      'Don't bother me!' [FL-23MA-1]

    d   së=ja   ma-n-ñese-shti   palanta=w
      1SG.PRN=EMPH   3PL-IO-sow;plant-FUT:1SG.S   banana=PL
      'I am going to plant bananas.' [FL-20MA-27]

Underlyingly, all of the verb roots in (36) begin with the vowel /i/: *idëjta* 'to miss', *idu* 'to fry', *idumaja* 'to molest' and *iñese*   'to sow, plant'. The participant encoded as an indirect object here is slightly different from normal indirect-object marking. The third person singular is cross-referenced with zero, i.e. as a 'normal' direct object, which is evidence that we are in fact not dealing with indirect objects, but rather with direct objects that are marked in a deviant manner:

(37) a   idu-ma   palanta
      fry-IMP.SG   banana
      'Fry a banana!' [HC-23MA-3]

    b   ëshë   idumaja-shta-m=chi   mi-tëjte
      why   molest-FUT-2SG.S=IGN   2SG-grandmother
      'Why are you going to bother, cause trouble to your grandmother?' (AR-8MI-46)

Apparently there is some rule that says that the direct objects of transitive verb roots beginning with /i/ are encoded as indirect objects, except for third person singular. When for instance a beneficiary or a recipient is added, this is expressed as an affected object:

(38) ti-l-idu-ma
     1SG-AFO-fry-IMP.SG
     'Fry it for me!' [FL-23MA-1]

The affected object applied to a verb beginning with /i/ differs slightly in form, in that the /a/ of the prefix *la-* is dropped:

However, there are instances where the indirect object does indicate a beneficiary, as in the case with *idu* 'fry':

(39) ti-n-du-ma
      1SG-IO-fry-IMP.SG
      'Fry it for me!' [FL-23MA-1]

It may be that the pragmatically marked meaning that a direct object interpretation would yield here, forces the indirect object interpretation. Nevertheless, it is unclear what the difference is between (38) and (39). In most cases the affected object takes over the 'vacancy' left open by the indirect object, marking beneficiary/recipient-type participants:

(40) a   ti-l-irepu-ø
          1SG-AFO-tie-3
          'He tied it for me.'
      b   ti-l-iñese-ma
          1SG-AFO-sow;plant-IMP.SG
          'Sow it for me!'
      c   ti-l-inëmë-ø
          1SG-AFO-divide-3
          'He divides it (e.g. meal) for me.'
      d   ti-l-itele-ø
          1SG-AFO-set.free-3
          'He sets it free for me (e.g. chicken).'

Comitative object and cooperative-object marking is no different with *i*-verbs than with other verbs:

(41) a   ka-y-mal-uma-y   ti-bëshë   a-mumuy
          3SG-VPL-go.SG-DST-1SG.S   1SG-entity   3SG.P-all
          'I am bringing all my stuff (going back and forth).'
      b   ku-ydu-ma
          3SG.CO-fry-IMP.SG
          'Help him fry it!'

5.2.7 Experiencers

Experiencers can be encoded in several ways, depending on the verb stem. Some are encoded as subjects:

(42) a   ma-bëjta-**y**
            3PL-see-1SG.S
            'I see them.'

      b   të-dyojlo-**m**
            1SG.CO-be.angry-2SG.S
            'You are angry with me.'

However, many experiencers are not encoded as subjects; they can be encoded in several ways depending on the verb semantics:

(43) a   ma-yle   (comitative object)[9]
            3PL-know
            'They know it.'

      b   ti-jusu   (direct object)[10]
            1SG-want
            'I want it.'

      c   ti-n-kukku   (indirect object)
            1SG-IO-nice
            'I like it.

      d   ti-la-ñolele   (affected object)
            1SG-AFO-desirable
            'I desire it.'

Some impersonal weather verbs can carry cooperative-object experiencers, like experiencers of temperature:

(44) a   të-dyummë-ø
            1SG.CO-cold-3
            'I am cold.'

      b   ku-shujuta-ø
            3SG.CO-warm-3
            'He is warm, sweating.' [AA-12MA-28]

Cooperative objects can also be sympathetic experiencers:

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[9] An alternative analysis would be that we are dealing with a verb *le* with a purposive object. This would mean that we should analyze *le* as a movement verb. There is one other cognitive verb that is based on a movement verb:

i.   ku-y-mal-uma-ø
      3SG.CO-VPL-go.SG-DST-3
      'He is thinking.'

[10] The fact that we are dealing with a direct object here is evidenced by the fact that a third person singular is cross-referenced by a zero form.

(45) të-benebene-ø
1SG.CO-lamentable-3
'I am sympathizing with him, who is pitiful.' [HC-22MA-6]

Experiencers that undergo some emotion because they evaluate something as being e.g. beautiful are often encoded as indirect objects:

(46) a ti-n-kukku-ø
1SG-IO-nice-3
'I like it.'
b ti-m-pëlë-ø
1SG-IO-finished-3
'I finished it.'

Whereas the experiencers in (46) have control over the situation, especially in (46)b, experiencers that lack any control are generally marked as affected objects:

(47) a ti-la-ñolele-ø
1SG-AFO-desirable-3
'I want it, I feel desire for it'
b li-ti-la-sheta-ø
DEL-1SG-AFO-lost-3
'I forgot it (it escaped me).'

There is one predicate that I am aware of that takes a direct object as an experiencer:

(48) ti-jusu-ø
1SG-want-3
'I want it.'

The question with all of these verbs is whether they are one-place verbs with non-canonically marked subjects, or two place verbs of the type of English 'please' in 'It pleases me.' The answer to this question can only be given for some of these predicates. The predicate *kukku* '(be) nice' is a word describing a property, which can be used as a one-place predicate:

(49) a nish   kukku-ø=ya latiji   na   yee
NEG   nice-3=NVR subsequently   DEM   woman
'She did not feel good then, this woman.'(AR-8MI-15)
b kukku-jti-ø ana-kki
nice-HAB-3   DEM-MEA:LOC
'That is a nice stretch [to go].'(AA-27MA-10)

Kukku can also carry other subject markers than third person singular:

(50) ti-n-kukku-m
     1SG-IO-nice-2SG
     'I like you.' [FL-3MA-5]

Other experiencer predicates behaving like this are, among others: *ñolele* 'desirable', *sheta* 'lost' *pëlë* 'finished', *benebene* 'lamentable', *shujuta* 'hot', and *dyummë* 'cold'.

   Problematic for this analysis are *kusu*[11] 'want' and *ile* 'know'. These verbs do not occur as one-place predicates, nor do they take any phonetically salient subject markers[12], a fact which renders an analysis as two-place predicates problematic. These verbs are probably best analyzed as impersonal verbs or as one-place verbs with non-canonically marked subjects. In fact, Malchukov (in prep.) suggests that constructions with non-canonically marked subjects can in fact come about as reanalyses of impersonal constructions. This historical change may be corroborated by the fact that Day (1980-40)[13] marks the following utterances as grammatical:

(51) a nish   ta-jusu-m
        NEG   1PL-want-2SG.S
        'We do not want you.'
     b tëtë kanta=w=ja   pa-yle-ø=w
        what song-PL=EMPH   2PL-know-3=PL
        'Which songs do you (pl) know?'

When confronted with these examples, consultants rejected them as ungrammatical. It may be that in the regions I worked the construction has been reanalyzed.

   I should also mention a handful of examples where the experiencer is a possessor (cf. also section 4.4.1):

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[11] *Kusu* is the underlying form which changes to *jusu* when preceded by a vowel.

[12] Note that third person plural subject on *kusu* is also phonetically non-salient, since the element =*w* is not audible on a stem ending in /u/.

[13] Even though Day printed her material in 1980, she has been working with the Yurakarés since the 1950s. The fact that for the most part, she worked in other areas than I did may have something to do with this too.

(52) a   a-wështi
           3SG.P-hunger
           'He is hungry.'
      b   a-samti
           3SG.P-thirst
           'He is thirsty.'
      c   a-dyolti
           3SG.P-anger
           'He is angry.'

There is one verb that has a non-canonically marked agent, which is not an experiencer, the verb *dyërërë* 'speak, converse':

(53) a   ti-n-dyërërë
           1SG-IO-converse
           'I speak, converse.'
      b   ka-n-dyërërë
           3SG-IO-converse
           'He speaks, converses'

There is some evidence that the participant, encoded formally as an indirect object here, is treated as the subject: imperatives and jussives relate to the indirect object participants:

(54) a   pi-pa-n-dyërërë
           IMP.PL-2PL-IO-converse
           'Speak, converse!' [MH-14MA-19]
      b   mi-n-dyërërë-cha
           2SG-IO-converse-JUS
           'Speak, converse!' (FL-27MA-9)

The only way in which this verb can take a normally encoded subject is the following:

(55) ku-dyërërë-m
      3SG.CO-converse-2SG.S
      'You converse with him.'

5.2.8 Combinations of head-marked arguments

There can be maximally three arguments encoded on the verb. One of these is always the subject (with possibly the exception of a few experiencer verbs, as discussed above), the other two can differ. Direct object can be combined with the cooperative object, indirect object and affected object:

Direct object & cooperative object

(56)　ku-ma-weshwe-y
　　　3SG.CO-3PL-scrape-1SG.S
　　　'I help him scraping them.' [FP-14MA-20]

Direct object & indirect object

(57)　ti-ma-n-kaya-ma
　　　1SG-3PL-IO-give-IMP.SG
　　　'Give them to me.' [FP-13MA-13]

Direct object & affected object

(58)　ti-ma-la-che-ø=w　　　ti-petche=w　　ti-tib　　chajmu
　　　1SG-3PL-AFO-eat-3　　　1SG-fish=PL　　1SG-pet　dog:PL
　　　'My dogs ate my fish on me.' [FL-13MA-9]

In all three examples the marker referring to the direct object comes in between the applicative marker and the cross referencing suffix associated with that applicative marker:

(59)　*position*　　　2　-　1　-　0
　　　　　　　　　　CO　-　DO　-　root
　　　　　　　　　　IO
　　　　　　　　　　 AFO

The comitative object can also be combined with other applicative objects. In these combinations, it behaves like a direct object as far as placement is concerned: before the applicative marker, after the cross-referencing prefix associated with that applicative marker.

Comitative object & indirect object

(60) ti-ja-m-mala-ma   ti-oshewo
      1SG-3SG-IO-go.SG-IMP.SG   1SG-pot
      'Bring me my pot!' [DV-11MA-5]

Comitative object &affected object

(61) ka-ja-la-mala-ø   a-juyja-ta   petche
      3SG-3SG-AFO-go.SG-3   3SG.P-fish-MID   fish
      'The fish went off taking my fishing line.'   [MH-8MA-14]

There are no combinations of comitative object and direct object, since comitative objects only combine with intransitive roots. This means that we can expand the template of (59) as follows:

(62) *position*   2   -   1   -   0
              CO   -   DO   -   root
              IO   -   COM
              AFO

When the purposive object is combined with the indirect object, the prefix referring to the purposive object follows the prefix referring to the indirect object. The applicative marker for indirect object is lost, but the vowel in the prefixes with the vowel /a/ in them (third person singular and the plural participants) is changed to /u/:

Indirect object & purposive object

(63) a   ti-ja-y-danda-ma   toronja
           1SG-3SG-PO-go.up-IMP.SG   grapefruit
           'Go up and get me a grapefruit.' [MH-13MA-2]
      b   **ku**-ja-y-mala-ma
           3SG:VC-3SG-PO-go.SG-IMP.SG
           'Go and bring it to him!' [MH-14MA-7]
      c   **tu**-ma-y-mala-ma   dulsi=w
           1PL:VC-3PL-PO-go.SG-IMP.SG   orange=PL
           'Go and get us some oranges.' [AA-15MA-9]

There is some speaker variation in these constructions in that some speakers also change the /a/ to /u/ in the prefixes referring to the purposive object:

(64) a mi-**ju**-y-mala-ni   dulsi
          2SG-3SG:VC-PO-go.SG-INTL:1SG.S   orange
          'I am going to get you an orange.' [VP-14MA-30]

      b **pu-mu**-y-mala-ni   dulsi=w
          2PL-3PL:VC-PO-go:SG-INTL:1SG.S   orange=PL
          'I am going to get you (pl) oranges.' [VP-14MA-30]

Indirect object & affected object

(65) ti-ja-la-n-dyalala
      1SG-3SG-AFO-IMP.SG-spit
      'Spit at him for me.'   [FP-15MA-3]

The indirect object cross-referencing prefix comes first, followed by the cross-referencing prefix for the affected object, and then the applicative marker *la-* follows. The element *n-* is not the applicative marker for indirect object, but rather the marker for imperative singular (cf. section 6.3.5). There seems to be only one position for the applicative markers.

   The order of cross referencing prefixes can be schematized into the following template, which is an elaboration of the templates of (59) and (62):

(66) *position* 4   3   2   1   0
                  IO   AFO   DO   appl. mrkr. root
                     CO   COM
                                  PO

The indirect object precedes the affected object, direct object, comitative object, and the purposive object. We cannot say much about the place of the cooperative object, except that it appears before the direct object. The affected object precedes the direct object and the comitative object. Direct object, comitative object and purposive object share the slot immediately before the applicative markers; they cannot be combined. There is one position for an applicative marker. When two applied objects are combined that have a separate applicative marker, one of these objects is always the indirect object; in this case the applicative marker for indirect object is lost. In some circumstances this results in a vowel change in the cross-referencing prefixes from /a/ to /u/. Some speakers only change the indirect object cross-referencing prefixes, others also the prefixes referring to the purposive object.

5.3 Middle voice and causative

5.3.1 Middle voice

Middle events involve "a set of loosely linked semantic subdomains centering roughly around the direct reflexive." (Kemmer 1993:238). Even though this definition roughly describes many of the uses of the middle marker *-tA*[14] in Yurakaré, there are some instances that do not fit Kemmer's semantic characterization of middle events.

 According to Kemmer, the middle marker indicates a low elaboration of events. There are two types of low elaboration of events; both have in common that there is a potential alternative conceptualization event with a distinguishable initiator and endpoint:

 (i) low degree of distinguishability of participants (e.g. reflexive, body actions)
 (ii) non-identification of causer (passives, spontaneous events)

Yurakaré tends to mark both these types for middle voice; in what follows I will mention the domains with the middle marker *-tA*.

 First of all, reflexive and reciprocal events are marked with this suffix:

(67) a chërë-y
       pinch-1SG.S
       'I pinch him.'
    b chërë-të-y
       pinch-MID-1SG.S
       'I pinch myself.' [MH-11MA-12]

(68) a ti-buyusa-ø
       1SG-kiss-3
       'He kisses me.'
    b buyusa-ta-ø=w
       kiss-MID-3=PL
       'They kiss each other.' [FP-15MA-3]

The middle marker suffices to distinguish reflexive from reciprocal and both from other domains of the middle marker. However, there are heavier forms for the reflexive end the reciprocal. Reciprocals (as well as some reflexives) can be additionally marked with the prefix *an-* or *am-*[15]:

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[14] The vowel normally adapts in place and manner to the preceding vowel if this is a low or mid vowel.

[15] With verbs beginning with /i/ this marker changes to *in-* or *im-*.

(69) a **am**-buyusa-ta-ø=w
          R-kiss-MID-3=PL
          'They are kissing each other.' [MH-11MA-12]
      b nish   ta-yle-ø   **an**-wëshë-ti-ti=ti=la[16]
          NEG   1PL-know-3   R-sense-MID-1PL.S=DS=INS
          'We did not know how to understand each other.' (AR-8MI-87)

To stress the reflexive use of the middle, there is a separate reflexive noun, which is always possessed:

(70) ti-manchijsha   'myself'   ta-manchijsha   'ourselves'
      mi-manchijsha   'yourself'   pa-manchijsha   'yourselves'
      a-manchijsha   'himself'   ma-manchijsha   'themselves'

In this marker, which always follows the middle verb, the ablative marker *=jsha* is recognizable. It is very possible that the remaining root *manchi* derives from *manshi*, in the literature also known as *mansiñu*, the auto-denomination of one of the two dialect-groups of the Yurakaré that are claimed to have existed (cf. d'Orbigny 1839:354). In the following utterance from a text these *manshis* are mentioned:

(71) ta-manshi=w   ma-n-dyajuya-ø   ati   ta-lele=w   ku-ta-ø=ya
      1PL-manshi=PL   3PL-IO-chat-3   DEM   1PL-grandchild=PL   3SG.CO-say-3=NVR
      'He said: "He is chatting with our Manshis, our grandchildren".' (AR-8MI-68)

This is uttered by *Karru*, the companion of *Tiri*, after he has been spying on the tapirs having a party. Tiri and to a lesser extent Karru are seen as the fathers of the Yurakaré Indians. Here they are talking about 'their Manshi'. Apart from the diminutive marker, *ñu* also means baby, suckling. So the term *mansiñu* may mean 'children of the *manshi*'.

  Going back to the reflexive marker, we could analyze e.g. the third person as follows:

(72) a-manchi=jsha
      3SG.P-manshi=ABL
      'from his *manshi*.'

Nevertheless, the form *manchijsha* is now lexicalized and the speakers cannot decompose it any further. All instances of reflexive and reciprocal, whether with these additional disambiguating elements or not, are marked with the middle marker *-tA*.
  Another domain of the middle marker in Yurakaré is the agentless passive:

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[16] The underlying form of this verb makes clear that we are dealing with separate phonemes, and not with homophonous forms: *an-wëshë-tA-tu=ti=la*.

(73) a   ta-poybolo   lëtëmë   a-mujumuju=y   dula-ta-ø
           1PL-village   jungle   3SG.P-middle=LOC   do;make-MID-3
           'Our village is made in the middle of the jungle.' [FR-PC]

      b   olos'o-to-ø   samu-pëlë
           peel-MID-3   jaguar-skin
           'The jaguar-skin is peeled.' [FA-13MA-6]

The agent of this passive cannot be expressed, only understood. Mostly these passives are interpreted as denoting states. It is therefore somewhat questionable if we are dealing with passives proper here.

    Other areas where we find the middle marker are usually more lexicalized in the sense that the root they attach to cannot stand on its own, and the form of the middle-marked stem is often less systematic. The middle marker can, however, often be replaced by one of the causative markers *-che* or a partially reduplicated suffix, cf. section 5.3.2. In these domains, the vowel assimilation does not always follow the predicted pattern. This type of middle marking is found in the following domains:

- translational movement:

       (i)   *systematic*

(74) a   bata   'leave'   vs.   bache   'send'
      b   otto   'go out'   vs.   otche   'cause to go out'
      c   wilita   'return'   vs.   wiliche   'cause to return'
      d   danda   'ascend'   vs.   danche   'cause to ascend'
      e   shopto   'descend'   vs.   shopche   'cause to descend'

       (ii)   *non-systematic*

(75) a   wita   'arrive.SG'   vs.   wiwi   'arrive.PL'
      b   chittu[17]   'cross.SG'   vs.   chitchi   'coss.PL'
      c   yupata   'enter.PL'   vs.   yupapa   'put in'
      d   ñeta   'fall.PL'

The middle marker and partial reduplication of the root can also be associated wih the field of verbal plural (cf. section 6.2.2), as can be seen in (75) above. In (75)a and b, there is an opposition between a singular stem with the form *-ta* and a plural stem marked by reduplication. In (75)c, there is an opposition between a plural stem marked with -*ta*, and a causative stem marked by partial reduplication. In (75)d, finally, the form *ñeta* 'fall.PL' does not have a causative counterpart, but the form *ta* is inside the root. It is

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[17] This is an unexpected form in the light of the discussion. It seems to be an exceptional idosyncrasy.

impossible to say at this point whether this is a mere coincidence or whether there is some relation to the middle marker.

- non-translational movement

        (i)   systematic

(76)	a	banata	'stretch out (i)'	vs.	banaba	'stretch out (t)'
	b	wëta	'stoop'	vs.	wëche	'bend (t)'
	c	dyomojto	'get up'	vs.	dyomojche	'cause to get up'
	d	nometa	'move'	vs.	nomena	'cause to move'

        (ii)   non-systematic

(77)	a	necheta	'kick'	vs.	nechene	'kick repeatedly'
	b	letu	'sit down.SG'	vs.	lele	'sit down.PL'
	c	peta	'lie down.PL'			
	d	chitta	'throw.SG'			

Again, there seems to be a connection with verbal plurality. The forms in (77)c and d do not have a reduplicated counterpart, but they are marked for verbal number.

- body actions

(78)	a	ilëtë	'procreate'	vs.	ilëche 'cause to procreate'
	b	tëptë	'bathe'		also: tëptë-të 'bathe oneself'
	c	dëjta	'swallow'		

The forms *tëptë* and *dëjta* are questionable as instances of the middle marker; nevertheless they do fit into Kemmer's (1993) semantic domain of middle events.

- indirect middle (i.e. "the effect of the action accrues back to the initiator" - Kemmer 1993:78)

(79)	a	bëjta	'see'	vs.	bëjche	'show'
	b	müta	'pull out'	vs.	mümü	'pull out repetitively'
	c	seta	'take'	vs.	sese	'take repetitively'
	d	mëta	'bite'	vs.	mëmë	'bite repetitively'

- spontaneous events

(80)	a	posojto	'explode'	vs.	posojpo	'cause to explode'
	b	duta	'burn (i)'	vs	duche	'burn (t)'
	c	boleta	'inflate'	vs.	boleche	'cause to inflate'
	d	limta	'wake up'	vs.	limlë	'cause to wake up'
	e	kütta	'appear'	vs.	kütche	'show'
	f	sëwëjta	'open (i)'	vs.	sëwëjsë	'open (t)'
	g	wojto	'pour out (i)'	vs.	wojwo	'pour out (t)'

- cognition, emotion middle

(81)	a	wëshëtë	'realize'	vs.	wëshëwë	'cause to realize, warn'
	b	shojto	'fear'	vs.	shojñe	'cause fear'
	c	lijalasheta	'forget.SG'	vs.	lijalasheshe	'forget.PL'

- other, semi-reflexive:

(82)	a	shuyujta	'hide (i)'	vs.	shuyujshu	'hide (t)'
	b	imbëtë	'behave'	vs.	ibëbë	'cause to behave'

Apart from these domains, mentioned by Kemmer (1993) as middle marking domains, *-tA* is found in two other domains as well.

Firstly, the effect of the middle marker on a handful of verbs is that it indicates the instrument associated with the action expressed by the verb:

(83)	a	ewwe	'sweep'	ewe-te	'broom'
	b	pumi	'whistle'	pumi-ta	'flute'
	c	dejta	'swallow'	dejtata	'gullet'
	d	kirinkë	'treat with enema'	kirinkë-të	'enema'
	e	assa	'grind'	assa-ta	'grindstone'
	f	mashi	'rain'	mashi-ta	'rain'
	g	tuwi	'die (sg)'	tuwi-ta	'death'
	h	shama	'die (pl)'	shama-ta	'death-messenger (bird)'
	i	pupa	'blow'	pup-ta	'fan'
	j	ñu	'suckle'	ñuñu-ta	'nipple'

Secondly it is found on some nouns, where it marks either an object associated with the root, cf. the examples in (84)a, or a metaphorical extension of the nominal root cf. (84)b (cf. also section 4.4.2):

(84) a ti-dala   'my head'   ti-dala-ta   'my pillow
        ti-meye   'ear'   ti-meye-te   'my earring'
     b ti-pilë   'my mouth'   a-pilë-të   'its door'
        ti-bana   'my arm'   a-ban-ta   'its twig'
        ti-tiba   'pet'   a-tiba-ta   'its creature'
        samma   'water'   a-sama-ta   'its juice (of fruit)'
        mororo   'mountain'   a-mororo-to   'its bulge, lump (of the ground)'

Some examples of these uses are the following:

(85) a uypi   a-tiba-**ta**=w
        honey   3SG.P-pet-MID=PL
        'honeybees'
     b samma   a-tiba-**ta**
        water   3SG.P-pet-MID
        'predator of the water'

Tiba-ta is often translated with the word *dueño* 'boss, owner', in the sense that these *tibata* have a protective function in relation to their possessors.

The examples in (86) relate to the metaphorical extension function of the middle marker. A cigarette case is not really a house, but from the perspective of the cigarettes (which, incidentally are also marked with *-tA*, this time in the instrument function) it can be said to be a house[18]. The same holds, *mutatis mutandis*, for example (86)b:

(86) a bishmi-ta   a-sibë-**të**
        smoke-MID   3SG.P-house-MID
        'cigarette case'
     b a-nñu   a-sibë-**të**
        3SG.P-child   3SG.P-house-MID
        'womb (the house of her child)'

With some nouns, the middle marker can have the effect of deriving nouns of the type former-X:

(87) a ti-sibë   'my house'   ti-sibë-të   'my former house'
     b ti-jukkulë   'my field'   ti-jukkulë-të   'my former field'
     c bashti   'my wife'   ti-bashta-ta   'my former wife'
     d ti-ñaba   'my sister-in-law' ti-ñabaw-ta   'my former sister-in-law'[19]

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[18] Note that *sibë-të* can either mean ex-house or a metaphorical extension of the concept 'house'. In this case only the latter interpretation is exemplified.

[19] I have no explanation for the deviant form of the root here (*ñabaw* instead of *ñaba*) or in the previous example (*bashta* instead of *bashti*).

The heterogenous effects of the middle marker may be due to the probable diachronic source for the marker, the verb *ta* 'say'. This verb is found in a number of grammaticalized contexts that seem to be related to the different domains of the middle marker.

Firstly, the verb *ta* is often combined with ideophones, in the following way:

(88) a porrok porrok ta-ø=ya
          IDEO   IDEO   say-3=NVR
          '"porrok porrok", they went (hoofs of tapirs).' (AR-8MI-68)
      b dürrüm   ta-ø=ya
          IDEO   say-3=NVR
          '"brooom" it went.'(AR-8MI-67)
      c tip   ku-ta-ø=ya
          IDEO   3SG.CO-say-3=NVR
          '"tip", it went (milk dripping)."   (AR-8MI-23)

Some of the middle-marked forms seem to have arisen directly from this structure:

(89) a büsüjta   'get/be torn'   (büsük = ideophone denoting tearing)[20]
      b botejta   'get/be untied'   (botek = ideophone for being set free)
      c adyajta   'run'   (adyaj = ideophone for 'go fast')
      d worejta   'get/be turned over'   (worek = ideophone for upside down')
      d posojto   'explode'
      e shëdëdëjta 'cough'

I did not find an ideophone (i.e. without *-tA*) for the last two examples, but I list them here because they are clearly sound symbolic. Ideophones almost always combine with verbs which they modify or describe. However, the forms marked with *-ta* are mostly used independently.

Ideophones in Yurakaré usually relate to the participant that undergoes a change of state (e.g. in (89)a: '"büsük", it says' relates to the entity being torn. This means that the use of the verb *ta* in these constructions is connected, i.e. it shares semantic features with the agentless passive, spontaneous events and for instance, some translational motions, such as *adyajta* 'run' in (89)c. In Kemmer's network analysis, passive and spontaneous events are connected to reflexive uses, which are in turn connected to reciprocal and other areas mentioned above. Some of the instruments in (83) above might well be connected to this ideophone + *ta* construction as well, though in a more opaque way than the passive and spontaneous events. It is especially clear with forms

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[20] The sound /k/ is disallowed in coda position in Yurakaré, but ideophones are often deviant in this respect. However, even with ideophones /k/ is only allowed in coda position word-finally. When suffixed with *-ta*, this /k/ changes into /h/, spelled *j*.

where a sound-symbolic representation of the action is imaginable, like *assa-ta* 'grindstone' ('"assa" it says'), *ñuñu-ta* 'nipple' ('"ñuñu", it says' while being sucked). It might be that the middle marker has spread through the language in this fashion. Further research is needed before we can say anything definite about it, however.

The metaphorical extension-reading is less clearly related to the ideophone construction or any of the semantic fields associated with the middle. Possibly these instances derive from another function of the verb ta:

(90)   i-wishwi   ushta   na   ishete   layshu-sh**ku-ta**
       VBL-tail-3   before   DEM   agouti   squirrel-ADV.CMP-MID
       'The agouti used to have a tail, like a squirrel.' (AR-8MI-44)

In (90)a, the noun *layshu* 'squirrel' carries the suffix combination *-shku-ta*. In this grammaticalized suffix, three components can be recognized. There is an adverbializing suffix *-sh*, used to derive manner adverbs from adjectives, then there is the combination *ku-ta*, also found with the meaning 'say to him', where *ku-* is the third person singular cooperative object, and *ta* is the verb 'to say'. If this is indeed the diachronic source for the suffix combination *-shku-ta*, the suffix boundaries are reanalyzed: the marker *-ta* can be left out, but *-shku* seems to be an indivisible whole that can be used to derive adverbs from nouns (and verbs). Semantically, the relation with *ta* is not so clear: *-shku-ta* says 'it behaves/looks like an X, but it is not'. Nevertheless, the semantic relation with the metaphorical extension use is imaginable.

Furthermore, there is evidence that some of the metaphorical extension uses might derive from the middle use after all:

(91)   a   bana-ta   'stretch oneself'   bana~ba   'stretch something'
       b   sama-ta   'splash oneself'   sama-che   'splash someone'

The form *bana-ta*, as we have seen in (87) above also means 'twig', *banna* means 'arm', *sama-ta* means 'juice of a fruit', *samma* means 'water'. It might be that these metaphorically extended nouns are actually descriptions of behavioral or physical characteristics of the entities involved.

In conclusion: how exactly the metaphorical extension is linked to the middle marker is unclear. I have made some suggestions, but further research is needed.

A final remark to be made about the middle marker *-tA* is that roots marked with this marker are completely flexible as to the word class they fall into: they can be used as nouns, (92)a, predicates, (92)b, adjectives, (92)c, or adverbs, (92)d:

(92) a l-achuta   tomosh-ta=w   mu-mala-jcha   bali-ø=w=cha
       REF-like.this   poison-MID=PL   3PL.CO-go.SG-DPT   go.PL-3=PL=DPT
       'As soon as he chased the poisoned ones, they went away.'(AY-3NC-8)

     b tullë   dula-ta-ø=ya   latiji
       salt   do;make-MID-3=NVR   subsequently
       'Then the salt was made.'(AR-8MI-82)

     c tüm-t-ima   pilili
       straight-MID-COL   iron
       'straight piece of iron'   [MH-25MA-13]

     d bachaj-ta   ka-m-bushu-ø=ti …
       opened.up-MID   3SG-IO-lie(down).SG-3=DS
       'When he lay down with him with his legs spread…'(OR-19MA-30)

In (92)a, the agent has poisoned some fish so that he can catch them easily. The argument *tomosh-ta=w* functions as a noun here. In (92)b, *dula-ta* functions as a predicate, evidenced by the fact that it carries the non-veridical marker, which only attaches to predicates. In (92)c, *tüm-ta* functions as an adjective, since it is marked for collective, which is restricted to adjectives. In (92)d, finally, *bachaj-ta* functions as a manner adverb, modifying its head *kambushuti*.

5.3.2 *Causative*

There are a number of different strategies to mark causative. As far as morphological marking of the causative is concerned, we can distinguish four patterns, and a rest group that does not fit well in either of these patterns. The first group has a middle form ending in *-tA* and a causative form ending in *-che*:

(93) a sawata   'work'   vs.   sawache   'make work'
     b boleta   'inflate (i)'   vs.   boleche   'inflate (t)'
     c shuta   'move away (i)' vs.   shuche   'relocate'

 The second group reduplicates the first syllable of the root, which is in opposition to a form marked with *-tA*:

(94) a përujta   'turn over (i)' vs.   përujpë   'turn over (t)
     b posojto   'explode (i)'   vs.   posojpo   'explode (t)
     c shudyujta 'hide (i)'   vs.   shudyujshu   'hide (t)'

These first two are the most frequently encountered patterns. Then there is a handful of verbs that has a causative form with a reduplicated last syllable of the root (minus the marker *-ta*):

(95) a   yupata 'go in (pl)'   vs.   yupapa   'cause to go in'
      b   punata 'burn (i)'   vs.   punana   'burn (t)'
      c   shuñete 'grow'   vs.   shuñeñe   'cause to grow, raise'

Furthermore there is a small group of two verbs found so far, that does reduplicate the last syllable of the root, however without losing the middle marker *-tA*:

(96) a   dyulujta   'be scared'   vs.   dyululujta   'scare'
      b   iñuta   'be ashamed'   vs.   iñuñuta   'cause shame'

This pattern has already been described in section 3.2.3 in relation to distributive.
    Finally, there are three deviant forms:

(97) a   nometa   'move (i)'   vs.   nomenome   'move (t)'
      b   shojto   'be afraid'   vs.   shojñe   'make afraid'
      c   arapta   'break, snap (i)'   vs.   aramba   'break, snap (t)'

The word *nomenome* 'cause to move' reduplicates the entire syllable minus *-ta* of its non-causative counterpart; *shojñe* does not reduplicate but adds *-ñe*, and finally *aramba* does not have an entirely transparent relation with its middle counterpart. The effects of these different strategies are the same. A causative form marked by *-che* does not seem to be different from a causative marked by a reduplicate form.

    Apart from the strategies mentioned above, there is an alternative strategy to mark a causative form. This is a periphrastic causative with the verb *ibëbë* 'to treat someone in a certain way'. The causer is encoded as the subject of this verb, the causee as the object of the same verb. *Ibëbë*, being an *i*-verb (cf. section 5.2.6), has the following conjugation of objects:

(98) ti-m-bë-ø   'he caused me'   ta-m-bë-ø   'he caused us'
      mi-m-bë-ø   'he caused you'   pa-m-bë-ø   'he caused you(pl)'
      ibëbë-ø   'he caused him'   ma-m-bë-ø   'he caused them'

In most forms, the second *bë* is lost. This might be for reasons of stress. The first syllable of all forms except *ibëbë* is a heavy syllable, i.e. it attracts stress. Since extrametricality of the last syllable and iambic foot structure prohibit any other syllable in this word to receive stress, this first syllable would be followed by two unstressed and identical syllables. In these environments vowels or syllables tend to be deleted in Yurakaré (cf. section 2.3.5).

    In fact, the second *bë* seems to be a reduplicated suffix marking causative; *ibëbë* has a middle marked counterpart *imbë-të*, where a nasal element is placed inside the root (this only happens with i-verbs) to indicate valency decrease, so that we can contrast *i<m->bë-të* with *ibë~bë*.

The predicate of 'effect', i.e. the caused event in the periphrastic causative construction, is not inflected for subject or TMA, and always precedes the predicate of cause:

(99) a abëssë ti-m-bë-ø
        play   1SG-IO-treat-3
        'He made me play.'
    b konta ti-m-bë-ø
        count   1SG-IO-treat-3
        'He made me count.'

Syntactically, the predicate of effect very much behaves like a manner adverb:

(100) a achu   ibëbë -ø   (…)
       like.that   treat-3
       'He treated him like that…'   (OR-19MA-10)
    b l-anu   ma-m-bë-ø=ja (…)
       REF-like.this   3PL-IO-treat-3=SS
       'When he treated them like this…' (OR-19MA-11)

Another, more marginal way to mark a causative is by changing the last vowel of the root into /a/. I have found five forms so far that behave in this fashion. Possibly this is a pattern that extends further than these five forms:

(101) a bushu   'lie down'   busha   'lay down'
    b tütü   'sit down'   tüta   'sit down (tr)'
    c shonko   'hole'   shonka 'make a hole'
    d yoyo   'be covered (bed)' yoya   'cover (bed)'
    e ñumiñu(mi) 'wrinkled'   ñumiña 'make wrinkled'

At least the pair 'die' vs. 'kill' is encoded by completely different verbs:

(102) a tuwi/shama   'to die sg/pl'
    b bobo   'to hit; to kill'

Finally, the comitative applicative discussed in 5.2.1 above also has a causative element to it:

(103) a mala   'go (sg)'   vs.   ka-mala   'take something along (sg)'
    b yupa   'go in (sg)' vs.   ka-yupa   'take something inside'
    c danda 'go up'   vs.   ka-danda   'take something up'
    d wita   'arrive (sg)' vs.   ka-wita   'bring along (sg)'

6.   The verb phrase

In the present chapter I will discuss the morphosyntax associated with the verb phrase other than morphology concerning participant marking and valency which has been discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter will deal with tense (6.1), aspect (6.2), mood (6.3) and verbal derivation (6.5). Furthermore, in section 6.5 I will discuss adverbs, which can be best described in the context of this chapter. In 6.6, finally, I will discuss interjections and ideophones.

6.1 Tense

Tense, aspect and mood, as in most languages, are not easily teased apart in Yurakaré. In fact, it is questionable whether the language actually cares about these distinctions at all. The distinction the language is sensitive to rather seems to be whether an event is factual and/or specific or not (cf. section 7.1.1). Often very detailed analyses are needed to be able to say whether a certain marker is e.g. a future marker or a modal marker (cf. Comrie 1989b: 63). Even for a language such as English there are still many controversies concerning this topic. Even though boundaries between tense, mood and aspect are not very clear-cut in Yurakaré, in their use markers that fall into this field incline towards one of these three categories. Based on these tendencies, I maintain the traditional three-way distinction in this grammar. The labels that I give to markers that fall into this general field should be regarded in this light. Further research may reveal that we should reconsider the labels. For now, however, I will use the labels as described here.

The morphological tense system of Yurakaré is future versus non-future: The language has only one morphological tense marker: *-shta*, which indicates future tense:

(1) a   tishilë   bobo-y   ti-tib   talipa
          now   hit;kill-1SG.S 1SG-pet   chicken
          'I just killed my chicken.' [AA-25MA-1]
     b   tishilë   mi-la-bobo-**shta**-tu
          now   2SG-AFO-hit;kill-FUT-1PL.S
          'Now we are going to kill him on you!' (AR-8MI-32)

The difference between the temporal interpretation of (1)a and b is solely due to the future tense marker.

The marking of future with the suffix *-shta* is or can be relative to a certain anchor point which is given by the context (relative tense):

(2) a lëjëlë-**shta**-ø=ti   seta-ø=w=ya   na   shunñe

       morning-FUT-3=DS   grab-3=PL=NVR   DEM man

       'At daybreak they grabbed the man.' (FA-6MA-5)

    b   a-ushpë-ø=w=ti   ma-che-**shta**-ø

       INC-bathe-3=PL=DS   3PL-eat-FUT-3

       'When they were bathing, he was going to eat them.' (OR-19MA-3)

In these examples the anchorpoint, or point of reference, is a point that lies before the present moment. When an event takes place after that reference moment, like daybreak in (2)a and the (start of the) bathing in (2)b, it is marked with *-shta*, even though the event precedes the present moment.

   Apart from the tense marker *-shta*, Yurakaré has other means to place events on a time line, the main ones being modality and aspect markers with temporal implications (cf. sections 6.2 and 6.3), temporal adverbs (cf. section 6.5) and subordination with temporal implications (cf. section 8.2.7).

   There is some debate about how one can distinguish future tense from modal distinctions involving irrealis (cf. Comrie 1985:43-48, 1989b), especially since, cross-linguistically, future markers are often found in modal context (cf. Lyons 1977, quoted in Palmer 2001:105), and on the other hand, modal forms often have a future time reference (Palmer 2001:105-106). Indeed it is sometimes hard to determine whether *-shta* is a modal marker or a tense marker:

(3) a   më=ja   ma-ujwa-shta-m   ta-lele=w

       2SG.PRN=EMPH   3PL-look.at-FUT-2SG.S 1PL-grandchild=PL

       'You should look after our grandchildren.' (AR-8MI-75)

    b   li-wjwa-shta-tu   li-wjwa=ya   ku-ta-ø=w=ya

       DEL-look-FUT-1PL.S   DEL-look=NVR   3SG.CO-say-3=PL=NVR

       '"Let's go and see", they said.' (AR-8MI-23)

In these examples, *-shta* seems to have a modal interpretation rather than a temporal one. In (3)a it has a deontic interpretation (it is going to be the task of the subject to watch over the grandchildren, whereas in (3)b it has an intentional, hortatory reading. There are separate markers that could be used here: *-cha* 'jussive' in (3)a, and *-ni* íntentional' in (3)b; both markers will be discussed in section 6.3. As was observed by Comrie (1989b), however, this is not a sufficient argument to reject a future tense analysis. I will argue that future tense is the best interpretation for *-shta* because that is the central element of meaning of this marker. The interpretation of it, however, is somewhat obscured because of combinations with other, modal or aspectual, markers.

   We need to answer two questions to determine whether *-shta* is a tense marker or a mood marker:

   -   Is there future time reference without *-shta*?

   -   Is there *-shta* without future time reference?

With regard to the first question, there are some circumstances in which there is future time reference without the use of the marker *-shta*:

(4) tëptë-shta-ø   hija   wita=ya   mentere   na=chi
    wash-FUT-3   daughter   arrive.SG=NVR   meanwhile   DEM=DIR
    mu-chamashi-tu   kormena=w
    3PL.CO-be.busy-1PL.S   bee=PL
    'When our daughter arrives she will wash, while we occupy ourselves with the bees.'

                                                          (FL-14MA-1)

Here the event of 'occupying ourselves with the bees' has future time reference, but no future marker. This may be due, however to the borrowed co-temporal marker *mentere* 'meanwhile' (< Sp. *mientras*). Apart from examples such as these, the use of the marker *-shta* for future time reference is quite meticulous, i.e. there are not many examples of future time reference without *-shta*.

    Nevertheless, with reference to the second question, since *-shta* marks relative tense, and since it can be combined with modal particles, there are quite a number of examples where *-shta* is used without there being future time reference in the purest sense:

(5) a müta-ø=w=ja   che-**shta**-ø=w=chi   nish   poyde   tiya-ø=w=ya   latiji
        pull-3=PL=SS   eat-FUT-3=PL=IGN   NEG   can   eat-3=PL=NVR   subsequently
        'After pulling him out they were going to eat him, but couldn't.' (AR-8MI-33)
    b shamaj~shama-**shta**-ø=w=ya=chi   latiji
        INTS~die.PL-FUT-3=PL=NVR=IGN   subsequently
        'They were about to die (but eventually didn't).' (AR-8MI-63)
    c ati   bëë   nish   itta-ta-ø   ani
        DEM   tacuara.tree   NEG   thing-POT-3   DEM:LOC
        i-ñuyta-**shta**-tu=y=chi   ushta   tuwa
        VBL-nipple-FUT-1PL.S=NVR=IGN   before   1PL.PRN
        'If that tacuara tree had not done that, we'd have had nipples here.' (AR-8MI-65)
    d yokkoshe   të-binta-**shta**-ø=yj=laba
        true   1SG.CO-strong-FUT-3=IGN=SBJ
        'Would it be true that it would hurt me?' (AR-8MI-83)

In (5)a-d the events marked with *-shta* refer to a non-actualized, irrealis situation. In all of the examples, the future marker is combined with the ignorative marker =*chi* (or its allomorph =*yj*) which indicates that the narrator cannot be sure whether the predicted event would have actually taken place had the circumstances been more favorable. I still maintain a future tense analysis here, since, from the vantage point of the moment in the narrative, the irrealis event did have a future time reference. In the examples (5)a-c, however, something unexpected happened to prevent the normal, expected developments from taking place. In (5)d, there is no intervening event, but the speaker

wants to find out whether his personal conviction, marked with *=laba* is true, namely that a stingray would hurt him. Therefore he is going to test this. The future marker here refers to the expected future time event where the speaker gets hurt by the stingray. The point here is that we can maintain the future time reference analysis, and that the modal interpretations are due to the modal enclitics. These enclitics will be discussed in chapter 1.

The future marker is not required for counterfactual constructions:

(6) nij   ka-la-bbë-ti   oshewo   tiyu=y=chi   talipa=w   ti-chata
     NEG   3SG-AFO-cover-POT:1SG.S   pot   eat:3PL=NVR=IGN chicken=PL   1SG-food
     'If I hadn't covered the pot, the chickens would have eaten all.'[MH-31MA-6]

Here, there is no future tense marker, but the counterfactual reading is still there. Apparently this reading is not dependent on the future marker. Rather, the future marker in examples (5)a-c indicates that at the time of the reference point one could make a prediction that would hold at a later moment.

Predicates not marked for tense can be interpreted either as past or as present. They depend on their context and on aspectual (cf. 6.2) and modal (cf. 6.3) markers for their temporal interpretation:

(7) a   tëtë-pshë   dula-m   ana=y   aysa
         what-entity   do;make-2SG.S DEM=LOC   Aysa
         'What are you doing here Aysa?' (OR-19MA-9)
     b   tëtë-pshë   ka-y-mala-m
         what-entity   3SG-PO-go.SG-2SG.S
         'What did you go up for?' (OR-19MA-9)

The two utterances in (7) directly follow each other in the narrative they are taken from; both clauses are unmarked for tense. Still (7)a is interpreted as present tense, while (7)b is interpreted as past tense. The only reason for this is the situational context, and knowledge of the world. The hearer knows that the addressee Aysa is in a tree, while the speaker, Pëpësu is on the ground, which permits the present tense reading of (7)a, while it forces the past tense reading of (7)b.

6.2 Aspect

Aspectual distinctions are only partly expressed morphologically in Yurakaré. The language has four distinct aspect markers (not counting the propositional markers with aspectual meaning, cf. sections 7.2.4-7.2.7): *a-* 'incompletive', *-jti* 'habitual', *-nishi* 'near completive' and *-lë* 'recent completive'. Apart from this there is a morphologically expressed system of verbal number which has two different manifestations: one that is sensitive to the number of participants, and another that purely indicates the number

of events, regardless of the number of participants. Other aspectual distinctions are indicated in periphrastic ways, or by propositional markers, which will be the topic of chapter 1.

Imperfective aspect can be divided into two major subaspects in Yurakaré: ongoing processes vs. repeated processes. Periphrastically both repetition and ongoing processes can be marked simply by repeating the predicate:

(8) a amala-ø samma amala-ø samma amala-ø samma
     come-3 water come-3 water come-3 water
     'The water was coming and coming.' (OR-20MA-1)

  b lëtta ense-ø mala-ø lëtta ense-ø mala-ø chajtiya
     one drink-3 go.SG-3 one drink-3 go.SG-3 always
     'One drank and went, another one drank and went, always.' (AR-8MI-53)

  c willë=yj ka-bali-ø=w=ti=jsha na ka-bali-ø=w ka-bali-ø=w
     far=DIR 3SG-go.PL-3=PL=DS=ABL DEM 3SG-go.PL-3=PL 3SG-go.PL-3=PL
     ka-bali-ø=w shëwë-shta-ø
     3SG-go.PL-3=PL evening-FUT-3
     'After they had taken her far away –they took her and took her and took her– it became evening.' (OR-20MA-8)

In (8)a, the repetition of *amala samma* indicates that the water was coming during a long stretch of time and augmentatively. In (8)b repetition indicates recurrence, whereas in (8)c, it indicates an ongoing event.

Apart from this means of marking duration and iterativity, adverbs, such as *chajtiya* in (8)b are used to mark these aspectual distinctions. Aspectual adverbs will be the topic of section 6.5.2 below. Another periphrastic way of marking aspect is by means of a number of auxiliaries (cf. chapter 8.2.1)

As mentioned above, Yurakaré also has morphological means to mark aspectual distinctions. There are separate markers for incompletive, habitual and iterative aspect. The latter is marked by a system of verbal number, which will be discussed below.

6.2.1 Incompletive

The incompletive aspect marker *a-* presents an action as being unfinished or ongoing:

(9) a **a-**ense-ø=w=ja **a-**shilla-ø=w=ya na wenche=w
     INC-drink-3=PL=SS INC-dance-3=PL-NVR DEM tapir=PL
     'While they were drinking, the tapirs were dancing.' (AR-8MI-68)

  b **a-**tiya-tu=ja ka-la-wshë-tu samu pumë-ø=ti
     INC-eat-1PL.S 3SG-AFO-hear-1PL.S jaguar whistle-3=DS
     'While we were eating we heard the singing of the jaguar.' [FA-28MA-1]

In (9)a, at the time reference point, the action of drinking is ongoing, as is the action of dancing *shilata* (traditional dancing and singing) begins. In (9)b, the event of eating is ongoing at the time of reference. The following examples show that the incompletive marker has a wider range than just incompletive aspect, since it sometimes indicates that an event is incipient:

(10) a   shëy   **a**-ense-ø=w=ti=jsha   nij   ma-ja-n-toro-ø=bëla
         yesterday   INC-drink-3=PL=DS=ABL   NEG   3PL-3SG-IO-ended-3=CNT
         'They started drinking yesterday and they still have not finished.' [MH-24MA-4]

    b   më   mala-m=ti   lëtëmë=chi   **a**-nënë-shti   së=ja
       2SG.PRN   go.SG-2SG.S=DS   jungle=DIR   INC-cook-FUT:1SG.S   1SG:PRN=EMPH
       'When you go to the jungle, I am going to cook.' [VL-24MA-11]

The use of the incompletive marker in (11) is not completely transparent. A possible explanation might be related to the fact that the complement of *aewema* is marked with a direction marker. The correct translation might be 'Sweep in/at his house':

(11) **a**-ewe-ma   të-ta-ø   a   shunñe   a-sib=chi
    INC-sweep-IMP.SG   1SG.CO-say-3   DEM   man   3SG.P-house=DIR
    '"Sweep his house"', the man said to me.' [MH-24MA-4]

Predicates marked with *a*- can sometimes get a perfective interpretation:

(12) a-ewe-ø=ja   abayla-ø=ya   a-patiu=y
    INC-sweep-3=SS   dance-3=NVR   3SG.P-patio=LOC
    'After she had been sweeping, she danced in her patio.'   (OR-19MA-29)

Transitive verbs marked with the incompletive marker can still take a direct object, but this can only be a third person singular, and is often interpreted as a generic noun, as in (13)c.

(13) a   ma-bëbë-y   petche=w
         3PL-search-1SG.S   fish=PL
         'I search(ed) for fishes.'

    b   a-bëbë-y
       INC-search-1SG.S
       'I am searching.'

    c   a-bëbë-y   petche
       INC-search-1SG.S   fish
       'I am searching for fish.'

    d * a-bëbë-y   petche=w
        INC-search-1SG.S   fish=PL
        'I a searching for fishes.'

The incompletive marker decreases the valency of transitive verbs to a certain extent. This is not an uncommon effect of an incompletive marker. Atelic verbs are considered lower in transitivity value that telic ones, furthermore the patient is less affected by an incompletive event (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980:252).

When speakers want to express incompletive action without a generic interpretation of the undergoing participant, this participant is cross-referenced as an affected object

(14) a ti-duya-ø   isuna
         1SG-sting-3   stingray
         'The stingray stung me.' [MH-7MA-3]
      b ti-l-a-duya-ø   isuna
         1SG-AFO-INC-sting-3   stingray
         'The stingray is stinging me.' [MH-7MA-3]

The affected object can be defined as a direct object that is less (completely) affected. For discussion on affected object, cf. section 5.2.4.

Some verbs cannot take the incompletive marker, some obligatorily take the incompletive marker, and others optionally take it. This has to do with the lexical aspect of verbs. Among the verbs that always carry the incompletive marker are the following:

(15) a-wëwë   'cry'
      a-bësë   'play'
      a-juyja   'fish'
      a-wijwë   'whistle'
      a-bayla   'dance'   < Sp. bailar
      a-janta   'sing'   < Sp. cantar
      a-jonta   'tell; count' < Sp. contar
      a-rojo   'snore'   < Sp. roncar

These verbs have in common that they are inherently non-punctual, and that they do not have a clear accomplishment point. Not all verbs with this inherent aspect obligatorily take the incompletive marker. Especially movement verbs, (15)a, and stative verbs, (15)b, cannot take the incompletive marker:

(16) a   danda   'go up'   *a-danda
          otto   'go out'   *a-otto
          yupa   'go in'   *a-yupa   but: a-yup~pa   abëshë 'he is putting his clothes in'
          dele   'fall'   *a-dele
          chittu   'cross'   *a-chittu
          mala   'go'   a-mala 'come'[1]
      b   bushu   'lie'   *a-bushu
          büsüjta 'broken'   *a-büsüjta
          idëjta   'miss'   *a-idëjta
          banna   'lack'   *a-banna

Verbs that optionally take the incompletive marker are usually verbs denoting events that can take a certain amount of time, or that can be construed that way, in the sense that a repetition of events is presented as a whole:

(17) a   a-bobo-ø
          INC-hit;kill-3
          'He is fighting.' [AA-9MA-8]
      b   a-dyama-ø
          INC-pinch-3
          'He is pinching.' [VP-18MA-2]

Non-recurrent punctual events can usually not take the incompletive marker:

(18) a   *a-büsüj~bü-ø
          INC-broken~CAU-3
          'He breaks it.'
      b   a-bititë-ø
          INC-tear-3
          'He is tearing.'

It seems that, whenever a predicate allows for an interpretation with time duration, the incompletive marker can be used.

Even though this seems to be the general tendency, it is not always very clear what exactly makes a root adequate for being combinable with the incompletive marker. The following verbs can take a certain amount of time, or can be construed that way in the manner of (17), but can nevertheless not take the incompletive marker:

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[1] The formal relation between *mala* 'go' and *amala* 'come' is clear. It is likely, however, that the *a*-element comes from the demonstrative adverb *ani* 'here'.

(19)　chaya　　　'feed'
　　　chummë　　'slice'
　　　biyissa　　'slap'
　　　chiwwa　　'taste'
　　　ichee　　　'pay'
　　　idumaja　　'bother, molest'
　　　koroshdye　'cut hair'
　　　mashi　　　'rain'

Further research should make clear what exactly determines the combinatory possibilities of the incompletive marker *a-*.

6.2.2 Verbal number

The incompletive marker can be contrasted with the verbal plural marker *i-* (or *y-* after a vowel), which indicates more than one, distinguishable events. It is in complementary distribution with the incompletive marker *a-*, and it is often combined with the distributive marker *-uma* or a reduplicative suffix:

(20)　a　**i**-shudyuj-ta-**wma**-ø　　winani-ø=ja　　(…)
　　　　　VPL-hidden-MID-DST-3　　walk-3=SS
　　　　　'When she walked hiding every now and again (…)' (AR-8MI-16)
　　　b　ti-apta=w　　　ma-**y**-wiwi-**wma**-ø=w
　　　　　1SG-family=PL　3PL-VPL-arrive.PL-DST-3=PL
　　　　　'They are bringing home my fellow-men everytime.' (AR-8MI-38)
　　　c　**i**-bëbë~**bë**-ø
　　　　　VPL-search~DST-3
　　　　　'He is searching everywhere.'　[AA-9MA-8]

There is no clear difference in interpretation between the distributive marked with -*uma* or reduplication, although reduplication occurs more often with transitive verbs than intransitive verbs:

(21)　a　winani-ø=w=ya　　a-ye=tina　　l-achu-ta　　　　dula-ø=w=ya
　　　　　walk-3=PL=NVR　　3SG.P-sister　REF-like.that-MID　do;make-3=PL=NVR
　　　　　i-ñ-**uma**-ø=w=ya　　　ati=w　　　a-ye=tina
　　　　　VPL-nurse-DST-3=PL　DEM=PL　　3SG.P-sister=COM
　　　　　'He lived with his sister; like that they did, and had several children.'(AY-2NC-1)
　　　b　la　　　a-bashti　　**i**-bobo~**bo**-ø=ja　　　　ku-mala-ø=ya
　　　　　when　3SG.P-wife　VPL-hit;kill~DST-3=SS　3SG.CO-go.SG-3=NVR
　　　　　'When he had given his wife a beating he went after him.' (OR-19MA-9)

Both forms of the verbal plural (i.e. *-uma* as well as the reduplicative form) can pluralize the event, thus creating a repetitive interpretation, but they can also distribute one event over different participants:

(22) a otto-ø=w=ja   **i**-bali-**wma**-ø=w
       go.out-3=PL=SS   VPL-go.PL-DST-3=PL
       'After they came out (of the water) they each went.' (OR-19MA-3)
   b ati-kki   li-shuye~**ye**-ø=w
       DEM-MEA:LOC   DEL-trust~DST-3=PL
       'Then they all trusted him.' (OR-20MA-10)

The prefix *i-* can occur without *-uma* or reduplication, although this is very infrequent:

(23) **i**-ñeta-ø=w   tarapu
     VPL-fall.PL-3=PL   cloth:PL
     'The cloths are falling.'

On the other hand, *-uma* or the reduplicative form can occur without *i-*, and take the 'incompletive' prefix *a-* instead[2]:

(24) a a-ushpë-wma-ø
       INC-bathe-DST-3
       'He is bathing all the time.' [FP-13MA-12]
   b abayla~la-y   ajanta~ta-y
       dance:INC~DST-1SG.S   sing:INC~DST-1SG.S
       'I am singing and dancing.' [RF-26MA-5]

There is a small number of verbs that mark repetitive aspect by reduplicating the first syllable and replace the last syllable with the reduplicated syllable. The incompletive or verbal plural marker is not present:

(25) a müta 'pull'   mümü   'pull repetitively'
   b seta 'grab'   sese   'grab repetitively'
   c mëta 'bite'   meme   'bite repetitively'

A further small group of predicates have idiosyncratic ways of indicating duration or repetition. Some of these verbs replace their final vowel with /ë/; the verb *awëwë* 'cry' has a deviant durative form *awëwima*:

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[2] In (24)b, the combination of the root and the incompletive marker is lexicalized in both verbs.

(26) a   kushi   'shoot with arrow'   a-jushë   'shoot repetitively'

     b   aye   'vomit'   ayeë   'vomit repetitively'

     c   bishmi 'smoke'   a-bishmë 'chain-smoking' (Day 1991)

     d   ichii   'make bed'   a-chiyë   'be making bed'

     e   awëwë 'cry'   awëwima 'be crying'

It seems that the examples in (24) present the repeated events as an undividable whole, whereas events marked with *i-* are distinguishable, taking place at different points in time and/or space. In this sense the distinction between *i-* and *a-* can be compared with the mass-count distinction of nouns:

Table 35   - Comparing mass-count with incompletive-verbal plural

Nominal system		*Verbal system*	
count (pl)	+internal structure	VPL	+internal structure
mass	-internal structure	INC	-internal structure

The type of aspect marked by *i-* is called verbal number. Typological research has shown that there are basically two types of verbal number: event number and participant number (cf. Corbett 2000:246-247). The former refers to a pluralization of events, no matter how many participants, whereas the latter is sensitive only to the number of participants. While the system discussed above is clearly an example of event number, there is also a (limited) system of participant-based verbal number in Yurakaré.

  A small number of verbs have suppletive stems according to the number of participants, one for singular participants, another for plural participants. This system functions on an ergative basis: intransitive verbs respond to the number of subject-participants, transitive verbs respond to the number of object-participants. The verb *mala/bali* in example (27) is an example of a verb that has a suppletive stem on the basis of the number of the subject, while the verb stem *mii-puu* in (28) differs according to the number of objects. Examples (28)c and d show that it is really the number of objects that triggers the plural or singular stem. Whether the subject is singular or plural has no effect on the form of the stem.

(27) a   mala-ø

        go.SG-3

        'He goes.'

     b   bali-ø=w

        go.PL-3=PL

        'They go.'

(28) a mii-ø
        take.SG-3
        'He takes it.'

     b ma-pu-ø
        3PL-take.PL-3
        'He takes them.'

     c mii-ø=w
        take.SG-3=PL
        'They take it.'

     d ma-pu
        3PL-take.PL:3PL.S
        'They take them.'

The following verbs are sensitive to participant number[3], the stems on the left are singular, the ones on the right are plural:

(29) mala   - bali   'go'
      yupa   - yupata   'go in'
      wita   - wiwi   'arrive'
      chittu - chitchi   'cross'
      letu   - lele   'sit down'
      bushu   - peta   'lie (down)'
      dele   - ñeta   'fall'
      sheta   - sheshe   'be lost'
      tuwi   - shama   'die'
      chitta - kokko   'throw'
      mii   - puu   'take'

The system of participant-based verbal number is not merely agreement. This can be demonstrated with the behavior of inherently singular nouns. Inherently singular nouns (cf. section 4.2) are always grammatically singular, even though they can be plural conceptually. These nouns do not trigger plural person marking on the verb, but they can trigger plural verb stems:

(30) a dele-ø   ti-biskotcho
        fall.SG-3   1SG-bread
        'My bread fell.' [FP-13MA-13]

     b ñeta -ø   ti-biskotcho
        fall.PL-3   1SG-bread
        'My breads fell down.' [FP-13MA-13]

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[3] For a discussion on generalizations about the forms of these verb pairs, cf. section 3.2.6.

With many of the verbs in (29) there is a grey area in which both stems can be used, and where the judgements of speakers diverge. A few generalizations can be made:

- some verbs are clearer in their distribution than others
- plural stems can never be used with conceptually singular participants
- the more participants, the less likely it is that a plural stem is used

As far as the first generalization is concerned, the movement verbs *mala/bali* 'go', *yupa/yupata* 'go in', *wita/wiwi* 'arrive', and *chittu/chitchi* 'go across' are the clearest in their distribution: singular subjects trigger singular stems and plural participants trigger plural stems. Other verbs in (29) are less clear:

(31) a   lëshie   ti-wadernu   dele-ø   mesa=jsha
         two   1SG-book   fall.SG-3   table=ABL
         'My two books fell from the table.' [MV-33MA-2]

     b   bëmë   ti-wadernu   ñeta-ø   mesa=jsha
         many   1SG-book   fall.PL-3   table=ABL
         'My many books fell from the table.' [MV-33MA-2]

Where we would have expected the plural form *ñeta* in both examples, it does not appear in (31)a; it does, however comply with the more general rule that the more participants there are, the more likely it is that the plural stem is used. Sometimes there seems to be an explanation for an unexpected verb stem:

(32)   ma-chitta-ni-ø=j=laba   atta=yj   yujshë
       3PL-throw.SG-INTL-3=IGN=SBJ   other=DIR   wind
       'I suppose the wind threw them to the other side.' (OR-20MA-2)

The verb *chitta* is suppletive for number, and reacts to the number of direct-object participants. The prefix *ma-* refers to a plural object. Nevertheless, the verb stem is singular. This may have to do with the fact that the act of throwing does not apply to every one of the objects separately. The situation here is that a group of people and animals is on a boat, and the boat is thrown towards the other side by the wind, affecting the objects with one movement at the same time.

6.2.3 Habitual

The suffix *-jti* is used to mark habitual aspect. It appears right before the person markers of the subject. It is used frequently in narratives:

(33) a lëtta kummë ku-ta-**jti**-ø=w   shinama tiri   a-tata
       one   tree   3SG.CO-say-HAB-3=PL   before   Tiri 3SG.P-father
       'They used to say that this certain tree was the father of Tiri.'(AR-8MI-1)

   b latijsha ati lëtta yee   chërë-**jti**-ø=ya   na   ulë
      then   DEM one   woman   scratch-HAB-3=NVR   DEM   tree
      'Then there was this woman, who used to scratch this tree.' (AR-8MI-1)

   c i-sama=ya   mala=ya   chërë-ø   i-sama=ya   mala=ya
      VBL-water=NVR   go.SG=NVR   scratch-3   VBL-water=NVR   go.SG=NVR
      chërë-ø   **chajtiya**   na   yee
      scratch-3   always   DEM   woman
      'Whenever she went to get water, she always scratched the tree.'(AR-8MI-1)

The sequential utterances in (33) at the beginning of a narrative serve to indicate that there was a habitual, repetitive action of scratching by the woman. In (33)c there is no habitual marker necessary, since the repetitive nature is indicated by means of repetition of the verbs and the adverb *chajti(ya)*. In the form of this adverb one can recognize the habitual marker *-jti*. The element *cha* is possibly related to the *cha* of *achama* 'be like that'. The habitual marker is also often used in narratives to explain how the ancestors of the Yurakaré used to do things (as e.g. in (33)a).

   The interpretation of the habitual marker can be either present or past:

(34) a ëshë duche-**jti**-ø   numma   ta-mme   ayma
       why   burn:CAU-HAB-3   night   1PL-mother   fire
       'Why does our mother always light a fire at night?'(FA-6MA-6)

   b ma-dula-**jti**-ø=w   shinama   ta-ppë-shama=w
      3PL-do;make-HAB-3=PL   before   1PL-grandfather-PST=PL
      tuwa   ma-oshewo=w   lewle=w
      1PL.PRN   3PL-pot=PL   plate=PL
      'Our ancestors used to make their pots and plates.'(AR-8MI-16)

Sometimes the habitual reading is somewhat backgrounded:

(35) a nij-ta-**jti**   ati nish ana-pshë   na   puydara   atta   samu
       NEG-MID-HAB   DEM NEG   DEM-entity   DEM puydara   other   jaguar
       'The puydara is not that type [of jaguar] it is another jaguar.' (AR-8MI-14)

   b lëmmuy a-buybula   ma-ñotto-**jti**-ø=ya   kummë=w
      only   3SG.P-language=INS 3PL-push-HAB-3=NVR   tree=PL
      'Only by using his voice he pushed over the trees.' (AR-8MI-42)

   c tëtë-pshë=ja   mij~mi-n-shudyulë-**jti**-ø
      what-entity=EMPH   INTS~2SG-IO-beautiful-HAB-3
      'What is the most beautiful thing for you?' (AR-8MI-50)

In these cases the habitual aspect marker indicates an exemplary characteristic or trait of the subject, something which sets it apart from other things. This idea of exclusivity is compatible with the habitual reading, and forms a connection between the habitual-repetitive uses of *-jti* and the limitative use of *-jti* on nominal elements (cf. section 4.4.2). In (35)a, the fact that the puydaras, mythological ancestors of the jaguar, are not like the present-day jaguar sets them apart as a subgroup of jaguars. In (35)b, we are dealing with the only person to have the trait of being able to throw over trees with his voice. In (35)c, finally, 'being beautiful' is characteristic for the questioned entity.

The first person plural form of the habitual is *-tijti*, where one would expect *-jti-tu*:

(36) lëjëlë-shta-ø=ti   winani=ya   bëbë-tijti   bëshëë
      morning-FUT-3=DS   walk=NVR   search-HAB:1PL.S   entity
      'Before sunrise we go walking to look for animals.' (AR-8MI-12)

This is possibly an instance of morph methatesis (Haiman 1977), and has been discussed in section 3.2.5.

6.2.4 *Near completive aspect and recent completive aspect*

All the above aspectual distinctions view the event from inside; there are two aspectual markers that view events from outside their boundaries: *-nishi* and *-lë*. They indicate time points right before and right after an event takes place, respectively. They are not very frequent. I gloss them near completive aspect (*-nishi*) and recent completive aspect (*-lë*):

(37) a lëjëlë-**nishi**-ø ma-bali-jti-ø=w   adyaj-ta   dalla=w
         day-NC-3   3PL-go.PL-HAB-3=PL   fast-MID   head=PL
         'Just before daybreak, they used to take the hair with them running.'(AY-3NC-2)
      b achu-ta   wita-**nishi**-ø=ja   ka-la-wëshëwë-ø=ya
         like.that-MID   arrive.SG-NC-3=SS   3SG-AFO-eavesdrop-3=NVR
         'When he had almost reached him, he eavesdropped on him.' (FA-6MA-8)

Example (37)a is taken from an explanatory text, in which the ritual surrounding the celebration of womanhood is explained. When a girl gets her first menstruation, they lock her up in a mosquito net and cut off her hair. They take the hair that has been cut off and stick it on a motacú tree.

(38) a la   li-lim~lë-**lë**-ø=ja   adyaj   ka-la-mala-ø=ya
        when   DEL-awake~CAU-RC-3=SS   fast   3SG-AFO-go:SG-3=NVR
        'As soon as she had woken him up, she ran away from him.' (AY-3NC-9)

    b wita-**lë**-y=ti   mala-ø   ti-bba
        arrive.SG-RC-1SG.S=DS   go.SG-3   1SG-husband
        'As soon as I arrived, my husband left.'   [FA-24MA-16]

The suffix *-lë* is often followed by a switch reference marker, or some other marker indicating that we are dealing with a subordinate clause. The suffix *-nishi* is probably related to the suffixes *-ni* 'intentional', which will be discussed in 6.3.1, and *-sh(i)* adverbializer, cf. sections 3.3.2 and 4.5.1.

6.3 Mood & modality

As with aspect, many modality distinctions are encoded by means of propositional enclitics, which will be the topic of the next chapter. Here we are concerned with event modality, which is "concerned with the speaker's attitude towards a potential future event" (Palmer 2001:8).

6.3.1 intentional -ni

The marker *-ni* indicates an action or state that has not (yet) taken place, which nevertheless is in many cases an expected or even purposive reality. It has the following functions:

(39) a *wish*
        anu-ta   i-jamio-ni   laij=yu
        like.this-MID   VBL-car-INTL:1SG.S   too=EXPR.F
        'I wish I would have a car like this too.'[RF-26MA-7]

    b *exhortative*
        dula-n-tu   ta-pojore
        do;make-INTL-1PL.S   1PL-canoe
        'Let's make our boat.'   (OR-20MA-1)

    c *comissive*
        at=chi   mala-ni   ta-ø=ya
        DEM=DIR   go.SG-INTL:1SG.S   say-3=NVR
        '"I am going there now", he said to him.' (AR-8MI-58)

    d *presupposition*
        tëtë-pshë   ka-tütü-ni   të-ta-jti-p=chi
        what-entity   3SG-sit;be-INTL:1SG.S   1SG-CO-say-HAB-2PL.S=IGN
        'What are you saying that I should have?' (AR-8MI-23)

e *complement of a number of matrix verbs*
  ti-jusu-ø   mi-n-dyuju-ni=ti …
  1SG-want-3   2SG-IO-tell-INTL=DS
  'I want to tell you…' (AR-8MI-82)

In all of these examples the function of *-ni* is slightly different, but they all have in common that they encode a non-factual event. In (39)a, *-ni* indicates that we are dealing with a wish; in (39)b, the /i/ is dropped before the first person plural marker, exhortative action is marked. In (39)c *-ni* has a similar meaning as in b, but the meaning can also be purely aspectual, not much different from the near completive marker *-nishi* discussed in section 6.2:

(40) li-ti-ja-n-tta-ma   lumulu   aye-ni
    DEL-1SG-3SG-IO-put-IMP.SG   warm   vomit-INTL:1SG.S
    'Put on some warm water for me, I am about to vomit.'   (OR-19MA-30)

In (39)d, *-ni* marks a presupposed, but not actualized situation. It can often be translated with the English adverb 'supposedly'. In (39)e, finally, *-ni* is found as a sort of subjunctive marker. It is found in complements of verbs of desire, lack, fear etc, that subcategorize for events that have not taken place yet. For more on this see sections 8.2.1, 8.2.4, and 8.2.7.

Even though *-ni* cannot always be translated as intentional action, I gloss it this way. Firstly because the intentional reading (commissive and exhortative) is the most frequently encountered function of *-ni*, but also because other uses of *-ni* can often be analyzed in this way. For instance some of the occurences where *-ni* marks a complement:

(41) nij   poydi=la   ma-alkansa-ni=ti
    NEG   can:1SG.S=VAL   3PL-reach-INTL=DS
    'I could not, when I intended to reach them.' (AY-3NC-8)

Furthermore, the 'wish'-reading is only possible in combination with the expressive marker =*yu* (women) or =*ri* (for men).

When *-ni* is combined with a non-first person, the interpretation is often that the event is to take place at another location than the current position of the subject (translocative):

(42) a li-wjwa-ni-ø=w[4]
          DEL-look-INTL-3=PL
          'They went (to another place) to look.' (FA-6MA-7)

      b bëshë bëm-ni-m=ti   së=ja   nëni-shti
         stuff search-INTL-2SG.S=DS   1SG.PRN=EMPH   cook-FUT:1SG.S
         'While you are going to hunt, I'll cook.' [FA-24MA-16]

Imperatives are also often combined with *-ni*, where it also mostly gets the translocative interpretation:

(43) a li-wjwa-ni-m=chi
          DEL-look-INTL-IMP.SG=IGN
          'Go and look!' (FA-6MA-7)

      b lëtëmë=chi mala=ya   bëbë-ni-cha-m   bëshëë
         jungle=DIR go.SG=NVR   search-INTL-JUS-2SG.S stuff
         'Go to the jungle and find some [food] there.' (AR-8MI-65)

The marker *-ni* on nouns indicates that the entity is foreseen to come into existence:

(44) a mala-ø=ja   ëwwë-ø=ya elle   a-sibë-ni
         go.SG-3=SS   dig-3=NVR ground   3SG.P-house-INTL
         'He went and dug the ground to make his house-to-be.' (AY-2NC-2)

      b ma-bëbë-ni-ni   ta-tiba-ni=w
         3PL-search-INTL-INTL:1SG.S   1PL-pet-INTL=PL
         'I am going to go and look for our pets-to-be.' (AR-8MI-51)

In both examples of (44) there is talk of a future entity, an entity that does not exists as such yet. In (44)b, the animals that the agent is going to search for already exist, but not in the function of his pets.

   In (44)b there is also a double intentional marker. If the marker *-ni* is followed by another TMA suffix (including a second *-ni*), its meaning is again translocative:

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[4] The locative interpretation might also be due to the delimiter prefix *li-*, cf. section 6.4.2.

(45) a   *intentional + jussive*

li-wjwa-**ni-cha**-m   ta-jukkulë

DEL-look-INTL-JUS-2SG.S   1PL-field

'Come and look at our field!' (AR-8MI-41)

    b   *intentional + habitual*

ma-bëbë-**ni-jti**-ø=w   yënnë=w

3PL-search-INTL-HAB-3=PL   bi.fruit=PL

'They always went to look for bi fruit.' (AY-3NC-2)

    c   *intentional + future*

bali-jti-ø=w=ya   pëpë-shama=w   lacha   arroyo=la   ajuyja-**ni-shta**=ya

go.PL-HAB-3=PL=NVR grandfather-PST=PL   too   creek=INS   fish-INTL-FUT=NVR

'Our ancestors went along the creek as well to go fishing.' (AY-3NC-6)

    d   *intentiona + intentional*

li-ma-wjwa-**ni-n**-tu

DEL-3PL-look-INTL-INTL-1PL.S

'Let's go and look at them.' (AR-8MI-68)

6.3.2 Potential -ta

The marker -*ta*[5] indicates that the event expressed in the predicate is a potential reality:

(46) a   ati   ka-puppu-**ta**-ø   bobo-ø=y=chi   laij=la=ye

DEM   3SG-make.loose-POT-3   hit;kill-3=NVR=IGN   too=VAL=NB.F

'Had he cut that one loose, he would have killed him as well.' (FA-6MA-11)

    b   sëlu   nish   të-mala-ni-ø   nentaya   bobo-**ta**-ø=w=se

careful   NEG   1SG.CO-go.SG-INTL-3   maybe   hit;kill-POT-3=PL=SE

'Make sure that he doesn't go and follow me; they might kill him.' (OR-20MA-8)

    c   ti-yam   pura   ka-mala-**ta**-ø   samma   ku-ti=la

1SG-sibling   pura   3SG-go.SG-POT-3   water   3SG.CO-say:1SG.S=VAL

'I thought the water might have taken my sister Pura.' (BT-27MA-11)

In the counterfactual conditional construction in (46)a, the conditional clause is marked with -*ta*. It is the only conditional construction where the conditional clause does not get a subordination marker (cf. section 8.2). The superordinate clause is often, but not necessarily marked with the dubitative marker =*chi*.

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[5] This marker is not the same marker as the middle marker -*tA* (cf. section 5.3.1). It has a different function, but also a different form, since it does not undergo vowel assimilation. It is possible, however, that they both stem from the same origin, arguably the verb *ta* 'say'.

(47) a nij ka-la-bbë-**ti** oshewo tiyu=y=chi talipa=w ti-chata
    NEG 3SG-AFO-cover-POT:1SG.S pot eat:3PL=NVR=IGN chicken=PL 1SG-food
    'If I had not covered the pot, the chickens would have eaten my food.' [MH-31MA-6]

   b an noe nij-ta-**ta**-ø nijta-shta-ø=ya latiji ta-chata tuwa=se
    DEM Noah NEG-MID-POT-3 NEG-MID-3=NVR subsequently 1PL-food 1PL.PRN=SE
    'If it had not been for Noah, there wouldn't be food for us.' (OR-20MA-3)

Literally, these sentences can be translated as 'I might not have covered the pot, the chickens would possibly eat my food' (the a-sentence) and 'Noah might not have been, there would have been no food for us' (the b-sentence).

6.3.3 Desiderative *-nta*

Desiderative *-nta* also appears right before the person markers. It expresses a desire to do or be something:

(48) a sisë-**nta**=ya nish poyde a-sisë-jti-ø=w=ya
    touch-DES=NVR NEG can INC-touch-HAB-3=PL=NVR
    They wanted to touch them, but they could not.' (AR-8MI-87)

   b ma-seta-**nta**-ø=ya düüp ma-n-dojo-ø jejeje bali-ø=w
    3PL-grab-DES-3=NVR IDEO 3PL-IO-pass-3 INTJ go.PL-3=PL
    'He wanted to grab them, but missed them 'jejeje' they went.' (OR-19MA-3)

This suffix may very well be a combination of intentional *-ni* and potential *-ta*, the marker of possibility (cf. 6.3.2). Nevertheless I will consider this a separate, undividable suffix, since the meaning does not follow transparently from adding up the parts.
 In some circumstances there is no element of free will with the desiderative:

(49) mashi-nta-ø
   rain-DES-3
   'It wants to rain (i.e.: it looks like it's going to rain).' [VP-6MA-28]

6.3.4 Jussive *-cha*

The jussive marker *-cha* is also found before the person markers. It only combines with non-first persons. It expresses a desire on the part of the speaker in the form of a command, a wish or an incentive for the proposition to be realized. The marker precedes the person markers:

(50) a dula-**cha**-p   onno   mu-ta-ø=ya   a-shoja=w
         do;make-JUS-2PL.S   tamale 3PL.CO-say-3=NVR   3SG.P-daughter=PL
         '"Make some tamale", he said to his daughters'. (OR-19MA-2)

   b shama-**cha**-ø=w=ya   mu-ta-ø=ya
      die.PL-JUS-3=PL=NVR   3PL.CO-say-3=NVR
      '"I hope they die", he said to them.' (AR-8MI-34)

   c më-jti   che-**cha**-m   che=ya   nish   ti-wështi   sëë
      2SG.PRN-LIM eat-JUS-2SG.S   eat=NVR NEG   1SG-hunger   1SG.PRN
      'You eat! I am not hungry.' (AY-2NC-4)

In (50)a the jussive marker indicates a mild command, in (50)b it indicates a wish by the speaker, and in (50)c it is used hortatively. In the latter sense it is in complementary distribution with *-ni* 'intentional' (this section), which is used for first person singular and plural exhortative.

The jussive marker is also often found in the following construction:

(51) tütü-n-tu=naja   achaya   më=ja   gana-**cha**-m
      sit;be-INTL-1PL=DSC   so.that   2SG.PRN=EMPH   earn-JUS-2SG.S
      'Let's stay for a while so that you earn a little money.' (OR-20MA-5)

In this construction the complementary distribution of *-ni* and *-cha* becomes clear. A subordinate clause introduced by the word *acha(ya)* is marked *-ni* when the subject of that clause is a first person[6]:

(52) ti-ma-n-kaya-cha-m   kudyu-tanti=w   achaya ma-ñesse-**ni**
      1SG-3PL-IO-give-JUS-2SG.S   pumpkin-seed=PL   so.that 3PL-sow;plant-INTL:1SG.S
      'Give me the pumpkin seed so that I can sow them.' (AR-8MI-42)

6.3.5 Imperative

Finally, there is a system of imperatives. Imperative marking distinguishes singular and plural, and polarity (in the sense that there is a separate prohibitive form). Positive imperative singular is indicated either by the suffix *-ma*, or by the prefix *m-/n-*:

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[6] Other markers that imply irrealis mode can also be marked on the subordinate clause, cf. section 8.2.5.

(53) a ka-bayla-**ma**
      3SG-dance-IMP.SG
      'Pick her to dance with!' [FL-1MA-3]

    b ka-**m**-bayla-ø
      3SG-IMP.SG-dance-3
      'Pick her to dance with!' [FP-2MA-8]

These two forms are used interchangeably to a certain extent. The prefix form can only be used if it is preceded by a direct object or a comitative object.

   The plural imperative is either marked by the suffix *-pa* or by the prefix *pi-*:

(54) a ku-bali-**pa**
      3SG.CO-go.PL-IMP.PL
      'Follow him!' [MH-14MA-19]

    b **pi**-peta   ati
      IMP.PL-lie(down).PL   DEM
      'Lie down over there!' (AY-3NC-7)

Unlike the imperative singular prefix, the prefix *pi-* can be combined with all kinds of applied objects. Nevertheless it has some rather idiosyncratic placement rules. It follows first person objects and the delimiter *li-* (cf. section 6.4.2), but it precedes all other objects:

(55) a **pi**-ja-y-bali   pa-tata
      IMP.PL-3SG-PO-go.PL   1PL-father
      'Go and get your father!' (OR-19MA-3)

    b **pi**-pa-n-dyërërë
      IMP.PL-2PL-IO-converse
      'Speak!' [MH-14MA-19]

    c ti-**pi**-n-dyuju=chi
      1SG-IMP.PL-IO-tell=IGN
      'Tell me!' (AY-3NC-6)

    d të-**pë**-yuda   lacha
      1SG.CO-IMP.PL-help   too
      'Help me!' (OR-20MA-1)

    e li-**pi**-wjwa=chi
      DEL-IMP.PL-look=IGN
      'Go look over there!' (FA-6MA-5)

Example (55)b shows the peculiar behavior of the verb *dyërërë* 'converse' (cf. section 5.2.7) which seems to have no subject, the agent being cross-referenced as an indirect object. In the imperative construction, this participant is still cross-referenced, unlike other verbs that are marked for imperative and lose their subject-agreement marker.

Also transparent from these examples is that prefix *pi-* can intervene between the root and some prefixes, notably the first person object, cf. (55)c and d, and delimitative *li-*, cf. (55)e. Note that *pi-* does precede third and second persons, cf. (55)a and b.

Finally, there is the prohibitive *-yu*:

(56) dele-yu
      fall:SG-PROH
      'Don't fall!'

Plural negative imperatives are, in addition to the prohibitive marker, also marked with the prefix *pi-*:

(57) pi-mu-winani-yu   ati   karaya=w
      IMP.PL-3PL.CO-walk-PROH   DEM   white.folks=PL
      'Don't live with the white folks.' (AR-8MI-86)

Imperatives are often combined with the dubitative enclitic =*chi*; the relation between these two will be discussed in section 7.1.2.

6.4 Verbal derivation

A few other categories can be marked on the verb. Three affixes can be subsumed under the heading 'degree' (6.4.1); then the prefix *li-*, which denotes delimitation, is discussed in section 6.4.2. Finally, I will discuss category-changing derivation in 6.4.3.

6.4.1 Degree: high, medial and low

As has been discussed in 3.3.2 and 4.5, intensity on adjectives is indicated by prefixing the first one or two syllables of the stem, followed by *j* (/h/); for morphophonological details, cf. section 3.2.3. When this morphological process is applied to verbs, the semantic effect is comparable: it marks high degree and/or much intensity.

(58) a   tëtë-pshë   **milaj**~mi-la-shojñe-jti-ø
          what-entity   INTS~2SG-AFO-frighten-HAB-3
          'What frightens you the most?' (AR-8MI-51)
      b   **shamaj**~shama-shta-ø=w=ya=chi
          INTS~die.PL-FUT-3=PL=NVR=IGN
          'They really were about to *die*.' (AR-8MI-63)
      c   latijsha   **lij**~li-pëlë-shta-ø=w=ya
          then   INTS~DEL-end-FUT-3=PL=NVR
          'They were almost *finished* (i.e. dead)!'   (AR-8MI-90)

In all of the examples in (58), the reduplicative prefix marks high intensity, or emphasis of what is expressed in the predicate; in (58)a the reduplicative suffix gives a superlative meaning to the predicate: 'what do you fear to the highest degree, most intensely'; in (58)b and (58)c the gravity of the situation triggers the use of the intensifying prefix; it serves here to emphasize the predicate, to indicate that the event is at its most intense.

The suffix *-mashi* indicates limited degree. It can often be translated with 'a little', 'mildly' 'halfheartedly', 'halfway'. It comes right before the person markers:

(59) a puwa-**mashi**-ø
   drunk-LD-3
   'He is mildly drunk, tipsy.'

  b otto-**mashi**-ø=w=naja kummë=w
   go.out-LD-3=PL=DSC tree=PL
   'The trees have come out (of the water) a little.'(OR-20MA-2)

  c ama-sh-i-ø=naja mi-nñu yita-**mashi**-ø=la
   WH-ADV-VBL-3=DSC 2SG-baby good-LD-3=VAL
   'How is your baby now? Is she a little better?' (FL-14MA-1)

  d më=ja   tishilë a-tëptë-shta-m=naja   poyde-**mashi**-m
   2SG.PRN=EMPH now INC-wash-FUT-2SG.S=DSC can-LD-2SG.S
   a-tëptë-ni-m=ti
   INC-wash-INTL-2SG.S=DS
   'And you? Are you going to wash now? Can you do that a little?' (FL-14MA-1)

In negative clauses (cf. section 8.1.7), the limited degree marker is interpreted as an intensifier of the negation, meaning 'absolutely nothing':

(60) anu-ta   nish ka-müta-**mashi**-m ñowwo ku-ta-ø=ya
   like.this-MID NEG 3SG-take.out-LD-2SG manioc 3SG.CO-say-3=NVR
   '"You didn't even harvest a little manioc", they said to her.' (OR-19MA-29)

Finally, the diminutive marker *-nñu* (cf. section 4.4.2) is also used on predicates:

(61) a todito anu   shudyulë-**nñu**-ø a-itta   a-alparata-nñu
   all   like.this beautiful-DIM-3 3SG.P-thing 3SG.P-adornment-DIM
   bënama   animal bëshë-nñu
   be.like.this animal thing-DIM
   'It was all like this, very beautiful, with all kinds of little adornments, it was like this, all these little things and animals. (OR-20MA-9)

  b ana-ja-lë   baja-**nñu**-ø
   DEM-MEA-AMP subside-DIM-3
   'The water had subsided a little.' (OR-20MA-2)

The diminutive marker on a predicate is, as in (61)a, a copy of the characteristics of the subject marked by the diminutive marker on the noun, i.e. the fact that it is small or that it evokes mollification. It can also mean, as in (61)b, small degree; i.e. in (61)b, the fact that the predicate is marked with the diminutive does not mean that the water is small, but rather that it has subsided only a little.

6.4.2 Delimiter li-

The prefix *li-*, which, in the verbal template, can only be preceded by the intensification reduplication, has several functions. First, it can point to a specific, bounded place.

(62) a **li**-busha-ø   a-petche   a-werta=y
          DEL-lay-3   3SG.P-fish   3SG.P-basket=LOC
          'He puts his fish into his basket.' [MH-11MA-12]

    b **li**-tta-ø=j   mala-ø
          DEL-put-3=SS   go.SG-3
          'He locked them up and went away.' (OR-19MA-9)

    c ama   nij   felis   **li**-ssë-ø   a-itta=y   a-embarkashon
          WH   NEG   happy   DEL-stand-3 3SG.P-thing=LOC   3SG.P-ship
          'He was very happy inside his ship.' (OR-20MA-2)

    d kawtu-shku   wolek wolek **li**-ja-n-tësë-ø   ashaa=y
          parrot-ADV.CMP   IDEO   IDEO   DEL-3SG-IO-be-3   above=LOC
          'He waited for him above (in the tree) imitating a parrot: 'wolek wolek'. (OR-19MA-9)

    e **li**-yajta-ø   pojor=chi petche
          DEL-jump-3   canoe=DIR fish
          'The fish jumped into the canoe.' [MH-11MA-12]

    f a-ushpë-shti=ja   **li**-dele-y   sama=chi
          INC-bathe-FUT:1SG.S=SS DEL-fall.SG-1SG.S water=DIR
          'When I was going to bathe, I fell into the water.' [RF-30MA-6]

In all of these utterances, a figure is located in a place by which he is surrounded. The located figure can be a direct object, cf. (62)a and b, as well as a subject, especially when the predicate indicates a locational state, cf. (62)c-d, or a change of location, cf. (62)a-b and e-f.

   Even though the interpretation of specific location is often found in combination with movement or locative predicates, this is not necessarily the case:

(63) mala-ø=ya **li**-juya-ø=w=ti   shuppë=w a-dala=y
     go:SG-3=NVR DEL-burn-3=PL=DS urine=PL   3SG.P-head=LOC
     'He went away when the urine was burning into his head.'

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In this text fragment, a man has been sitting under a tree and the person who is up in the tree urinates upon him. The urine burns into his bald head, so he runs away. The delimiter *li-* gives a local dimension to the non-local verb 'to burn'.

What counts as a place specific enough to trigger the delimiter is hard to say, but containers are always good candidates. Other locations that are less confined than containers, however, are also found with the *li-* marker:

(64) a an a-toyo=y li-pëjta-ø a-dala a-sojo=ja
   DEM 3SG.P-knee=LOC DEL-be.placed-3 3SG.P-head 3SG.P-skin=EMPH
   'The skin of his head was placed on his lap.' (OR-19MA-10)
  b li-wjwa-shta -tu
   DEL-look-FUT-1PL.S
   'We are going to take a look there.' (AR-8MI-23)

In example (62)d we already saw that a tree, also not really a container, can trigger the delimiting prefix on the predicate. In (64)a, someone's lap is considered to be specific enough to trigger *li-*. In (64)b, the location talked about has been the topic of the conversation within the text. Head marking seems to be connected to topicality in Yurakaré (cf. Van Gijn 2005). It is a place where a certain scent comes from, and the speaker here wants to know where this scent is coming from, so he says he and his brothers are going to look *there*. The verb *ujwa* (here reduced to *wjwa*) often combines with the delimiter, because the verb means 'to look in a specific place'.

The prefix *li-* in these examples refers to a specific, bounded location. What counts as a specific location depends partly on the characteristics of the location (as mentioned above, containers make good candidates) and possibly the context (topicality). However, *li-* has some other functions as well.

With a limited set of verbs, mainly cognitive and emotional predicates, it means 'to become (more) X' or 'to X more'.

(65) a li-lojo-ø=tiba noe
   DEL-crazy-3=ASM Noah
   'Noah must have gone crazy.' (OR-20MA-1)
  b li-benebene-ø
   DEL-sick-3
   'He is getting worse (sicker).'[MH-11MA-12]
  c li-shojñe-ø
   DEL-frighten-3
   'He frightens him more.' [DV-23MA-9]

A possible connection with the examples in (62)-(64) is that emotions sometimes are associated with a specific place in the body:

(66) dyuluj-ta-ø=w=ya   latiji   ma-shinojshi
frightened-MID-3=PL=NVR   subsequently   3PL-heart:LOC
'They became scared in their hearts.' (AY-3NC-9)

On the other hand, this function might be associated with yet another function of *li-*, repeated event:

(67) a   li-mashi-ø
       DEL-rain-3
       'It rained again.' [HC-21MA-2]
   b   li-mëta-ø
       DEL-bite   -3
       'He bit him again.' [HC-21MA-2]
   c   li-wilita-ø
       DEL-return-3
       'He went back again.'   [MH-14MA-15]
   d   li-ja-n-kaya-ø
       DEL-3SG-IO-give-3
       'He gave it back to him.' [FA-13MA-6]

It is not clear how these uses are connected. More research is needed to gain a deeper insight into this marker.

6.4.3 Category-changing derivation

Verbs can change into nouns and adverbs by means of derivational morphology. When combined with the word *bëshëë* 'thing, stuff, entity', shortened to *-pshë*[7], a verb can be used as a noun:

(68) a   a-judyu   ma-n-che-pshë
       3SG.P-joco   3PL-IO-eat-entity
       'The one who ate them [their] joco.'(AR-8MI-45)
   b   pa-tata   ka-la-wli-pshë=w=ja   wiwi-ø=w=laba
       2PL-father   3SG-AFO-penis-entity=PL=EMPH   arrive.PL-3=PL=SBJ
       'I think that the ones who cut off your father's penis have arrived.'(OR-19MA-2)

As can be seen, the verb can still retain many of its verbal characteristics, like the direct object and applicative markers. On the other hand it can be an argument of another

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[7] I consider *pshë* to be (reduced form of) a noun, and forms marked with *-pshë* consequently are compounds.

predicate, cf. (68)b, and take nominal morphology such as the plural marker and the emphasis marker in (68)b.

Adverbs can also be derived from verbs, even though this is not a very frequent process. Usually, verbs that are used as adverbs carry the marker *-shku*:

(69)   a   puwa-shku-ta   mala-ø
           be.drunk-ADV.CMP-MID   go.SG-3
           'He walks like he is drunk.' [HC-26MA-24]
       b   ka-la-deche-shku-ta[8]   bushu-ø
           3SG-AFO-meet;find-ADV.CMP-MID   lie(down)-3
           'It seems that he is lying down ill.' [HC-26MA-24]

Here too, the verb can retain some of its verbal characteristics, like the applicative marker and object.

Marginally, adverbs can derive from predicates by means of the suffix *-sh*:

(70)   ti-n-kukku-sh   sawatajti
       1SG-IO-nice-ADV   work-HAB:1SG.S
       'I like working.'   [FA-24MA-15]

Tinkukkush can be seen as a person-marked adverb meaning 'with pleasure'.

The suffix *-ilë* on a predicate indicates that the event expressed by the predicate is characteristic for the agent:

(71)   a   chitta-ylë-m
           throw.SG-CA-2SG.S
           'You go around throwing stuff away.' [RF-30MA-14]
       b   tiya-ylë-ø
           eat-CA-3
           'He is a glutton.' [RF-30MA-14]

According to Day (1980-23), predicates marked with *-ilë* can be used as nouns. I have only examples of predicatively used *-ilë*.

The suffix *-uta* denotes the place where some action typically or habitually takes place, or where something is typically encountered. It is used very infrequently:

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8 The diachrony of *kaladeche* 'be ill' is not clear; it seems to derive from *deche* 'meet'.

(72) a   ma-ense-wta
           3PL-drink-PLC
           'their drinking place' (AR-8MI-53)
      b   sinna-wta⁹
           ant-PLC
           'ant-place'

6.5 Adverbs

Adverbs in Yurakaré are relatively free in their distribution. Nevertheless, many adverbs seem to have a preferred position in the sentence, usually either directly before or after the predicate they modify. Some adverbs are found further away from the predicate, often at the edges of the sentence.

6.5.1 Adverbs of time

Since the morphological tense system in Yurakaré is not very elaborate (cf. section 6.1), many tense distinctions are expressed by time adverbs. Time adverbs include:

(73) shinama   'before, in the old days'
      ushta   'before, at that time'
      shëy   'yesterday'
      tishilë   'now'
      atijshija   'around now'

In all of these forms there is a /ʃ/ or /ʃi/ sound sequence. This is also the marker to derive adverbs from adjectives (cf. sections 4.5.1 and 6.5.8). This may be related to the shared sounds of the adverbs in (73). Other time adverbs are morphologically more transparent. Many time adverbs are based on the demonstrative *ati* 'that':

(74) numajsha   (numma 'night' + =jsha 'ablative')   'tomorrow'
      ashnumajsha   (ash > atijsha?)   'day after tomorrow'
      latijsha   (l- 'reference' + ati 'that' + =jsha)   'after that'
      latiji   (l- + ati; ji = ?)   'subsequently'
      atikkay   (ati + kka 'measure' + =y 'locative')   'in that period'
      atikkajsha   (ati + kka+ =jsha)   'from that time onwards'

Some time adverbs, like *ushta* 'before' *shinama* 'before' and *latiji* 'subsequently' normally directly follow the predicate:

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⁹ The name of the village Shinahota comes from Yurakaré *sinna-wta*.

(75) a   anu   imbëtë-ø=ya   **ushta**   tata   aysa
        like.this   behave-3=NVR   **before** father   Aysa
        'Father Aysa used to behave like this.' (OR-19MA-9)

      b   achu-ta   tütü-jti=ya   ma-dula-jti-ø=w   **shinama**
           like.that-MID   sit;be-HAB=NVR   3PL-do;make-HAB-3=PL   **before**
           ta-ppë-shama=w   tuwa   ma-oshewo=w   lewle=w
           1PL-grandfather-PST=PL   1PL.PRN   3PL-pot=PL   plate=PL
           'Being like this, our grandfathers used to make pots and plates.' (AR-8MI-16)

      c   tütü -ø=ya   **shinama** ati   ta-ppë   tiri-jti=ja   nij-ta-tu
           sit;be-3=NVR   **before**   DEM   1PL-grandfather Tiri-LIM=EMPH   NEG -MID-1PL.S
           ushta   tuwa
           before   1PL.PRN
           'There was only our grandfather Tiri. We were not around then.' (AR-8MI-74)

      d   samu=ja   tiya-ø=w=ya   **latiji**   a-tata
           jaguar:PL=EMPH   eat-3=PL=NVR   **subsequently**   3SG.P-father
           'Then the jaguars ate his father.' (FA-6MA-5)

These adverbs even come in between the predicate and its overtly expressed arguments in (75)b-d. *Shinama*, however can also appear at other places occasionally, and even rather independently:

(76)   shshinama   (…)buenahor=chi   li-ma-ssë-tu=ja
        way.before   Buenahora=DIR   DEL-3PL-stand-1PL.S=SS
        'Way back. When we were in Buenahora.' (AA-27MA-10)

Here, *shinama* is used independently, and it is in focus. It gets additional emphasis by the prolonged first sound /ʃ/. The three dots represent a pause here.

   Most other time adverbs are much freer in their distribution, however:

(77) a   **latijsha**[10]   arush   a-mumuy   dëpë   ka-yupa-ø=ya
        then   rice   3SG.P-all   completely   3SG-go.in.SG-3=NVR
        'Then he went in with rice and everything.' (AY-2NC-2)

      b   **tishilë**   sëë   mi-n-dyuju-shti   yita-j   buybu
         now   1SG.PRN   2SG-IO-tell-FUT:1SG.S   good-MAT   language
         'Now I am going to tell you the real truth.' (AR-8MI-46)

      c   mala-ø=ya latiji   ati   ta-ppë   tiri   alla   nish
        go.SG-3=NVR subsequently   DEM   1PL-grandfather   tiri   DEM:INS   NEG
        nij-ta-ø=naja   **tishilë**
        NEG-MID-3=DSC   **now**
        'He went away, grandfather Tiri. That is why he is not here now.' (AR-8MI-82)

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[10] In the examples I do not indicate the internal morphological structure of this adverb for reasons of space and because it is lexicalized to a large extent.

These adverbs do not need to be juxtaposed to the main predicate of the clause. They are often found in clause-initial position, but not necessarily; cf. example (77)c, where the adverb is clause-final. Clause initial adverbs are usually focused.

6.5.2 Aspectual adverbs

This is a rather small class in Yurakaré. The adverbs in this class mostly relate to the event rather than to the proposition. The most common are *yosse* 'again', *bësë* 'again, in the sense of re-doing something', *chajti* 'always' and *lacha* 'too, as well'. Most aspectual adverbs can occupy all kinds of positions in the clause, although all of them seem to have a preference for postverbal position.

   The adverb *yosse* 'again' in most cases comes right after the predicate, and is in fact often clause final, as is shown in (78)a and b:

(78) a l-ati   nish   poyde danda-ø=ja   mala   wilita-ø=ya   **yosse**
        REF-DEM NEG   can   go.up-3=SS   go:SG   return-3=NVR   **again**
        'When he could not go up, he returned again.' (AY-3NC-5)
     b l-at   ma-la-wismë-ø=ti   itele-ø=w=ya   **yosse**=bë
        REF-DEM 3PL-AFO-hit.with-3=DS   let.go-3=PL=NVR   **again**=MOM
        'When she hit them they let her go again for a while.'   (FA-6MA-5)

In some cases, however, there are elements that can come in between the predicate and *yosse*, like another adverb or an argument of the predicate.

(79) a ash   mu-ta-ø =ti   ma-mme   itele-ø=w=ya   latiji   **yosse**
        thus   3PL.CO-say-3=DS   3PL-mother let.go-3=PL=NVR subsequently **again**
        'When their mother was talking like this, they let him go again.' (FA-6MA-7)
     b l-ati   ati   ka-m-mi-ø=ti   ka-l-aymë~më-ø=ya
        REF-DEM   DEM   3SG-IO-take.SG-3=DS   3SG-AFO-laugh~CAU-3=NVR
        na   ta-ppë   tiri   **yosse**
        DEM   1PL-grandfather Tiri   **again**
        'Then, when he took it out [a monkey], it made Tiri laugh again.'(AR-8MI-67)

Clause-final, or even postverbal position is not a requirement, however:

(80) l-a   amala-ø=ti   **yosse** turuma-shta-ø=j   pujti
     REF-DEM come-3=DS   **again** shoot.with.arrow-FUT-ø=SS outside:LOC
     ana   a-wishwi-jti=w   tsuk   ka-ma-m-pupu-ø=ya   ati=w
     DEM   3SG.P-tail-LIM=PL IDEO   3SG-3PL-IO-make.loose-3=NVR DEM=PL
     'Then when he (the jaguar) came, he was going to shoot again, but only his tail was noticeable, he hit that off.(FA-6MA-10)

In (80), the adverb *yosse* comes right before the predicate it modifies, so it is not post-verbal nor is it clause final. This may have something to do with the fact that *yosse* is in clause-initial focus position:

(81) a **yosse** bache-ø=ya na atta paa=se muju~muju=y-bëshë
          again send-3=NVR DEM other brother=SE center~center=LOC-entity
          'Then he sent his other brother again, the middle one.' (FA-6MA-7)

     b **yosse** ati-kka=y mëta-ø=w=ya yosse=se
          again DEM-MEA=LOC bite-3=PL=NVR again=SE
          ëshë ku-dyojlo-ø=w **yosse**=yu
          why 3SG.CO-be.angry-3=PL again=EXPR.F
          'Then, at that time they started biting him again.' (FA-6MA-7)

Yosse is in these examples in focus position as well. At the moment in the story when (81)a is pronounced, it is the third time that the oldest of the jaguar-brothers sends up one of his younger brothers. This fact causes the adverb to go into focal position, to give the meaning of the adverb extra impact. In the fragment of (81)b, the jaguars were biting their youngest human brother again, after not having done that for years. The phrase that follows shows that the speaker cannot tell either why this biting began again all of a sudden. The meaning is additionally stressed by repetition of the adverb.

The adverb *bësë*, which is similar in meaning to *yosse* is very infrequent in free discourse. I have no occurrences in free speech of this adverb. In elicitation it always directly follows the predicate:

(82) li-iñese-ma **bësë**
      DEL-sow;plant-IMP.SG **again**
      'Sow them again (they are not coming up).' [FL-20MA-27]

The semantic difference between *yosse* and *bësë* is subtle and it is hard to say what it is exactly, but it seems that *yosse* has a wider semantic range: it can mean 'to do something again', and also, 'to restore a previous situation', while *bësë* seems restricted to mean 'to re-do something, which normally would require only one action'.

The adverb *chajti* 'always' has a freer role as far as placement goes, although it is always postverbal. It can come directly after the predicate, or after a group of predicates.

(83) a l-ati   ense-ø=w   **chajti**   mororo   a-tuwë=y
        REF-DEM   drink-3=PL   **always** mountain 3SG.P-trunk=LOC
        'That is where they always went to drink, at the foot of the hill.' (FA-6MA-9)

     b i-sama=ya   mala=ya   chërë-ø   **chajti**=ya   na   yee
        VBL-water=NVR   go.SG=NVR scratch-3 **always**=NVR DEM woman
        'When she went to get water, she always scratched it, this woman.' (AR-8MI-2)

     c dun   dun   ma-shëwë   dun   dun   ma-shëwë   **chajti**=ya
        IDEO   IDEO   3PL-be.dark   IDEO   IDEO   3PL-be.dark   **always**=NVR
        'They always hammered until they were caught by the night.' (OR-20MA-1)

In (83)a, there is a simple predicate *ensew*, modified by the adverb *chajti*, which directly follows it. Even though I have never encountered *chajti* in preverbal position, it does not seem impossible, especially when the meaning is stressed.

   This adverb often has a wide scope. In (83)a, the scope of the adverb extends to the location mentioned. They did not 'always just drink', but 'they always drank *there*'. In (83)b, the adverb has scope over the entire proposition *isamaya malaya chërë*. And for (83)c, finally, the same argumentation can be given: the adverb has scope over the whole proposition. In addition, the repetition in this example already indicates iterativity.

   There can be elements in between the predicate and the adverb, like direct objects, cf. (84)a, applied objects, cf. (84)b, and even adjuncts, cf. (84)c:

(84) a ñowwo idu=ya   tiya-ø   lëtta ñowwo **chajti**=ya   a-yee
        manioc fry=NVR   eat-3   one manioc **always**=NVR 3SG.P-sister
        'His sister always fried and ate one manioc.' (AY-3NC-4)

     b ma-bobo=ya   ka-ma-n-wita-ø=ya   a-meme   **chajti**=ya
        3PL-hit;kill=NVR   3SG-3PL-IO-arrive.SG-3=NVR 3SG.P-mother **always**=NVR
        'When he killed them, he always took them to his mother.' (AR-8MI-44)

     c l-achu-ta   ma-n-tütü-ø=w   yarru=tina **chajti**=ya   ma-ba=w
        REF-like.that-MID 3PL-IO-sit;be-3=PL chicha=COM always=NVR   3PL-husband=PL
        'They always waited for their husbands like that with chicha.' (AR-8MI-90)

It may very well be the case that *chajti* has a verbal origin, and to some extent it still functions as a predicate. There are two parts recognizable within the word: *cha* and *jti*. The latter is the marker for habitual aspect, and the former is seen in many words based on the demonstrative *ati* (cf. section 4.4.4 above):

(85) ati   'that'
     achu(ta)   '(be) like that'
     (a)chama   '(do/be) like that'

The word *chajti* then probably means 'it is (was) always like that'. Another clue pointing to the verbal nature of *chajti*, is the fact that it often occurs with the non-

veridical enclitic =*ya*, normally only associated with predicates (cf. section 7.1.1). On the other hand, it does not fully behave like a verb in the sense that when two clauses are combined there often is an intonation break and morphological marking on the dependent predicate; if there is no intonation break, there is a fixed order, in which the dependent predicate precedes the main predicate. *Chajti* does not comply with this behavior.

The adverb *lacha* 'too' or its variant *layj* also seems to have a relation to the demonstrative *ati*, with the specificity prefix *l-*. Positionally, *lacha* is mostly postverbal, either directly following the predicate or with some other element in between:

(86) a latijsha ma-dyuja-jti-ø=ya **lacha** mororuma ma-la-deche-ø=ti
      then 3PL-heal-HAB-3=NVR **too** mountain.person 3PL-AFO-meet;find-3=DS
      'The mountain person also healed the ones who fell ill.' (AR-8MI-88)

   b bali-jti=ya pëpë-shama=w **lacha** arroyo=la ajuyja-ni-shta=ya
      go:PL-HAB=NVR grandfather-PST=PL **too** creek=INS fish-INTL-FUT=NVR
      'The ancestors went fishing as well along the creek.' (AY-3NC-6)

   c latijsha dula-ø=w=ya latiji na pëpë-shama=w
      then do;make-3=PL=NVR subsequently DEM grandfather-PST=PL
      ma-tomete **lacha**
      3PL-arrow **too**
      'Then the ancestors made their arrows as well.'(AY-3NC-8)

In (86)a, the focus is on the mountain person's characteristics, after telling what they looked like and how they behaved, the adverb *lacha* contrasts this characteristic with others of the *mororuma*. In (86)b, the former grandfathers are contrasted with other people who are also fishing at the creek. In (86)c, finally, the whole proposition of the former grandfathers making their arrows is marked with the adverb.

Lacha can, however, also be in clause-initial position:

(87) **layj** tuwa ta-tebe ana emme
     too 1PL:PRN 1PL-benefit DEM meat
     'This too was going to be our meat.' (OR-19MA-20)

6.5.3 Modal and phasal adverbs

Unlike temporal and aspectual adverbs, modal adverbs tend to precede the predicate. The negative adverb *nish* (~*nij*), the phasal adverbs *kaj* 'still', and *kani* 'not yet' as well as *sey* (*si*) 'almost' directly precede the predicate:

(88) a **nish**   bata-p   pa-tewe=w=la
        NEG   leave-2PL.S   2PL-foot=PL=INS
        'You are not going to go on foot.' (AY-3NC-9)

    b latijsha   ma-bali-ø=w=ja   **kaj**   bali-ø=w=ya
       then   3PL-go.PL-3=PL=SS   **still**   go.PL-3=PL=NVR
       dyuluj-ta=ya   latiji   ma-shinojshi
       scared-MID=NVR   subsequently   3PL-heart:LOC
       'Then, they took them, and while they were still walking they got scared.' (AY-3NC-9)

    c **kani**   puwa-ø=w=bëla   ku-ta-jti-ø=ya
       not.yet   drunk-3=PL=CNT   3SG.CO-say-HAB-3=NVR
       '"They are not drunk yet", he said.'   (AR-8MI-61)

    d **sey**   ka-la-tuwi-ø=ya   a-yee
       almost   3SG-AFO-die.SG-3=NVR   3SG.P-sister
       'His sister almost died on him.' (AY-2NC-9)

The adverbs *kaj*, *nish* and *sey* are somewhat deviant words in that they are monosyllabic, while there is a prohibition on monosyllabic content words. This is something that they have in common with a number of state/manner adverbs (cf. section 6.5.6). Manner adverbs, as we will see below, are also preverbal.

  Some of the modal adverbs are morphologically transparent. The negative adverb *nish* has an independent form *nijta* (i.e. which can occur without a verb), which seems to be *nij* + *ta* (middle voice marker) meaning, 'there is no(ne)'. The form *nish* has -*sh*, which is an adverbializing suffix. The adverb *kani* also seems to be a fused form, combining *kaj* and *ni* (negative).

  Two further, epistemic modal adverbs seem to be intermediate between adverbs and verbs: *yokkoshe* 'true' and *kusuti* 'maybe'.

(89) a **yokkoshe** tiya-m   mem=la   tiya-m=ja   ku-tu=ya
       true   eat-2SG.S   mother=VAL   eat-2SG.S=SS   3SG.CO-say:3PL=NVR
       '"Did your really eat it, mother?" they said to her.' (AR-8MI-25)

    b **kusuti** lëshie   shuwi-ø=ti   mapa-kka-ø=ya   latiji
       maybe   two   moon-3=DS   big-MEA-3=NVR   subsequently
       'After maybe two months, he was already big.' (AR-8MI-27)

In (89) *yokkoshe* and *kusuti* are used adverbially here. *Yokkoshe*, however, can occur by itself, without a predicate to modify, a characteristic not associated with adverbs in Yurakaré:

(90) yokkoshe mem=la   nish   ta-n-shiwa-m=la   ku-ta-ø=w=ya
     true   mother=VAL NEG   1PL-IO-lie-2SG.S=VAL   3SG.CO-say-3=PL=NVR
     '"It is true, mother, you did not lie to us", they said to her.' (AR-8MI-31)

The end of the first clause *yokkoshe memla* is marked by the affirmative marker *=la*, this means that *yokkoshe* here functions as a predicate.

   Kusuti seems to be a fixed expression which can be analyzed as *kusu-ø=ti*, 'if it wants'. *Kusu* is a verb meaning 'to want', *=ti* is a subordinating enclitic, expressing, among other things conditionality (cf. section 8.2.4).

6.5.4 Place adverbs

There is to my knowledge only one inherent (i.e. morphologically simplex) place adverb: *yankala* 'wherever'. However, it also means 'whatever', so it is not even a pure locative adverb:

(91) a mi-të=tina   shuñe~ñe-te=ya   **yankala**   mala-cha-m
         2SG-nephew=COM   grow~CAU-MID=NVR   wherever   go.SG-JUS-2SG.S
         'Please go wherever you want, you and your nephew should raise yourselves.'
                                                                                          (OR-20MA-10)

      b i-jukkulë bëshë   palanta ñowwo **yankala**=w   gineo=w
         VBL-field entity   banana manioc whatever=PL   small.banana=PL
         'He planted his field with all kinds of things, bananas, manioc, whatever, bananas.'
                                                                                          (OR-20MA-3)

In (91)b *yankala* seems to be a noun rather than an adverb, whereas in (91)a it is an adverb. In this sense it looks like the degree adverbs *ñuñuju* and *mapakka* (cf. section 6.5.5), which are adjectives that can function as nouns (as all adjectives can function as nouns in Yurakaré), as well as adverbs without any additional morphology.

   Other place adverbs are formed with the help of the locational postpositional clitics *=y* 'locative', *=chi* 'directional', *=jsha* 'ablative' and *=la* 'path'[11]. The place of these locational adverbs within the clause is relatively free. They occur both before and after the predicate:

(92) a **l-ati**   ka-n-tütü-ø=ti   **ani**   tütü-m   ku-ta-ø=ya
         REF-DEM:LOC   3SG-IO-sit;be-3=DS **DEM:LOC** sit;be-2SG.S 3SG.CO-say-3=NVR
         'When he was awaiting him there, he said: "Are you here?"'.   (AY-2NC-3)

      b li-tütü-ø=ya   **a-jojto=y**   ka-la-shudyuj-ta-ø   **ani**
         DEL-sit;be-3=NVR 3SG.P-bracelet=LOC 3SG-AFO-hide-MID-3   **DEM:LOC**
         'He sat in its bracelets (of the moon); he hid from him here.'   (FA-6MA-11)

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[11] The enclitic *=la* is glossed 'instrument' since it has several functions which can be connected through the notion of instrument. Cf. section 4.3.2.

In (92)a, the place adjuncts *ati* and *ani*[12] appear before their respective verbal heads, whereas in (92)b, *ajojtoy* and *ani* follow their verbal heads. For further information on locational adjuncts, cf. section 4.3.3.

6.5.5 Degree/intensity adverbs

There are two adverbs that indicate the degree of the action: *ñuñuju* 'small in size > a little' and *mapakka* 'large in size > very'.

(93) a **ñuñuju** banna=chi isuna ti-mala-ni-ø=ti
          small lack-3=IGN stingray 1SG-go.SG-INTL-3=DS
          'The stingray almost (lacking little) killed me.' (AR-8MI-83)
      b adyindye-ø=ya latiji **mapakka** tata tiri
          sad-3=NVR subsequently big father Tiri
          'Then father Tiri was very sad.'(FA-6MA-8)

Ñuñuju and *mapakka* can both be used as adjectives and predicates as well. If they are used as such they have the meaning '(be) small in size' and '(be) large in size':

(94) a ewe-shti ti-sibë ewe-te **ñuñuj-ima=w=la**
          sweep-FUT:1SG.S 1SG-house sweep-MID little-COL=PL=INS
          'I am going to sweep my house with a small broom.' [FP-2MA-10]
      b lëshie shuwi-ø=ti **mapakka-ø=ya** latiji
          two moon-ø=DS big-3=NVR subsequently
          'After two months he was big already.' (AR-8MI-27)

Both forms are morphologically transparent as well:

(95) a mapakka < mappë 'big' + -kka 'size'
      b ñuñuju < ñuu = child, suckling

It is, however, not clear where the element *ju* in *ñuñuju* derives from.
   There are two further adverbs indicating high intensity: *binta* 'strong(ly)' and *idojolë* 'highly'. The latter is also often used as a degree adverb:

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[12] The locative marker *=y* is phonetically non-salient after /i/, as in *ati*; *ani* is underlying *ana=y*, but because of vowel sandhi the surface form is rendered *ani*.

(96) a nish   idoj~**idojolë**   puwa-m   wita-m=ja
        NEG   INTS~strong   drunk-2SG.S   arrive.SG-2SG.S=SS
        'You were not very drunk when you arrived.'   (BT-27MA-11)
     b nish   awëwë-ø=w=ya   **binta**
        NEG   cry-3=PL=NVR   strong
        'They did not cry loudly.'   (AY-3NC-9)

The word *binta* can also be used as a predicate. In that case it often means 'to hurt':

(97) bij~**binta**-ø=ya   isuna   tuwa   ta-duya-ø=ya
     INTS~strong-3=NVR   stingray   1PL.PRN   1PL-sting-3=NVR
     'It hurts when the stingray stings us.'(AR-8MI-33)

6.5.6 State/manner adverbs

The function of state and manner adverbs is for the most part performed by ideophones, which will be discussed in section 6.6.2. I am aware of one manner adverb that does not fit easily into the category of ideopones: *konsono* 'well, relaxed', which can appear on either side of the predicate:

(98) a konsono winani-cha-m
        well   walk-JUS-2SG.S
        'May you fare well.'   (AR-8MI-59)
     b konsono   itoyo-cha-m (…)   mi-dyama
        well   raise-JUS-2SG.S   2SG-sibling
        'Raise your sister well.' (OR-20MA-10)
     c ka-n-tëptë-cha-m   konsono
        3SG-IO-wash-JUS-2SG.S   well
        'Wash it well for her.'   (FL-14MA-1)
     d yita-mashi-m=naja   konsono   kani=bë
        good-LD-2SG.S=DSC   well   not.yet=MOM
        'You are a little bit better now, easy does it, not yet.'   (FL-14MA-1)

Mostly, this adverb is combined with a verb form marked with *-cha* 'jussive'. In (98)d, *konsono* is used in an unusual way, without a verb. It seems that it is used as a verb here, modified by *kanibë*, but there are pauses in between the words: *yitamashimnaja* (…) *konsono* (…) *kanibë*, which point at a translation of *konsono* and *kanibë* as headless adverbs.

6.5.7 Number adverbs

There are a few adverbs that say something about the number of the participants that take part in the event: *dëpë* 'completely', *dala* 'alone', and the numerals, which can be used adverbially.

The adverb *dëpë* 'completely' is very limited in its distribution. It only occurs in combination with the noun, *mumuy* 'all'. This noun is singular, and always possessed. The entity that is being referred to as a whole is realized as the possessor of its (or their) own entirety. *Dëpë* almost always directly follows this noun; I found one exception, where a verb is in between, exemplified in (99)b. :

(99) a   a-mumuy   dëpë   iñese-ø   ushta   noe
          3SG.P-all   completely   sow;plant-3   before   Noah
          'Noah sowed all kinds.'   (OR-20MA-3)
      b   ma-mmuy   shama   dëpë
          3PL-all   die.PL-3   completely
          'They died all of them, completely.'   (OR-19MA-2)

Mumuy is in itself an interesting form. Grammatically it is a noun, which is always possessed according to the possessive paradigm (cf. example (100) below), but it functions as a modifier. It is possible that the element *y* of *mumuy* is in fact a suffix, possibly the locative marker =*y*. We also see this element in the following example, where we can recognize the form *lëtta* and an element *y*:

(100) lëtta=y   ma-wissa-n-tu
      one=LOC?   3PL-hit-INTL-1PL.S
      'Let's hit them together.'   (AY-2NC-9)

The paradigm for *mumuy*[13] looks as follows:

(101) ti-mumuy   (?)   all of me
      mi-mumuy (?)   all of you
      a-mumuy   all of it/(?)him/(?)her
      ta-mmuy[14]   all of us
      pa-mmuy   all of you (pl)
      ma-mmuy   all of them

I have not encountered the forms *timumuy* and *mimumuy*, and it is questionable if they are at all meaningful combinations.

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[13] Some speakers realize it as *mumay*.

[14] As a noun *mumuy* is subject to certain stress rules and consequent vowel elision (cf. section 2.4.2). This accounts for the loss of the vowel in the plural forms.

There is a related form *lëmmuy*, which seems to be a combination of the delimiting prefix *li-* (cf. section 6.4.2 above) with *mumuy* or *amumuy*. When asked for a translation of this adverb speakers often say 'in vain', but in texts it rather means exclusivity; it can often be translated with 'completely' or 'just, only':

(102) a lëmmuy   tëche-ø=ya   na   tembe
         exclusive   tall-3=NVR   DEM   tembe
         'The tembe tree was all very tall.' (AY-2NC-8)

   b lëmmuy   ma-n-toka-jti-ø=w=ya   ma-dojo
      exclusive   3PL-IO-touch-HAB-3=PL=NVR   3PL-body
      'They only touched their bodies (and cured them)' (AR-8MI-88)

   c lëmmuy   a-buybu=la   ma-ñotto-jti-ø=ya   kummë=w
      exclusive   3SG.P-language=INS   3PL-push-HAB-3=NVR   tree=PL
      'Only with his voice he brought down the trees.' (AR-8MI-42)

The form *dala* is exceptional in that it always occurs with the applicative marker for indirect object and a cross-reference object marker. This object marker refers to the person that does something alone:

(103) a alla   ma-jusu-jti   ma-n-dala   winani-ø=w=ti
         DEM:INS   3PL-want-HAB   3PL-IO-alone   live-3=PL=DS
         'That is why they wanted to live alone.' (AR-8MI-87)

   b tuwa   anu-ta   ta-n-dala   ma-ssë-tu   ani
      1PL.PRN   like.this-MID   1PL-IO-alone   3PL-be-1PL.S   DEM:LOC
      'We are alone like this here.' (AY-2NC-5)

The place of this adverb is directly preceding the predicate it modifies.[15]
   Finally, numerals can also function as adverbs:

(104) a a-ye=tina   lëshie yupa-shta-ø   ati   ayma   shunñe
         3SG.P-sister=COM   two   enter.SG-FUT-3   DEM   fire   man
         With his sister, the two of them, he was going to enter.' (AY-2NC-2)

   b lëtta lëtta ma-n-kaya-ø=ya
      one   one   3PL-IO-give-3=NVR
      'He gave them one by one.' (AY-3NC-9)

In (104)a, the numeral *lëshie* seems to function as an adverb. It does not modify any of the two nouns *yee* and *ayma shunñe*, nor is it the subject of the verb, since then both the numeral and the verb would be marked with *=w* for plural. In (104)b, the numerals are used as a kind of manner adverb, expressing distributivity and sequentiality.

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[15] It is not clear whether there is a connection with the noun *dalla* 'head'.

6.5.8 De-adverbializing derivation

Inherent adverbs do not take any derivational (or inflectional) morphology, but derived adverbs do. As has been discussed in section 3.3.2, there are two ways of deriving adverbs from other parts of speech: by means of the suffix *-sh* (mostly used for deriving adverbs from adjectives, sometimes from verbs) or by means of the suffix *-shku* (mostly used for deriving adverbs from nouns, sometimes verbs). Adverbs marked with *-sh* can be turned into verbs by adding the element *i*:

(105) a   ama-sh-i-m
      WH-ADV-VBL-2SG.S
      'How are you?'
   b   ama-sh-i-ø=chi   torkasita ku-ta-ø=ya
      WH-ADV-VBL-3=IGN   pigeon   3SG.CO-say-3=NVR
      '"How would it be, little pigeon?", he said.'   (OR-20MA-1)
   c   kesilyo   a-tewe-sh-i-ø
      Quesillo 3SG.P-foot-ADV-VBL-3
      'It is like Quesillo's foot.' (FL-14MA-4)

A number of color terms seem to have been formed by adding the suffixes *-sh-i* to a root, although the root is often semantically opaque synchronically:

(106) a   boloshi   white   bolo = ?
   b   sëjsëshi   blue/green   sëjsë = fat
   c   bubushi   yellow   bububu = semen, pollen
   d   shüjshüshi   dark, brown   shüjshü = drizzle
   e   worewreshi   black   wore = ?

Although the connections are not very straightforward, it nevertheless seems the case that these colors were once formed as a comparison to some entity.

  The marker *-shku* can be additionally marked by the middle marker *-tA*, in which case it can still be used as an adverb, (107)a, but also as a verb, (107)b:

(107) a   nish   chori-shku-ta   winani-tu
      NEG   Sirionó-ADV.CMP-MID   walk;live-1PL.S
      'We do not live like the Sirionós.'
   b   ama-shku-ta-shta-ø=jtë=ri
      WH-ADV.CMP-MID-FUT-3=ASM=EXPR.M
      'How will it be?'   (OR-19MA-30)

6.5.9 Adverb placement

In as far as it is possible to tell (more examples could raise more possibilities), we can subdivide the adverbs into adverbs that are rather free in their position and adverbs that tend to have a fixed position[16]:

<div align="center">

Table 36   - Free vs. fixed-position adverbs

Free		*Fixed*	
latijsha	then, after that	ushta	before
tishilë	now	latiji	subsequently
yosse	again	shinama	before
chajti	always	nish	not
lacha	too	kaj	still
yokkoshe	truly	kani	not yet
mumuy	all	sey	almost
dala	alone	ñuñuju	a little
yosse	again	mapakka	very
binta	strong	konsono	well

</div>

Furthermore, we can subdivide the fixed-position adverbs into pre-verbal and post-verbal adverbs:[17]

<div align="center">

Table 37   - Adverb placement

Preverbal		*Postverbal*	
nish	not	ushta	before
kaj	still	shinama	before
kani	not yet	latiji	subsequently
sey	almost		
ñuñuju	a little		
mapakka	very		
konsono	well		

</div>

The preverbal adverbs genuinely alter the interpretation of a verb, whereas the postverbal adverbs seem to do less so.

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[16] Not all adverbs are present in this table, only the ones that are represented by enough examples.

[17] It should be borne in mind that these are just tendencies. There is no absolute placement rule. Nevertheless, some adverbs seem to be more fixed as to their position than others, notably *nish*, *kaj*, *kani* and *sey* as preverbal adverbs; *ushta* and *latiji* as postverbal adverbs.

6.6 Interjections and ideophones

Interjections and ideophones, together with enclitic particles, in Yurakaré can be seen as forming part of a larger class of particles. Particles can be distinguished from other word classes on morphological, syntactic and to a certain extent also phonological grounds (cf. sections 3.3.5-3.3.7). They fall into four sub-classes. Here I will discuss interjections and onomatopoetic particles; enclitic particles will be discussed in sections 4.2 and 4.3 (nominal enclitics), chapter 1 (propositional – modal and aspectual – enclitics) and sections 8.2.2-8.2.4 (subordinating enclitics).

6.6.1 Interjections

Interjections can be described as follows: "Interjections are words, often of an exclamatory character, that can constitute utterances in themselves, and that usually have no syntactic connection to any other words that may occur with them" (Schachter 1985:58). In Yurakaré, there are a number of words that meet this definition:

Table 38   - Interjections

interjection	translation	emotion conveyed
yoj	okay	agreement
yojtom	okay	agreement
baj	I see	comtemplation
issij	my my	contempt
të'	aha	surprise
areey	ouch	pain
anij	ouch	pain
sëlu	watch out	warning
eee	help!	sudden fright
iii	what?	disbelief
jejeje	hee-haa	pleasure
mmm	hmm	searching (overlooking a space)
waay	whaa!	start
yutchi	let's see	curiosity

These are the ones that I found in my corpus. There are probably dozens more. Apart from the ones above, Day (1980) mentions among others the following:

<div align="center">

Table 39   - Interjections (Day 1980)

Interjection	Meaning/emotion
yuppu	warning
ëmta	warning
idujtatapu	hope
cha'	disgust
ij	disagreement
najapse	regret
najachiri	regret (male)
najachiyu	regret (female)
atchi	"oops" "oh-oh"
ashaw/araw	"oops"
uwwa	"aha; i see"
uti	"isn't that so?"

</div>

These interjections are found only in direct speech and are utterance initial:

(108) a   baj   yita=la   ku-ta-ø=ya   a-meme
           INTJ   good=VAL   3SG.CO-say-3=NVR   3SG.P-mother
           "Well, good!"', his mother said.   (AR-8MI-42)

       b   arey   arey   ti-bata-ø=w   ululche=w   (…)   ta-ø=ya
           INTJ   INTJ   1SG-leave-3=PL   wasp=PL   (…)   say-3=NVR
           "Ayayay! the wasps are going to kill me!" (…) he said.'

       c   issij   li-lojo-ø=tiba   noe
           INTJ   DEL-crazy-3=ASM   Noah
           "My my! Noah seems to have gone crazy"' (OR-20MA-1)

Interjections are generally morphologically simple. Some of them, however, can be the host of a propositional enclitic:

(109) a   yolla
           okay:VAL
           'Alright!!'

       b   yutchi=la
           let's.see=VAL
           'Let's see!'   (FL-24MA-3)- (in answer to my proposal what we were going to do today)

6.6.2 Ideophones

Yurakaré has a wide range of ideophonic particles of which it makes extensive use. They are often used to make a story more lively, but often they convey their own information as well. The total number of these particles seems infinite in principle,

since new ones can be made up on the spot. Still there are a number of fixed ideophones that pop up regularly with a fairly stable meaning attached to them:

<p align="center">*Table 40   - Some ideophones and their meanings*</p>

form	meaning
dürrüm	something heavy hitting the ground
sak	two hard surfaces connecting (e.g. putting something down on the ground)
chüüsh	running liquid (e.g. sound of urinating)
tom	something reaching a certain level (cf. example (110) below)
rrü	a sudden movement through the air (e.g. throwing something)
toom	biting, chewing
jjj	movement (possibly sound of air)
shük	something going through the air (e.g. arrow)
taj/toj	bang (e.g. arrow hitting its goal)

As becomes clear from Table 40, not all of these sounds are direct sound imitations. For instance *tom* may be the sound of something hitting the outer limits of a space (e.g. ceiling), but it is used in ways that are quite metaphorical:

(110) a   bë-latijsha   **tom**   shunshata
       ATT-then   IDEO   midday
       'Then 'tom' it was midday.'   (OR-19MA-30)

     b   kwarenta   dia   kwarenta   noche   mashi-ø=ja   **tom**   wita-ø   asha=chi
       forty   day   forty   night   rain-3=SS   IDEO   arrive.SG-3   above=DIR
       'When it had rained for forty days and forty nights 'tom' [the water] reached the sky.'
<p align="right">(OR-20MA-1)</p>

Here the dividing line between interjections and ideophones becomes unclear, since some of the interjections sometimes are used as ideophones. When they are, they are not so much direct imitations of the sound of the event, but they are associated with a certain event. They may have arisen as imitations of what persons say during an event. For instance, *mmm* in (111) is probably an imitation of what the pigeon is saying to himself while searching. These kinds of ideophones only marginally differ from interjections.

(111) otto   mala-ø   choponi   bëbë-ø   **mmm**   ana-ja-lë   baja-nñu-ø
       go.out   go.SG-3   pigeon   search-3   INTJ   DEM-MEA-AMP   subside-DIM-3
       'The pigeon went out and searched: mmm [the water] has subsided a little.' (OR-20MA-2)

There is also a set of ideophones that refer to physical characteristics of one of the participants involved:

Table 41 - Ideophones referring to physical characteristics

form	meaning
worek	toppled over
shübük	tied
sho	long (clothing)
lü	long (hair)
tun	entangled
batchak	spread, opened-up
botek	loose
wë	bended
tüm	straight
chiyak	slowly descending
weluk	stripped, skinned
perruk	turned over

(112) a chiyak   mala-ø
     IDEO   go.SG-3
     'It goes down slowly.' [FA-PC]

    b worek   tësë-ø
     IDEO   stand-3
     'It stands on all fours.' [RF-29MA-4]

Ideophones form a special group in the sense that they are often phonologically deviant, because a number of them violate the minimum of two syllables per word principle (cf. section 2.4.6), others have consonants in the coda that are normally disallowed (cf. section 2.3.1), and they nearly all have final stress (which is also disallowed (cf. section 2.4). they also have extra heavy stress.

   Syntactically, ideophones are usually accompanied by a verb, which they modify or describe. They immediately precede this verb:

(113) a ashaa=jsha **chüüsh** ka-l-ishupë-ø=ya   latiji   na   aysa=ja
     above=ABL   IDEO   3SG-AFO-urinate-3=NVR subsequently DEM   Aysa=EMPH
     'From above "chüüsh" Aysa peed on him.' (OR-19MA-10)

    b l-ati   ati   **wük**   daja-ø=ya   latiji   na   mënñu a-shoja
     REF-DEM DEM   IDEO   hang-3=NVR   subsequently DEM   deer   3SG.P-daughter
     'Then "wuk" the daughter of the deer hang.' (AR-8MI-69)

    c achu-ta   müta-ø=w **rrü** ka-n-chitta-ø=w=ya   ma-mme
     like.that-MID pull-3=PL IDEO   3SG-IO-throw.SG-3=PL=NVR 3PL-mother
     They pulled it out and "rrü" threw it towards their mother.' (FA-6MA-6)

Event number can be indicated by repeating the ideophone. This can either mean that the event is performed repetitively by one agent or that there were several agents that

performed the action once at the same time; the same characteristics as event number (cf. section 6.2):

(114) a sak   sak   sak   sak   tom   ka-ssë-ø=ti   elli
        IDEO   IDEO   IDEO   IDEO   IDEO   3SG-stand-3=DS   ground:LOC
        ku-bay-tu   ku-bali=ya   puyni
        3SG.CO-head.off-1PL.S   3SG.CO-go.PL=NVR   sun
        'When "sak sak sak sak" "tom" it reached the ground [he said] "Let's go and follow the sun.' (OR-19MA-30)

    b la   ma-mmuy   rü   rü   rü   rü   yupata-ø=w=ya
       then   3PL-all   IDEO   IDEO   IDEO   IDEO   go.in.PL-3=PL=NVR
       'Then "rü rü rü rü" they all went in.' (OR-19MA-31)

Example (114)a is taken from a tale in which three brothers decide to go to the sun. To achieve this, they shoot their arrows into the sun, and each next arrow into the tail of the previous arrow, until this line of arrows reaches the ground. The ideophones refer to the planting of the arrows into the tail of the others. In (114)b, the ideophones refer to the brusque entering of each individual into the water. In (114)a, the repetition refers to event number, whereas in (114)b it refers to participant number.

   Occasionally, ideophones are used independently and rather behave as predicates:

(115) bë-chu   ka-ñim~ñim   an   ti-lëlë   Bertola
      ATT-like.that   3SG-IDEO~IDEO:2SG.S   DEM   1SG-aunt   Bertola
      'Like you wink at aunt Bertola.'   (FL-27MA-9)

Here the ideophone *ñimñim*, 'blinking, wavering', is used as a verb, taking a subject marker and a comitative object.

   Ideophones may either refer to the S-argument of an intransitive clause or to the O-argument of the transitive clause. In this sense they follow an ergative pattern; this is especially clear with ideophones referring to physical characteristics of the participant involved:

(116) a na   a-wishwi-jti=w   ka-ma-n-turuma-ø=ja   a-wishwi=w
       DEM   3SG.P-tail-LIM=PL   3SG-3PL-IO-shoot-3=SS   3SG.P-tail=PL
       botek   ma-botej~bo-ø=ya
       IDEO   3PL-loose~CAU-3=NVR
       'When he had shot only his tail, he made it go off.' (FA-6MA-8)

    b emejeme-sh   **perruk**   mala-ø   pojore
       good-ADV   IDEO   go.SG-3   canoe
       'The canoe went well upside down.' (AA-27MA-11)

In (116)a, the ideophone refers to the tail coming off (P-argument), whereas in (116)b the ideophone refers to the canoe turning over (S-argument). These examples also

illustrate that ideophones may either be purely descriptive, as in (116)a, or they may add meaning to a predicate, as in (116)b, where the interpretation of the canoe turning over is due to the ideophone; the predicate only expresses movement.

   This difference between caused and non-caused events marked by ideophones can also be indicated morphologically, corresponding to the suffixes *-che* or partial reduplication (caused) and *-ta* (middle), respectively (cf. section 5.3):

(117) a   wë   'bended -adv'   wë-ta   'bended'   wë-che   'bend -tr'
      b   worek   'de-rooted -adv'   worej-ta   'de-rooted'   worej-wo   'de-root -tr'
      c   adyaj   'fast -adv'   adyaj-ta   'be fast, jump'   adyaj-che   'lift'
      d   përruk   'turned over-adv'   përruj-ta   'turn over -intr' përruj~pë   'turn over -tr'

When marked by either *-che* or a reduplicative suffix, ideophones behave like predicates. When marked with *-tA*, they can also behave as predicates, cf. (118)a, but they can still be used adverbially, cf. (118)b:

(118) a   na   sheche=w   **tun-ta-ø=w=ya**   latiji
          DEM   sweet.potatoe=PL IDEO-MID-3=PL=NVR   subsequently
          'The sweet potatoe-plants entangled themselves then.' (OR-19MA-30)
      b   **bachaj-ta**   ka-m-bushu-ø=ti
          IDEO-MID   3SG-IO-lie(down).SG-3=DS
          'When he laid down beside him with his legs apart…' (OR-19MA-30)

There are also two pro-forms, which behave like ideophones in almost all respects except for phonology. They are based on the demonstrative pronouns *ana* 'this' and *ati* 'that': *anu* 'like this' and *achu* 'like that'.

(119) a   l-achu   ti-n-dyuju-ø
          REF-like.that   1SG-IO-tell-3
          'He told it to me like that.' (AR-8MI-56)
      b   atta   anu   bushu-ø   atta   anu   bushu-ø
          other   like.this lie(down).SG -3   other   like.this   lie(down).SG -3
          'One was lying like this, the other like this.' (OR-20MA-9)
      c   bë-chu   mi-n-dyujuy
          ATT-like.that   2SG-IO-tell-1SG.S
          'Like I told you.' (AR-8MI-90)

As transpires from the examples in (119), these adverbs retain some morphological possibilities of demonstratives, like prefixes *l-* for reference, cf. (119)a and *bë-* for attention, cf. (119)c; there is more discussion on pronouns and their behavior in section 4.4.4. They do not take the causative marker *-che* or a reduplication marker, but they do take *-tA*. When marked with *-tA*, these demonstrative forms, like ideophones, behave

more freely: they can either function as an adverb, cf. (120)a, or as a predicate, cf. (120)b:

(120) a achu-ta   ibëp-tijti   tuwa   un   muerto
      like.that-MID   treat-HAB:1PL.S   1PL.PRN   a   dead
      'That is how we always treat a dead person.' (OR-20MA-5)

    b latijsha   achu-ta-ø=ti   baj   yita=la
      then   like.that-MID-3=DS   well   good=VAL
      'Then, when it was like that, [he said] "Well, good"' (AR-8MI-7)

Like ideophones, these demonstrative forms are also preverbal, but sometimes there can be elements in between the adverb and the predicate, depending on the scope of the adverb.

(121) a ëshë   anu   tullë ishupë-ø   ishupë-ø=ti=jsha   mi-n-dyuju-ø=ya
      why   like.this   salt urinate-3   urinate-3=DS=ABL   2SG-IO-tell-3=NVR
      nish   ti-n-dyuju-m
      NEG   1SG-IO-tell-2SG.S
      '"Why, though he urinates salt like this, and he has told you, why didn't you tell me?'
                                          (AR-8MI-82)

    b patu   bë-chu   samma=y   li-tütü-ø=ti
      duck   ATT-like.that   water=LOC   DEL-sit;be-3=DS
      'They were ducks when they were in the water like that.' (AR-8MI-65)

7.   Propositional markers

Palmer (2001:7-8) distinguishes event modality from propositional modality, the latter being concerned "with the speaker's attitude to the truth value or factual status of the proposition". Event modality, in contrast, refers to "events that are not actualized, events that have not taken place but are merely potential". Event modality has been discussed in section 6.3 above, the focus in this section will therefore be on propositional modality (and aspect).

Yurakaré has a set of enclitics that encode distinctions at the propositional level. These markers fall into two classes, on the basis of their placement in the sentence. There is a set of propositional enclitics which mostly attach to the rightmost word of a clause, regardless of the grammatical category of that word (clausal enclitics). There is another set of propositional enclitics that attach to the main verb of a clause (verbal enclitics). These latter markers are placed right after the subject person markers in the verb complex, thus reflecting their scope:

(1)   objects - derivation - root - derivation - TMA - subject = **propositional markers**

I consider these verbal enclitics to be enclitics because of their position within the verb. They follow the plural marker =*w* of the third person plural subject. As outlined in section 3.2.5, =*w* should be considered an enclitic, and therefore all the morphosyntactic material that follows this element should be considered enclitics as well, since affixes cannot attach to clitics (cf. Zwicky & Pullum 1983:503).

An overview of the two groups of enclitics is given in Table 42:

Table 42   - Overview of propositional enclitics

verbal enclitic	gloss	clausal enclitic	gloss
ya	non-veridical	la	validational
chi	ignorative	ri/yu	expressive (M/F)
laba	subjective	ra/ye	notable information (M/F)
tiba	assumptive	se	'se'
bala	admonitive	bë	momentaneous
jtë	speculative	bëla	continuative
		naja	discontinuative

As can be judged from the glosses, the functions of propositional enclitics in Yurakaré relate to aspect and modality. It is quite difficult to separate these two functions, since enclitics with aspectual values can also have modal meanings and vice versa. More generally, it is very difficult to determine the exact meaning of the enclitics, since they can be used in so many different situations.

In this chapter I will describe each of the propositional enclitics in their own right, as far as that is possible, since they often occur in combination with other

propositional enclitics or with event-related modal and aspectual markers. I will first discuss the verbal enclitics (7.1), followed by an account of the clausal propositional markers (7.2). In 7.3, finally, I will give an overview of the combinatory possibilities.

This chapter is exploratory in character and should be seen as a first approximation of the data. Many of the enclitics are difficult to interpret, since they occur in many different situations. Further research is needed to achieve a better understanding of these enclitics.

7.1 Verbal enclitics

The set of verbal enclitics indicate different types of epistemic modality; they tell us something about how the speaker judges the truth value of the utterance. They are often not mutually exclusive; rather they co-occur, and do not denote different points on a truth-value scale.

7.1.1 =ya: non-veridical

The marker =*ya* is the most frequently used propositional marker in narratives, occurring virtually in every sentence. It has several functions, all revolving around uncertainty of the speaker of the truth value of his utterance. It is not complete uncertainty, however. When the speaker uses this marker, he usually has some reason for assuming the proposition to be true. I use the term 'non-veridical' in this sense, i.e. the speaker makes a statement that may, but not necessarily does, describe a realis situation. I will describe all functions of =*ya* that I have found so far.

The first function to discuss is that of reportative. Many statements in narratives, especially in mythological texts, are marked with the enclitic =*ya*. Consider the following sequence of events, in which a woman is hiding in the attic of a house of Puydaras (jaguar-like creatures), who suspect that there is someone in the attic:

(2) a latijsha yutchi së=ja   danda-ni=chi ta-ø=**ya**   na   puydara
       then   let's.see 1SG.PRN=EMPH go.up-INTL=IGN say-3=NVR DEM Puydara
       'Then the Puydara said (they say): "Let's see, I will go up.'

      b lat   danda-ø=**ya**   latiji
           then   go.up-3=NVR   subsequently
           'So then he went up (they say).'

      c lat   danda-ø=ja bëjta-ø=**ya**   müta-ø=**ya**
           then   go.up-3=SS   see-3=NVR   take.out-3=NVR
           'When he went up he saw her (they say) and dragged her out (they say).'

      d rü   chitta-ø=**ya**   na   tejte-shama
           IDEO   throw.SG-3=NVR   DEM   grandmother-PST
           '"Rü" he threw the woman out (they say).' (all: FA-6MA-5)

In (2), all verbs, except for *dandanichi* in (2)a and *dandaja* in (2)c are marked with the non-veridical marker. *Dandanichi* is direct speech, where this marker is usually not found, and *dandaja* has the same-subject marker =*ja*, which is incompatible with =*ya*, as is the different-subject marker =*ti*. Verbs marked with the hypothetical marker are often translated with 'they say that'. This can be linked to 'non-veridical' in the sense that all events talked about in a narrative exist in a fictitious world of words only, and so they are essentially hypothetically, and not necessarily true.

   Apart from its hearsay function, which is evidential in nature, =*ya* has other functions, which are more in the realm of epistemic modality. Consider first the following examples:

(3) a aj   ashiwa-ø=**ya** noe   li-lojo-ø=**ya**   noe
       INTJ   lie-3=NVR   Noah   DEL-mad-3=NVR   Noah
       'Oh! Noah is lying, he must have gone crazy.' (OR-20MA-1)

      b ati-kka=y   nish   puchu-shta-ø=w=**ya**
           DEM-MEA=LOC   NEG   save.o.s.-FUT-3=PL=NVR
           'This time they will not rescue themselves.' (AY-2NC-10)

      c maj~matata ti-jusu-ø=la   nish   ta-bibë-shta-ø=**ya**
           INTS~big   1SG-want-3=VAL   NEG   1PL-suffice-FUT-3=NVR
           'I want a bigger one. This one won't do for us.' (AR-8MI-41)

      d sawata-ø=**ya** ani
           work-3=NVR   DEM:LOC
           'It seems to be working here.' (AA-27MA-9)

In example (3)a, taken from the Yurakaré version of the biblical tale of Noah, the protagonist tries to convince his friends that they all should help him build an ark, because the water will come and devastate everything. Since his friends don't believe him, they deduct that Noah is probably lying, that he has gone mad. Example (3)b is taken from a text about the wrath of a mythological figure, *ayma*

shunñe (fire man), who burnt everything to the ground. Two people manage to save themselves. He tells them to go and procreate. If they don't do that, he promises that he will come back and burn everything again. This time no one will be saved. In (3)c, another mythological figure, Tiri (founder of the Yurakaré) has made a field for his stepmother, but she deems it too small, assuming that it will not be big enough to feed the both of them. In (3)d, finally, taken from a dialogue, the speaker is looking at the mini-disk recorder and sees movement in the display. From this he deducts that it must be working.

The examples in (3) cannot be translated with 'reportative' since they are not dealing with hearsay information. Instead, they are assuming or hypothesizing something to be true on the basis of some expectation they have. In this sense =*ya* has a wider, and more epistemic function than just reportative.

There are two further environments where =*ya* is found. In both of these it stands in opposition with the same-subject marker =*ja*. The first is:

(4) a ta-ñu   ma-bëjta=**ya**   awëwë-tu   chajtiya
        1PL-child:PL   3PL-see=NVR   cry-1PL.S   always
        'Always when we see our children, we cry.' (OR-20MA-5)

     b lëshie   winani=**ya**   ilëtë-cha-p
        two   walk=NVR   procreate-JUS-2PL.S
        'The two of you should go and procreate.' (AR-3NC-1)

     c yutchi   mala=**ya**   li-ma-tamba-m=chi
        let's.see   go.SG=NVR   DEL-3PL-hit.with.pole-IMP.SG=IGN
        'Let's see, go and hit them with a pole.'(FA-6MA-7)

     d irepu=**ya**   daja-n-tu   ta-embarkashon
        tie=NVR   hang-INTL-1PL.S   1PL-boat
        'Let's tie up and moor our boat.' (OR-20MA-2)

     e bali=**ya**   nentaya   shama-shta-tu=naja
        go.PL=NVR   maybe   die.PL-FUT-1PL.S=DSC
        'When we go, maybe we will die.' (AR-8MI-90)

In each of these examples, we are dealing with two propositions that are grammatically and conceptually integrated. The first predicate, which I consider to be subordinate, or co-subordinate, does not carry any subject marker or TMA markers; instead it carries the marker =*ya*. The second predicate is a full-fledged verb, with subject markers and TMA markers. Constructions may be marked in this way under two conditions: the subjects of the subordinate and main clause should be identical, and the main verb should denote a non-specific, non asserted event. This means that the main verb in these constructions is typically marked for habitual, jussive, imperative, future, intentional, etc. In (4)a, the main verb is not morphologically marked for habitual, but it is modified with the adverb *chajtiya*, which implies habituality. In (4)b, the main verb is marked for jussive, in (4)c for

imperative, and in (4)d, finally, the main verb is marked for future tense. A more detailed account of these constructions is given in section 8.2.2 below.

This use of =*ya* can be contrasted with the same-subject marker =*ja* in similar constructions. A predicate marked with =*ja* is normally encoded as having taken place, a realis event, whereas the use of =*ya* in constructions such as (4) refers to an irrealis event.

(5) a la bobo-ø=w=**ja** tiya-ø=w
    then hit;kill-3=PL=SS eat-3=PL
    'When they had killed it, they ate it.' (AR-8MI-24)

  b dulsi=w ma-m-pu~pu-y=**ja**   deli   ashaa=jsha
    orange=PL 3PL-IO-take.PL~DST-1SG.S=SS fall.SG:1SG.S above=ABL
    When I was plucking oranges, I fell from above.' [AA-25MA-3]

  c a-ushpë-shti=**ja**   li-dele-y   sama=chi
    INC-bathe-FUT:1SG.S=SS DEL-fall.SG-1SG.S water=DIR
    'When I was going to bathe, I fell into the water.' [RF-30MA-6]

The subordinate predicates marked with =*ja*, which are fully inflected verbs, point to a specific event, even in the case of (5)c, where the predicate is marked with the future-tense marker -*shta*. It refers to the moment before bathing. More on this and related constructions can be found in section 8.2.3. A final construction involving =*ya* is of the following type:

(6) a mala-cha-m   mala=**ya** kuta-ø=ya
    go.SG-JUS-2SG.S go.SG=NVR 3SG.CO-say-3SG.S=NVR
    '"Go", he said to her.'(FA-6MA-5)

  b pedi-n-tu=naja   pedi=**ya**
    ask-INTL-1PL.S=DSC ask=NVR
    'Let's ask him.' (OR-20MA-2)

  c atijshija wiwi-shta-ø=w ti-bonto=w wiwi=**ya**
    at.that.time arrive.PL-FUT-3=PL 1SG-son=PL arrive.PL=NVR
    'At that time my sons will arrive.' (AR-8MI-21)

  d wiwi-ø=w=ti   ma-la-ñole-yu   ma-la-ñole=**ya**
    arrive.PL-3=PL=DS 3PL-AFO-desire-PROH 3PL-AFO-desire=NVR
    'When they arrive, do not fall in love with them.'(AR-8MI-21)

In the same circumstances as the subordinate =*ya* clauses, i.e. when we are not dealing with a specific or factual event, speakers often repeat the predicate, strip it of its subject marking and TMA morphology, and mark it with =*ya*. The effect of this repetition is that it gives a certain emphasis to the proposition. The type of emphasis added can be diverse. In (6)a, the repetition of *mala* + *ya* marks a certain impatience on the part of the speaker and coercion to carry out the request. The second =*ya* is simply the narrative =*ya* treated above. The utterance is made at a

very dramatic moment in the story in which a man tells his wife that he is ashamed of his face that has been damaged. He says that she must go her own way and leave him. The effect of the repetition in (6)b is similar to that of (6)a, only not so much coercive, but more anxious and longing. This is from the story of Noah, where they have been on the ark for a long time, waiting for the trees to come out of the water, which would indicate that the water is subsiding. In (6)c and (6)d, the emphasis marks urgency and extra warning for potentially dangerous situations.

Other kinds of emphasis that can be indicated by repetition include despair (7)a, astonishment (7)b, reassurance (7)c, and gravity of the situation or possibly alerting of the hearer (7)d. Note that in the repetition of (7)d, the negation is left out as well.

(7) a   tëtë-pshë   dula-shti=chi   dula=**ya**
      what-entity   do;make-FUT:1SG.S=IGN   do;make=NVR
      'What can I do? (now that my son is dead?)'   (OR-20MA-5)

     b   nish   bëjta-jti-ø=w=ya   ati   jente   lë-mmuy   bolosh   tütü-jti-ø
      NEG   see-HAB-3=PL=NVR   DEM   person   DEL-all   white   sit;be-HAB-3
      tütü=**ya**
      sit;be=NVR
      'You could not see this person, there was only whiteness.'   (AR-8MI-87)

     c   nish   ta-pasa-shta-ø=bëla   ta-pasa=**ya**   ta-jti-ø=w=ya
      NEG   1PL-happen.to-FUT-3=CNT   1PL-happen.to=NVR   say-HAB-3=PL=NVR
      '"Nothing is going to happen to us yet", they said.'

     d   nentaya   nish   wiwi-shta-tu=lam=naja   wiwi=**ya**
      maybe   NEG   arrive.PL-FUT-1PL.S=SBJ=DSC   arrive.PL=NVR
      'Maybe we will not return (from war).' (AR-8MI-90)

Apparently, speakers do not have to repeat the whole inflected verb, but they do have to indicate whether we are dealing with a specific, factual event or with a non-specific or non-factual event. When a specific factual event is repeated, it takes the marker =*ja* (cf. section 8.2.3):

(8) a   shuj~shudyulë-sh   ti-n-wita-m   ti-n-wita-m=**ja**
      INTS~beautiful-ADV   1SG-IO-arrive.SG-2SG.S   1SG-IO-arrive.SG-2SG.S=SS
      'How very nice that you came to me!'   (AR-8MI-19)

     b   tëtë-pshë   ka-tütü-m=chi   ka-tütü-m=**ja**
      what-entity   3SG-sit;be-2SG.S=IGN   3SG-sit;be-2SG.S=SS
      'What is it that you have there?'   (AR-8MI-23)

     c   yokkoshe   tiya-m   mem=la   tiya-m=**ja**
      true   eat-2SG.S   mother=VAL   eat-2SG.S=SS
      'Did you really eat it, mother?'   (AR-8MI-25)

In the examples in (8), the repetition also adds some kind of emphasis. The difference with the examples in (7) is that here, the predicate refers to a specific event that has taken place or is taking place, or is believed to have taken place. The kinds of emphasis here are reinforcement of happiness in (8)a, and urgent demanding, in (8)b and c.

7.1.2 =chi: ignorative

The marker =*chi*[1] is most often found on questions. Questions are generally marked with =*chi* when the speaker has no idea what the answer could be, and s/he is open to any answer.

(9) a ama=jsha amala-m=**chi**   ti-shoja   ku-ta-ø=ya
         WH=ABL   come-2SG.S=IGN   1SG-young.woman 3SG.CO-say-3=NVR
         '"Where do you come from, my child?" she said to her.' (FA-6MA-5)

    b ama-shku-ta   danda-p=**chi**   ti-lele-ypa
         WH-ADV.CMP-MID   go.up-2PL.S=IGN   1SG-grandchild-VOC.PL
         'How did you get up, my grandchildren?' (AY-3NC-6)

    c am=chi   tütü-ø=**chi**
         WH=DIR   sit;be-3=IGN
         'Where is she?' (OR-20MA-8)

The marker is found on predicates. Sometimes it is found on question words as well, but in that case the question marker should be interpreted as a predicate:

(10) tëtë-pshë=**chi**   ati
      what-entity=IGN   DEM
      'What is that?' (AY-3NC-7)

Another area where =*chi* is often found is with commands:

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[1] The marker =*chi* may be related to the evidential/validational marker =*chi* in Quechua, which expresses conjecture (Adelaar 1977: 79) or lack of conviction of the factual status of the proposition (Weber 1989: 422).

(11) a   li-pi-ujwa=**chi**
           DEL-IMP.PL-look=IGN
           '(Go and) look there!' (FA-6MA-5)

      b   li-ma-tamba-m=**chi**
           DEL-3PL-hit.with.pole-IMP.SG=IGN
           'Hit them with the pole.' (FA-6MA-7)

      c   otto-cha-m=**chi**   otto=ya
           go.out-JUS-2SG.S=IGN   go.out=NVR
           'Go out.' (OR-20MA-2)

The ignorative marker on commands is not obligatory, but it is mainly used when the speaker is curious to find out something as a result of the execution of the command. In (11)a, the speaker orders someone else to take a look in the attic, because some liquid is dripping from above, and he wants to know what it is. In (11)b the command is to hit birds from a tree with a pole, to verify if the requestee is capable of doing such a thing. In (11)c, finally, from the story of Noah, Noah sends out his pigeon to see whether the trees have come out above the water yet. In (12) below, the underlying question, or lack of knowledge is overtly expressed and, not surprisingly, also marked with =*chi*:

(12)   li-ma-ujwa-ni-m=**chi**   tëtë-pshë   yaju=**chi**
       DEL-3PL-look-INTL-2SG.S=IGN   what-entity   talk:3PL=IGN
       'Go and see what they are talking about.' (AR-8MI-68)

The same explanation as for the imperatives holds for the combination of the intentional marker -*ni* with the ignorative =*chi*:

(13)   yutchi   së=ja   danda-ni=**chi**
       let's.see   1SG.PRN=EMPH   go.up-INT=IGN
       'Well let's see, I will go up then.'   (FA-6MA-5)

This is from the same story as example (11)a above. After the speaker has sent all of his brothers up to go and see what is upstairs (they all say there is nothing up there) he decides to go and have a look himself, with the underlying lack of knowledge.

The ignorative marker is also often used for incompletive aspect or frustrative:

(14)   müta-ø=w=ja   che-shta-ø=w=**chi**
       pull.out-3=PL   eat-FUT-3=PL=IGN
       'They pulled him out and were going to eat them.' (AR-8MI-33)

The ignorative marker in combination with the future marker -*shta* indicates that something unexpected happened that prevented the event marked with =*chi* from

actually taking place. In this story, a bunch of Puydaras (jaguar-like creatures) want to eat a human being. However, his body turns out to be so tough that the Puydaras break their teeth and are unable to eat him. The function of =*chi* here may be that we cannot be sure whether, under normal circumstances they really would have eaten him.

In general, when an action is not carried out completely, the unfinished or unsuccessful action is marked with =*chi*. In this sense it has a frustrative function: the event as expected does not take place. This can be seen in the following examples:

(15) a at=chi   ma-mali=**chi**   lëshie jente=w   ti-shuju   ana
        DEM=DIR   3PL-go.SG:1SG.S=IGN two   person=PL   1SG-pierce:3PL.S   DEM
        ti-jorejto=y
        1SG-neck=LOC
        'I was taking two people there, when they started piercing my neck.'(AY-3NC-7)

    b latijsha li-ma-n-tele-y   amala-y   ti-bobo-shta-ø=w=**chi**
       then   DEL-3PL-IO-let.go-1SG.S   come-1SG.S   1SG-hit;kill-FUT-3=PL=IGN
       'Then I let them go and came [here]; they were going to kill me.' (AY-3NC-7)

The examples here are from a text in which the speaker tried to kidnap two people, but was prevented from doing so, because they tried to pierce his neck, trying to kill him. In this latter event, the people were frustrated because the kidnapper fled.

Not only agentive events can be marked with =*chi*, unaccusative verbs take this marker as well. In that case it is mostly translated as incompletive aspect, often, but not always, in combination with the future marker -*shta* and the non-veridical enclitic =*ya*:

(16) a ka-n-dele-shta-ø=y=**chi**=la
        3SG-IO-fall.SG-FUT-3=NVR=IGN=VAL
        'He almost fell on him (but he didn't).' (AY-3NC-10)

    b shamaj~shama-shta-ø=w=ya=**chi**   latiji
       INTS~die.PL-FUT-3=PL=NVR=IGN   subsequently
       'They were really dying (but they did not).' (AR-8MI-63)

In (16)a, a person called Aysa climbs up a tree to get away from a person (Pëpësu) who wants to catch him. Pëpësu is not able to climb the tree, so he sits down under the tree, waiting for Aysa to get tired and fall from the tree. The utterance in (16)a says that Aysa was really on the brink of falling, but in the end he did not. In (16)b the narrator tells of fetuses that are squeezed together and in danger of dying, but in the end they do not.

The following final example should also be mentioned, since it does not mark incompletive aspect or a frustrative meaning. This may have to do with the fact that the event is marked for habitual aspect rather than future tense:

(17) emejeme-sh   ka-n-dyërërë-jti=ya=**chi**=la   ta-buybu=la
      good-ADV   3SG-IO-speak-HAB=NVR=IGN=VAL   1PL-language=INS
      'He could speak our language well (so they say).' (AR-8MI-87)

Here, the speaker is talking about a visit that angel-like creatures[2] made to his ancestors. They just appeared at a certain point, and just like that they could speak Yurakaré. The ignorative marker here possibly relates to the fact that the speaker has no idea where these people got this skill. However, the use of the ignorative here is not very clear.

7.1.3 =laba: subjective

The meaning of the enclitic =*laba* is not very clear. It seems to mark a certain subjectivity on the part of the speaker, which does not necessarily corresponds with the facts. The marker =*laba* occurs in a number of different environments. Firstly, the marker is often found in combination with the adverb *benebene-sh* 'lamentably'.

(18) a benebene-sh   anu-ta   tuwi-ø=**laba**   tuwi[3]   së   ti-bonto
         lamentable-ADV   like.this-MID die.SG-3=SBJ   die.SG   1SG.PRN   1SG-son
         'Sadly my son died like this.' (OR-20MA-5)
      b benebene-sh   mapakka   anu   ta-m-bë-ø=**laba**   ta-m-bë=ya
         lamentable-ADV   much   like.this 1PL-IO-treat-3=SBJ   1PL-IO-treat=NVR
         ta-mme
         1PL-mother
         'It makes me sad that our mother is treating us like this.' (OR-19MA-30)
      c të' benebene-sh   anu   wiwi-p=**laba**   wiwi-p
         INTJ lamentable-ADV   like.this   arrive.PL-2PL.S=SBJ   arrive.PL-2PL.S
         'How sad that you have arrived like this.' (OR-20MA-10)

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[2] These people are said to be completely white, even transparent. They also had healing skills and, as becomes apparent from the example, could speak Yurakaré. Possibly this is a mythologized version of very early visits of white people.

[3] The repetition of the predicate here is of the same type as discussed above in examples (6)-(8), only without either the marker =*ya* or =*ja*. This may have to do with the fact that predicates marked with =*laba* are often neither realis nor irrealis, they are personal evaluations of events.

According to Day (1980) the suffix =*laba* also co-occurs with adverbs of happiness, pleasure:

(19) a ti-n-kukku-sh   winani=**laba**   uwal=chi
         1SG-IO-nice-ADV   walk=SBJ   Cochabamba=DIR
         'I loved the city (Cochabamba).'
      b ti-n-kukku-sh   ma-pu-y=**laba**   arush=la
         1SG-IO-nice-ADV   3PL-take.PL-1SG.S=SBJ   rice=VAL
         'I really love harvesting rice.' Both examples: [DAY-1980-32]

In other surroundings, it can mean 'probably' or 'possibly':

(20) a ta-tumi=ja   wita-ø=**laba**
         1PL-enemy=EMPH   arrive.SG-3=SBJ
         'I presume this is the enemy that has arrived.'   (OR-20MA-10)
      b lash   ishete   mi-n-dyuju-ø=**laba**   mi-n-dyuju   adyindyi-m=laba
         then   agouti   2SG-IO-tell-3=SBJ   2SG-IO-tell   be.sad-2SG.S=SBJ
         'The agouti will have told you probably, that is why you are sad.' (FA-6MA-8)
      c ma-otto-ø=**laba**   otto   kummë
         3PL-go.out-3=SBJ   go.out   tree
         'Possibly the trees have come out.' (OR-20MA-2)

What the examples in (18)-(20) seem to have in common is some sort of notion like 'subjectivity', if we assume the marker =*laba* to have scope over both the verb and the adverb in (18) and (19). The subjective marker expresses the fact that the proposition is not so much factual, but holds in the subjective mind of the speaker.
   Another use of =*laba* is illustrated in the following examples:

(21) a mala-ø=ya=**laba**   asha=chi   (…) latijsha   nish   mu-wita-ø=ja
         go.SG-3=NVR=SBJ   above=DIR   (…) then   NEG   3PL.CO-arrive-3=SS
         ma-la-shopto-ø=ya   latiji
         3PL-AFO-go.down-3=NVR   subsequently
         'He tried to go up, but could not reach them, so he went back down.' (AY-3NC-8)
      b kushi-ø=w=**laba**   kankanata   wilita-ø   ma-tomete
         shoot-3=PL=SBJ   halfway   return-3   3PL-arrow
         'They shot, but their arrows returned when they were halfway.' (OR-19MA-30)

The use of =*laba* in these two examples looks very similar to the frustrative meaning associated with =*chi*, as was discussed above. It is at this point not very clear what the difference is between the examples in (21) and the ones in (15).
   The function of =*laba* in (22), again, is rather unclear:

(22) a   ti-apta=w   ti-meme   ku-tüti   bëj ta-jti-ø=chi=**laba**   ta=ya
          1SG-family=PL 1SG-mother 3SG.CO-sit-1SG.S ?   say-HAB-3=IGN=SBJ   say=NVR
          'I am with my family, with my mother, he thinks.' (FA-6MA-8)

     b   ama-shku-ta   yokkoshe ti-apta   ku-tütü-y   ta-m=chi=**laba**
          WH-ADV.CMP-MID   true   1SG-family 3SG.CO-sit;be-1SG.S   say-2SG=IGN=SBJ
          ta-m=ja[4]
          say-2SG.S=SS
          'How can you believe that you are with your family?' (AR-8MI-48)

Examples (22)a and b are from the same story, but told by different narrators. At
the point in the respective narratives of these two examples, two agoutis are trying
to convince Tiri that, even though he thinks that he lives with his real family, he
actually lives with stepfamily, who are his enemy. It seems that =*laba* in (22)a and
b, indicates a presumption on the part of the agoutis. Note the combination with
the ignorative marker =*chi* and the repetition of the verb *ta* 'say', in (22)a with the
non-veridical marker =*ya*, and in (22)b with the same subject marker =*ja*. I will
come back to combinatory possibilities of modal enclitics in 7.3.

The combination =*chi*=*laba* can also express doubt of a proposition earlier
believed to be true, or information supposed to be true:

(23) a   yokkoshe bobo-m=chi=laba   ushta   yokkoshe tiya-m=chi=laba
          true   hit;kill-2SG.S=IGN=SBJ before true   eat-2SG.S=IGN=SBJ
          'Did you really kill it before, did you really eat it before?' (AR-8MI-30)

     b   yokkoshe   të-binta-shta=yj[5]=laba
          true   1SG.CO-hurt-FUT=IGN=SBJ
          'Is it true that it would hurt me?' (AR-8MI-83)

The example in (23)a is uttered by Puydaras (jaguar-like creatures) who had been
convinced that their mother had killed and eaten a human child. Now they have
reason to doubt this. In (23)b, Tiri has created a stingray using his magic, and with
the assumption that it could hurt when it stings, he now wants to test whether it
would really hurt him.

Finally, the enclitic =*laba* is sometimes used when the speaker suddenly realizes
something:

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[4] The fact that the repetition in (22)a occurs with the non-veridical marker =*ya* (cf. footnote
3 of this chapter), whereas in (22)b it occurs with =*ja* may have to do with the fact that the
predicate of (22)a is additionally marked with the habitual marker -*jti* (cf. section 7.1.1).
[5] The ignorative marker =*chi*, like the directional marker =*chi*, has an allomorph =*yj*.

(24) a   waa   aysa   otto-ø=laba   ta-ø=ya   na   pëpësu
          INTJ   Aysa   go.out-3=SBJ   say-3=NVR   DEM Pëpësu
          '"Waah!", Aysa has gotten out!!' (OR-19MA-9)

     b   të'   anu   imbëtë-jti-ø=laba   imbëtë=ya   ta-mme
          well like.this   behave-HAB-3=SBJ   behave=NVR   1PL-mother
          'Well, our mother behaved like this!' (OR-19MA-30)

In (24)a Pëpësu, one of the main characters of this story, has gone out to find some potatoes. When he comes back he realizes that his prisoner Aysa has escaped. In (24)b, the speaker has been suspecting his mother of doing things in secret, so he decides to spy on her. Then he understands what it is she has been doing secretly all this time (having an affair with the sun).

   Taking all the examples with =*laba* into consideration there is at this point no clear answer to the question what the exact meaning is of =*laba*. It refers to presupposition, counterfactuality, doubt, subjectivity, evaluation. I consider subjectivity to be the central notion, especially since it is congruent with the fact that translations in elicitation tasks were often marked with =*laba*, especially with less confident speakers, indicating the opinion and doubt of the consultant. Nevertheless, further research is needed to obtain a better understanding of this enclitic.

7.1.4 =*tiba*: assumptive

The enclitic =*tiba* is not used very often. It expresses doubt on the part of the speaker. Formally, it seems related to =*laba*. There may be a separate morpheme =*ba*, but the evidence is too thin to draw any firm conclusions. The enclitic =*tiba* is often translated with 'I think'.

(25) a   tënnij   ana=jsha   i-tanti-ø=la   bëjta-ø=**tiba**   a-shuyye=jsha=ti=ye
          of.course DEM=ABL VBL-eyes-3=VAL see-3=ASM   3SG.P-crown=ABL=?=NB.F
          'They had eyes here [on the back of their head]. I suppose he saw him from his crown.' (FA-6MA-10)

     b   issij li-lojo-ø=**tiba**   noe
          INTJ DEL-crazy-3=ASM   Noah
          'Well, I think Noah has gone crazy.' (OR-20MA-1)

     c   a-wështi-ø=**tiba**=la-ye
          3SG.P-hunger-3=ASM=VAL=NB.F
          'I suppose he was really hungry.'(OR-19MA-9)

In these examples, the evidence for the truth values of these assertions is indirect. In (25)a, the main character Tiri is trying to kill a Puydara with his arrow, but somehow this Puydara notices this in time and manages to escape. The narrator

assumes that the animal noticed Tiri because Puydaras are generally known to have had eyes in the back of their head. Note that on the final word there is an element *=ti* as well, which may be an indication that the element *=ti* in *=tiba* has a separate meaning. The element *=ye* will be discussed in 7.2.3 below. In (25)b, the odd behaviour of Noah (telling everyone that it is going to rain heavily and that all will be destroyed) leads the speaker of this utterance to his conclusion. In (25)c, finally, the narrator assumes that one of the characters of the story must have been really hungry, because he ate *peleltas*, a type of fruit normally only eaten by monkeys.

7.1.5 =bala: admonitive

The enclitic *=bala* occurs even less frequently than *=tiba*. It is normally found on verbs that express some kind of warning (cf. Day 1980-32). I have heard only one example of this:

(26) mi-munë-shta-ø=**bala**   sasta
      2SG-prick-FUT-3=ADM   sugarcane
      'The sugarcane will sting you! (watch out)' (FA-PC)

This utterance was made when the consultant and I were doing translation work. While we were working she saw her grandson playing with the sugarcanes, so she warned him to watch out for the spines of the sugarcane.

  The suffix *=bala* is also discussed in Day (1980), exclusively with the admonishing function:

(27) a   danda-yu   dele-shta-m=**bala**
           go.up-PROH   fall.SG-FUT-2SG.S=ADM
           'Don't climb up, you might fall.' [DAY-1980-32]
      b   kayashi-shta-m=**bala**
           shoot-FUT-2SG.S=ADM
           '(Quit aiming at those chickens) you might hit one.' [DAY-1980-32]

As mentioned above, it may be possible to isolate the element *=ba* as having a meaning of its own. If we would do that, the enclitics *=laba* and *=bala* would both be combinations of the validational marker *=la* (cf. section 7.2.1 below) and *=ba*. The order would then reflect scope, *=laba* meaning 'I think that really X' and *=bala* 'I really think that X'. So in example (26) the translation would be 'I really think that the sugarcane will prick you' and in example (20), repeated here, the translation would be 'I think that the trees really have come out.'

(28) ma-otto-ø=**laba**   otto   kummë
     3PL-go.out-3=SBJ   go.out   tree
     'Possibly the trees have come out.' (OR-20MA-2)

In this reading the element =*ti* of =*ti*=*ba* would mean something like deduction, or an evidential suffix indicating that the evidence for the assertion comes from context. Again, further research is needed to investigate this possibility further.

7.1.6 =jtë: speculative

The marker =*jtë* marks speculation on the part of the speaker. It is mostly combined with gender-based clause final markers =*ri* (men) or =*yu* (women). I will come back to these below in section 7.2.2. The enclitic =*jtë* in declarative clauses indicates that the speaker is making a guess or estimation, without having any evidence for it:

(29) la=mapa=kka ati-kka=**jtë**   latiji=la=yu
     SEQ=tall=MEA DEM-MEA=SPC   subsequently=VAL=EXPR.F
     'He was tall then, he will have been about this size, I guess.' (FA-6MA-6)

This enclitic is mostly found in interrogative clauses. It has the effect that it turns the question into an expressive one, where the speaker does not expect an answer:

(30) a am=chi   mala-ø=**jtë**   latiji=ri
       WH=DIR   go.SG-3=SPC   subsequently=EXPR.M
       'Where in the world did he go?' (AR-8MI-59)
     b nish   ma-bëjta-y   am=chi   bali-ø=w=**të**[6]=ri
       NEG   3PL-see-1SG.S WH=DIR   go:PL-3=PL=SPC=EXPR.M
       'I don't see them, where could they be?'

When the enclitic =*jtë* is used in combination with =*ri*/=*yu* in a question, it means that the speaker has no clue as to the answer of the question, and no answer to the question is expected. This is generally what =*jtë* expresses: lack of evidence.

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[6] The enclitic =*jtë* loses its first consonant here since a cluster of three consonants is generally not allowed in a syllable in Yurakaré. (cf. section 2.3.1).

7.1.7 =pu: visual presentative

The enclitic *=pu* is used when the speaker has something to show to the hearer. It is an invitation to the hearer to 'see for himself'. I have found only one occurrence, but Day (1980) mentions some other examples:

(31) a   otto=ya   ka-ide-ma=**pu**
       go.out=NVR   3SG-look-IMP.SG=VP
       'Come out and look at this.' (AR-8MI-67)
     b   ana=y   pa-n-lee-ni=**pu**
       DEM=LOC   2PL-IO-read-INTL:1SG.S=VP
       'I'll read this to you so you'll see.' [DAY-1980-32]

7.2 Clausal enclitics

Clausal markers are not restricted to verbs as their host. They normally attach to the final element of a clause, irrespective of its lexical category. As we will see, it is possible for these elements to appear on non-final elements, but they do differ from the verbal enclitics in that they are less selective as to their host.

7.2.1 =la: validational

Validationality tells us something about how commited the speaker is to the content of the proposition, cf. Weber's (1989: 421-424) analysis of Huallaga Quechua. The validational marker in Yurakaré tells us nothing about the actual factuality of the proposition; it can even be found, as we will see, on propositions that are known to be non-factual. Nevertheless, it has something to do with the likelihood of the event being true according to the speaker, given the circumstances. Consider first the following sentence:

(32) yokkoshe-ø   meme=**la**   nish   ta-n-shiwa -m=**la**   ku-ta-ø=w=ya
      true-3   mother=VAL NEG   1PL-IO-lie-2SG.S=VAL   3SG.CO-say-3=PL=NVR
      '"It is true mother, you did not lie to us!", they said to her.'(AR-8MI-31)

Example (32) contains two assessments by the speakers (jaguars in this case), both marked with the validational enclitic *=la*. The first assessment is that what their mother had said (i.e. that she ate a human child) is true, the other – essentially the same assessment – that she did not lie about it after all. With both assessments, the enclitic *=la* is placed on the last element of the phrase it asserts.

Questions marked with the validational marker are often closed questions, where the speaker is asking for commitment of the addressee to the truth value of the proposition. Consider the following question-answer pair:

(33) a   yokkoshe   tiya-m   meme=**la**
          true   eat-2SG.S   mother=VAL
          '"Did you really eat it, mother?"' (AR-8MI-25)
      b   tiya-y=**la**   tiya-y=**la**   mu-ta-ø=ya
          eat-1SG.S=VAL   eat-1SG:S=VAL   3PL.CO-say-3=NVR
          '"I did eat it, I did eat it!", she said to them.' (AR-8MI-25)

In (33)a the speakers ask for commitment of the addressee to the truth of the proposition by using the validational marker =*la*. The addressee then gives them the commitment by means of the same marker =*la* in (33)b. The factual status of the proposition here is that it is not true, as we, the hearers of the narrative know.

The affirmative marker on an imperative, jussive or exhortative adds pertinence to the assignment. The speaker is commited to the realization of the event, comparable to English emphasized 'you *have* to do this':

(34) a   mala-cha-m=**la**   an   püü=la
          go.SG-JUS-2SG.S=VAL   DEM   road=INS
          'You really must go and take that road.' (FA-6MA-5)
      b   dula-n-tu=**la**   pi-ama   ta-bata-ø=ya   samma
          do;make-INTL-1PL.S=VAL   IMP.PL-come.IMP   1PL-leave-3=NVR   water
          'Come on! We have to make [a boat]; the water is going to take us!' (OR-20MA-1)

In (34)a, the validational marker is not on the final element of the clause, possibly to avoid doubling of the syllable *la*.

The clitic =*la* does not indicate an absolute value of certainty. It is rather a value that can be played with when telling a story, making the listeners believe that something actually did happen (35)a, denying it after that in (35)b:

(35) a ma-bobo   ma-che-shta-ø=w=**la**
      3PL-hit;kill   3PL-eat-FUT-3=PL=VAL
      'They really were going to kill and eat them.'

    b ama=ja   ma-che-shta-ø=ya=**la**   na   bali-ø=w   mu-mala-ø
      WH=EMPH   3PL-eat-FUT-3=NVR=VAL   DEM   go.PL-3=PL   3PL.CO-go.SG-3
      bali-ø=w=ti=jsha   ma-seta-nta-ø=ya   düüp   ma-n-dojo-ø
      go.PL-3=PL=DS=ABL   3PL-grab-DES-3=NVR   IDEO   3PL-IO-surpass-3
      jejeje   bali-ø=w
      INTJ   go.PL-3=PL
      'He was not going to eat them, however. When he followed them, they went away, when he tried to grab them they had gone, and 'dup' he grabbed after them, they went screaming 'hehehe'. (OR-19MA-3)

The validational marker can also be used to indicate the belief of a speaker in a conditional, hypothetical, even counterfactual situation:

(36) ati   ka-puppu-ta -ø   bobo-ø=ya=chi   laij=**la**=ye
      DEM   3SG-make.loose-POT-3   hit;kill-3=NVR=IGN   too=VAL=NB.F
      'If he had cut that one loose, he would have killed him as well.'   (FA-6MA-11)

This is perhaps the clearest example to show that =*la* has nothing to do with factuality. The speaker knows that the event described in the superordinate clause of the counterfactual conditional construction is non-factual, and still the proposition is marked with =*la*.

   In a similar vein the validational marker can be combined with the speculative marker -*jtë* and the assumptive marker =*tiba*:

(37) a lat   mapa-kka-ø   ati-kka-ø=**jtë**   latiji=**la**=yu
      then   big-MEA-3   DEM-MEA-3=SPC   subsequently=VAL=EXPR.F
      'He was big. Probably this size.'   (FA-6MA-6)

    b a-wështi-ø=**tiba**=**la**=ye
      3SG.P-hunger-3=ASM=VAL=NB.F
      'He must have been hungry.' (OR-19MA-9)

In (37)a the speaker commits herself to her estimation of the height of the character of the story, and in (37)b the narrator commits herself to her assumption that the character is hungry.

7.2.2 =*ri/yu*: expressive

The enclitic pair =*ri* (for men) and =*yu* (for women) adds an expressive force to an utterance, which can often be translated with English interjectional phrases like

"for God's sake", "for crying out loud" and the like. In the data that I have collected, these enclitics mainly occur in questions which are furthermore marked with the speculative marker *-jtë*:

(38) a am=chi mala-ø=jtë latiji=**ri**
   WH=DIR go.SG-3=SPC subsequently=EXPR.M
   'Where (in the world) did he go.' (AR-8MI-59)
  b ama-sh-i-ø=jtë=**yu**
   WH-ADV-VBL-3=SPC=EXPR.F
   'How will it have been? (I don't know)' (DV-14MA-3)

The combination of *-jtë* and *=ri/yu* marks the question as an expressive one. No answer is expected to either of the questions in (38). In (38)a, the narrator of the story does not know where the main character of the story went, and he knows that no one has the answer to that question. Example (38)b is from a dialogue where the speaker and her husband are trying to track down where one of their plates has gone. After contemplating some of the possibilities, they come to the conclusion that they do not know what might have happened, and the utterance in (38)b is her final word.

 The enclitics *=ri* and *=yu* in questions are also sometimes combined with the enclitic *=bë*, which denotes either momentaneous aspect or demanding attention of the hearer (cf. 7.2.5 below). In the case of a combination of *=bë* with one of the expressive enclitics, the question is also expressive, but with the connotation of pondering, thinking aloud:

(39) a tëtëpshë   kusu-shta-ø=bë=**ri**   enriki=**ri**
   what-entity want-FUT-3=MOM=EXPR.M Enrique=EXPR.M
   'What will he want (for lunch), Enrique?' (FL-14MA-1)
  b ama-shku-ta ta-n-dyërërë-shta=bë tuwa=**ri**
   WH-ADV.CMP-MID 1PL-IO-converse-FUT=MOM 1PL.PRN=EXPR.M
   'What shall we talk about?' (AA-27MA-9)

In (39)a, taken from the same dialogue as (38)b, the two speakers are wondering what I would like to have for lunch. This speaker is asking himself aloud what would please me. In (39)b, taken from another dialogue, I had left the two speakers with the minidisk and told them to just go ahead and converse. So the first speaker asks himself rather than anyone else: "What shall we talk about? (let's see)".

 The following utterances show that *=ri/yu* can be applied in a wider context than just rhetorical questions:

(40) a   l-ati-jti=ja=la=**yu**
          REF-DEM-LIM=EMPH=VAL=EXPR.F
          'But that is the only one there is!' (DV-14MA-2)

      b   buyta-ni   së=bë=**ri**
          chief-INTL:1SG.S   1SG.PRN=MOM=EXPR.M
          'If only I were chief!' [FL-1MA-21]

The utterance in (40)a is part of the dialogue of the lost plate mentioned before. This is an answer to a statement made by the other speaker who thinks that they had two white plates, a plastic one and another one, but his wife says that the plastic one is the only one they have. In (40)b there is an expression of a wish, where =*ri* , possibly in combination with =*bë*, adds an exclamative value to the proposition.

   Day (1980) has found many more occurrences of =*ri/yu*. In her analysis, these suffixes express regret or sorrow:

(41) a   benebene-sh   tuwi-ø   i-bonto-shama=ri
          pitiful-ADV   die.SG-3   1SG-son-PST=EXPR.M
          'How sad that my son has died!' (Day 1980-32)

      b   ëshë nish   otto-y=b   ush(ta)=ri
          why   NEG   go.out-1SG.S-MOM   before=EXPR.M
          'Why didn't I go out earlier?' (regretful) (Day 1980-32)

However, regret and sorrow are too narrow labels to fit to the whole range of uses of =*ri/yu*. I will come back to these enclitics and discuss some more environments in which they occur when discussing combinations of the modal enclitics in 7.3 below.

7.2.3 =ra/ye: notable information

There is another set of enclitics that differ according to the gender of the speaker: =*ra* (for men) and =*ye* (for women). The function of these enclitics is also hard to pinpoint, but they seem to mark the fact that the speaker thinks something is notable for some reason:

(42) a   media   ora-ñ̃u-jti   kusu-ø=naja   pëpë=**ra**
          half   hour-DIM-LIM   want-3=DSC   grandfather=NB.M
          'Half an hour the old one wanted (mind you).' (FL-14MA-1)

      b   shülül-ta   mi-dojo   më=**ra**
          tickly-MID   2SG-body   2SG.PRN=NB.M
          'Your body is tickly' (FL-14MA-1)

In (42)a I had told the speaker that they should converse for half an hour. When during the conversation the speaker starts wondering when it would end, he reminds his interlocutor that I had said half an hour. In (42)b the speaker touches the body of his daughter and she starts to laugh, so he remarks that she has a tickly body. The 'notable information' function becomes clearer in the following example of Day (1980):

(43) matat-uma-ø=w=la   mesa=w=**ye**
      big-DST-3=PL=VAL   table=PL=NB.F
      'What huge tables!' [DAY-1980-32]

Sometimes the use of =*ra*/*ye* seems to have an epistemic value. It is not clear how this use is related to the 'notable information' use:

(44) rene=tina   bali-ø=w=**ra**
      Rene=COM   go.PL-3=PL=NB.M
      'They will have gone with Rene.' (FL-14MA-2)

7.2.4 =se: repetition/emotion

The enclitic =*se* has several functions. So many in fact, that it is virtually impossible to come up with an adequate characterization of the enclitic, therefore I gloss it 'SE'.

   First of all, =*se* marks repetition, which is essentially aspectual, and can often be translated with English 'again'. In this reading the enclitic seems to be related to the adverb *yosse* 'again':

(45) a yosse ma-dula-ø=ja   ma-otche-ø=ya=se   a-tomte=w
         again 3PL-do;make-3=SS   3PL-go.out.CAU-3=NVR=SE   3SG.P-arrow=PL
         'After he had made [a new arrow] again, he stuck it out again.' (AR-2NC-1)
      b mala-m=chi=**se**
         go.SG-2SG.S=IGN=SE
         'Go again!' (OR-20MA-2)

It is also used to mark an object with which something is compared:

(46) ana   a-sibë   a-techo=**se**   ati-kki   ma-ssë-ø=w
      DEM   3SG.P-house   3SG.P-roof=SE   DEM-MEA:LOC   3PL-stand-3=PL
      'Like the roof of his house. At that hight [the hive] was hanging.'   (FL-14MA-1)

Furthermore, =*se* denotes an amalgam of different emotions and other modal or textual uses. To give an impression of the many shades of meaning =*se* can convey, I will just show a number the functions of =*se* that I have found:

Conviction/protest

(47) poyde-tu=la=se
      can-1PL.S=VAL=SE
      'We *can* do it! (contrary to what you think)'(AY-3NC-9)

Irritation

(48) an   ta-meye   shonko-to   yupata-ø=w   ma-tiba-ta=se
      DEM   1PL-ear   hole-MID   enter.PL-3=PL   3PL-pet-MID=SE
      'The animals [ants] are getting in our ears!' (OR-19MA-2)

'You know'

(49) tuwa   ta-buybu=la   a-duyata-ni=w   bë-ti   ta-duya-jti-ø=se
      1PL.PRN   1PL-language=INS   3SG.P-sting-MID-INTL=PL   ATT-DEM   1PL-sting-HAB=SE
      'In our language it's called the thing it wants to sting with, you know, that thing he [i.e. stingray] always stings us with.' (OR-19MA-22)

Apprehension

(50) nish   të-mala-ni-m   nentaya   bobo-tu-j=se
      NEG   1SG.CO-go.SG-INTL-1SG.S   maybe   hit;kill-POT:3PL.S-?=SE
      'Don't follow me, they might kill him [your nephew].' (OR-20MA-8)

In these contexts (i.e. between the potential marker -*ta* and =*se*) an element -*j*- appears. It is not clear what the function of this element is. It is not always connected to apprehension:

Insight

(51) nentaya   ta-lele=w   emejeme-sh   ma-n-kukku-ta-ø-j=se
      maybe   1PL-grandchild=PL   good-ADV   3PL-IO-nice-POT-3-?=SE
      'Maybe our grandchildren would like this [meal] very much!' (AR-8MI-69)

Insight might also be the explanation for the following occurrence of =*se*:

(52) ati pëpësu   ma-mala-jti-ø=se
      DEM Pëpësu   3PL-go.SG-HAB-3=SE
      'It was Pëpësu who took them with him (of course)!'   (OR-19MA-9)

Here the speaker discovered that she mixed up some of the characters in a story, and she realizes that it was the other way around.

Demanding explanation

(53) tëtë   mi-ma-m-pu-jti-ø   ana   sirim-ñu=se
      what   2SG-3PL-IO-take.PL-HAB-3   DEM   bird-DIM=SE
      'Who/what took (killed) those birds for you?'   (AR-8MI-31)

Disapproval/disbelief

(54) amumuy lëtta dia   ushpe-jti-ø=w=ya=se
      3SG.P-all one day   bathe-HAB-3=PL=NVR=SE
      'Every single day they went bathing.'   (AR-8MI-65)

It might be that =*se* here simply means 'again': "Every single day they went bathing again", but the utterance has another connotation, which is more modal in nature. It might either be disapproval, since the narrator disapproves of them bathing every day and not working, or it might be that it adds disbelief in the sense of the English phrase: 'Can you believe that!'

Anger

(55) ti-n-tüt-cha-m=bë   më-ti=se
      1SG-IO-sit-JUS-2SG.S=MOM   2SG.CO-say:1SG.S=SE
      'I told you to wait for me! (And you didn't)'   (OR-19MA-9)

Sarcasm

(56) nij an ti-tewe=la   danda-y   ku-ta-ø=ya   l-achu
      NEG DEM 1SG-foot=INS   go.up-1SG.S 3SG.CO-say-3=NVR   REF-like.that
      ku-danda-shta-ø=se
      3SG.CO-go.up-FUT-3=SE
      'He did not say that he went up by his feet, since then he would have gone up with him of course!'

Relief

(57) an   noe   nij-ta-ta-ø   nij-ta-shta=ya   latiji   ta-chata
     DEM Noah NEG-MID-POT-3   NEG-MID-FUT-3=NVR   subsequently   1PL-food
     tuwa=se
     1PL.PRN=SE
     'If it had not been for Noah, we would not have had food.' (OR-20MA-2)

Correction

(58) S1:   liwi   a-meye-tebe
           three   3SG.P-ear-FOR
           'Three earphones.' (FL-14MA-1)
     S2:   lëpsha=se
           four=SE
           'No, four!' (DV-14MA-1)

Memory

(59) ama   ka-mala-ø=se   am lewle
     WH   3SG-go.SG-3=SE   WH plate
     'Which one did she take again? Which plate?'   (FL-14MA-2)

Attention

(60) sawata-ø   sebe=la   bëchu   ñim   ñim   ta-ø=se
     work-3   Sebe=VAL   ATT-like.that   blink   blink   say-3=SE
     'It is working, Sebe! Look it is blinking! (about the minidisk)'(FL-27MA-9)

There are several problems connected to this morpheme =*se*. First of all, it is not clear whether the different uses of =*se* are all connected. I could be that (45), where =*se* means 'again' and (46), where =*se* is used in comparisons do not contain the same morpheme as in (47)-(60), where =*se* mainly adds emotional value. Furthermore, it is not clear how to account for the range of inferences in (47)-(60).

7.2.5 =bë: momentaneous/attention particle

The meaning of the enclitic =*bë* is hard to pinpoint. It seems to have two different meanings, and is often used in conversation in various circumstances.
   In many circumstances, the particle means 'for a while', like in (61)a and b, indicating that the event will take up only a short while. In this sense it is an aspectual marker. However, in example (61)c, this interpretation is harder to

maintain. It rather seems to mean something like getting attention, somewhat like English 'hey!'. In this sense it is a particle that functions on the speech-act level as an address particle.

(61) a ushpë-shti enrike=**bë**
  bathe-FUT:1SG.S Enrique=MOM
  'I am going to bathe for a while, Enrique.' (BR-PC)
 b am-ma=**bë**
  come.IMP-IMP.SG=MOM
  'Come here for a while.' (FL-PC)
 c am=chi bata-m=**bë**
  WH=DIR leave-2SG.S=MOM
  'Where are you off to?' (while passing in the canoe) (FL-PC)

The enclitic is often found on imperatives, jussives and exhortatives:

(62) a idumaja-yu=**bë**
  molest-PROH=MOM
  'Don't touch that!' (FL-14MA-1)
 b mi-choo putu ku-tütü-n-tu   tuwa=**bë**
  2SG-uncle Putu 3SG.CO-sit;be-INTL-1PL.S 1PL.PRN=MOM
  'Let's stay with your uncle Putu for now.' (OR-20MA-6)
 c l-ani   ta-n-tüt-cha-p=**bë** ta-n-tütü=ya bata-tu
  REF-DEM:LOC 1PL-IO-sit-JUS-2PL.S=MOM 1PL-IO-sit;be=NVR leave-1PL.S
  ta-jukkulë=y=**bë**
  1PL-field-LOC=MOM
  'Wait here, while we go to our field.' (AY-3NC-9)

Both of the interpretations mentioned above are possible with imperatives, jussives and exhortatives. The momentaneous interpretation is possible in (62)c, but not in (62)a and b, where the attention drawing function seems to be more in place.

 The enclitic =*be* is also often found on questions:

(63) a tëp yaju-p=**bë**
  what talk-2PL.S=MOM
  'What are you talking about?' (FA-6MA-8)
 b tëtë-pshë=la ma-kema-shta-tu=**bë**=ri
  what-entity=INS 3PL-burn-FUT-1PL.S=MOM=EXPR.M
  'With what are we going to burn it?' (FL-14MA-1)
 c ama-shku-ta dula-ti=**bë**   dula=ya
  WH-ADV.CMP-MID do;make-POT:1SG.S=MOM do;make=NVR
  'What can I do?' (AR-8MI-38)

It is not entirely clear in these sentences what *=bë* adds to the meaning of the sentence. Only in (63)a the speaker directly addresses someone, (63)b and c the question is rather rhetorical, which does not match with the use of an addressing particle, nor does there seem to be a straightforward momentaneous interpretation.

   Finally, the enclitic particle is also found on declaratives:

(64) a lat   ma-la-wismë-ø=ti   itele-ø=w=ya   yosse=**bë**
        then   3PL-AFO-hit.with.st-3=DS   let.go-3=PL=NVR   again=MOM
        'Then when she was hitting them, they let it go again.'   (FA-6MA-5)

    b kani   sewe-ø=ya=**bë**   tiri
        not.yet   be.born-3=NVR=MOM   Tiri
        'Tiri had not yet been born at that moment.' (AR-8MI-9)

    c wita-ø=ja   bobo-ø=ya   a-bashti=**bë**
        arrive.SG-3=SS   hit;kill-3=NVR   3SG.P-wife=MOM
        'When he arrived, he gave his wife a beating.' (OR-19MA-9)

The interpretation that can be given here is 'at that specific moment'. This is especially clear in example (64)b, where the speaker realizes that he has made a mistake in talking about Tiri at that specific moment in the story, because he had not been born yet. In (64)a and c, reference is made to a specific, relatively short period in time where background clauses mark the circumstances associated with that period of time. In (64)a, during the period that the subject of the background clause was hitting them, they let the object go; in (64)c, the moment of arriving coincides with the slapping.

   Summarizing, *=bë* is used to indicate specific points in time, which go with specific circumstances, or it indicates that the speaker demands attention from the addressee. Possibly, these two uses are connected in the sense that *=bë* tells us that the speaker regards what he says to be relevant for the moment of utterance, but not in general. However, whether and, if so, how these two uses are related remains unclear; a definite answer to this question can only be given after substantial further research.

   What can be said, however, is that the form *=bë* can be found in other words of the language, like *bëbë* 'search' and *bëjta* 'see', as well as the special attention demonstrative pronouns *bëti* and *bëna*, often used as a sort of presentative (cf. section 4.4.4). These correlate mainly with the 'attention' meaning of *bë*.

7.2.6 *=bëla: continuative*

The enclitics *=bëla* and *=naja* are phasal enclitic particles. Phasal particles express 'that a state does or does not continue, or that is has or has not come into existence' (Van der Auwera 1998:24). The enclitic *=bëla* indicates that a certain state

of affairs continues to be true or, when attached to a negative clause, that an expected event still has not been realized. In the first case it can often be translated with English 'still', in the latter case with 'not yet'. The form =*bëla* is probably related to =*bë*.

(65) a ta-la-banna-ø=**bëla**   ta-pü
      1PL-AFO-lack-3=CNT   1PL-road
      'We still need to make our road.' [RF-26MA-7]

    b lash   yosse=se   segia=**bëla**
      then   again=SE   continue=CNT
      'Then he continued again.' (OR-20MA-1)

    c nijta=bëla   noe   nijta=**bëla**   kummë
      NEG=CNT   Noah   NEG=CNT   tree
      'Not yet, Noah, there are no trees yet. (OR-20MA-1)

    d nij   bëjta-ø=w=ya   na   pi=w=**bëla**
      NEG   see-3=PL=NVR   DEM   brother=PL=CNT
      'His brothers had not yet seen him.'   (FA-6MA-6)

In (65)a and b, there is a declarative sentence marked with the continuative enclitic, which indicates that the general situation does not change, and the old one is still valid. In (65)a the situation was and still is that the road has to be built. It is not finished yet. In (65)b, the speaker is talking about Noah's journey in his ark. There is a moment of hope that the water is subsiding, but in the end they have to continue their journey by boat. In (65)c and d, the negation of the clause changes the interpretation of =*bëla* from 'still' to 'not yet', or 'still not'. In (65)c, Noah's parrot says to him that he can still see no trees coming out of the water, indicating that the water has subsided. In (65)d the topical participant of the story, Tiri, has been hidden to escape from the view of his dangerous step-brothers. At this point in the story his brothers have not discovered him yet, but they will shortly.

   As can be seen in the examples, =*bëla* does not always attach to the clause final element. It is rather free in its placement.

7.2.7 =*naja*: discontinuative

The enclitic =*naja*, like =*bëla* is a phasal particle. However, whereas =*bëla* indicates that a certain situation is continuing, =*naja* indicates that a new situation has arisen, ending the previous state of affairs. It can often be translated with English 'already'.

(66)   a   ta-m-pëlë-ø=**naja**   kukkulë
           1PL-IO-finished-3=DSC   field
           'We have finished the field already.' (OR-19MA-2)
       b   puwa-ø=w=**naja**
           drunk-3=PL=DSC
           'They are drunk already.'(AR-8MI-61)

In (66)a, =*naja* indicates that a new situation has arisen, namely a situation in which the field is ready; in (66)b, the two main characters of the story are trying to get a couple of birds drunk. It takes a long time for them to get drunk, but finally they reach the point where a new situation arises when they are finally drunk. The term 'discontinuative' is used broadly here, and is mainly chosen to contrast it with the continuative =*bëla*. In the examples it is explicitly not the case that the situation of the field being finished is discontinued, or that the situation of being drunk is being discontinued, rather the opposite. What it does is that it indicates the new situation that has arisen comes in the place of another, previously existing situation.

When =*naja* appears on a negated sentence, it is interpreted as 'no longer', 'not …anymore':

(67)   a   tishilë   nish   achama-ø=**naja**
           now   NEG   be.like.that-3=DSC
           'Now it is not like that anymore.' (AR-8MI-87)
       b   ati=la   nish   i-fe-tu=**naja**   tishilë
           DEM=INS   NEG   VBL-faith-1PL.S=DSC   now
           'That is why we do not have faith anymore now.'   (AR-8MI-88)
       c   meyeye-ø=w=ja   nish   ka-n-kukku=ya=**naja**   tiri
           naughty-3=PL=SS   NEG   3SG-IO-nice:3PL.S=NVR=DSC   Tiri
           'When they were naughty, Tiri no longer liked them.'   (AR-8MI-65)

In (67)a, the speaker is telling about the old garments the Yurakaré Indians used to wear. And he says that it is not like that anymore. In (67)b, the same speaker tells us a little later that they do not have their faith anymore, because strange (white?) people came to visit his ancestors. In (67)c, finally, Tiri's children grow up, and they turn out to be very naughty, disobedient children, so Tiri does not like them anymore.

In the above examples =*naja*, at least in the positive sentences, is attached to the predicate that expresses the event that is responsible for ending a previous state of affairs. However, when =*naja* is found on questions this does not need to be the case:

(68) a   tëtë-pshë   dula-shta-y=**naja**   sëë   anu-ta   ti-n-dala
          what-entity   do;make-FUT-1SG.S=DSC   1SG.PRN   like.this-MID   1SG-IO-alone
          tütü-y
          sit;be-1SG.S
          'What am I going to do now! I am all alone!' (AR-8MI-16)
      b   ama-sh-i=**naja**   mi-nñu
          WH-ADV-VBL=DSC   2SG-child
          'How is your child now?' (FL-14MA-1)

In these examples =*naja* indicates something like 'in the current situation'. In (68)a, the speaker's husband and brothers have just been murdered, and so she says: 'What am I to do now, in the current situation, where I am all alone?' In (68)b, a father asks his wife how their daughter is today. She was ill, but he asks her how she is doing currently.

   On imperatives and the like, =*naja* expresses impatience in the sense that the speaker urges the addressee(s) to stop whatever they are doing and to follow his request:

(69) a   bay-tu=naja
          go.EXH-1PL:S=DSC
          'Let's go already!' (OR-20MA-10)
      b   sawat-cha-p=naja
          work-JUS-2PL.S=DSC
          'Work now!' (OR-19MA-2)
      c   ka-n-tëptë-ma=naja
          3SG-IO-wash-IMP.SG=DSC
          'Wash it for her!' (FL-14MA-2)

The element =*naja* is actually rarely found on other elements than predicates. In this sense it belongs in the previous section 7.1. However, since it stands in contrast with continuative =*bëla*, it seems better to discuss it here. Moreover, there is one instance where =*naja* is found in another place:

(70) tëtë-pshë   ka-n-dula-shta-m   tishilë=**naja**   almuerzo
      what-entity   3SG-IO-do;make-FUT-2SG.S   now=DSC   lunch
      'What are you going to prepare him for lunch now?' (FL-14MA-1)

More generally, the aspectual enclitics =*bë*, =*bëla* and =*naja* have a stronger tendency to be marked on the verb than the modal enclitics.

7.3 Combinations of modal enclitics

7.3.1 The organization of modality in Yurakaré

If we disregard periphrastic constructions for the moment, we can say that modality is marked on three separate loci: one locus before the person markers, one right after, and one somewhat separate from the verb:

(71)   VERB ROOT -   *modality (1)*   -   *pers. mrk* = *modality(2)* =   *modality(3)*

obligative	non-veridical	validational
potential	ignorative	expressive
desiderative	subjective	notable information
intentional	assumptive	momentaneous
jussive	admonitive	se[7]
imperative	speculative	
prohibitive[8]		

These three loci coincide more or less with three different domains of modality: event modality (1), which has to do with events that are not actualized (cf. Palmer 2001:8); epistemic modality (2), which says something about the value the speaker attaches to the truth of the proposition and possibly the evidence he has for it; and finally what we could call expressive modality (3), which says something about other (non-epistemic) values of the speaker, i.e. the speaker adds some personal evaluation of the situation, which stands apart from the factual status of the event. It is not an entirely neat classification. For instance, one could tease apart the event modality into dynamic (involving an element of will) and deontic modality (for this distinction, see Palmer 2001:70-79); likewise, the epistemic modals can be said to consist of belief clitics and knowledge clitics. Moreover, the validational enclitics =*la* and *ra/ye* also might have an epistemic component.

   That the classification in (71) is not a strict one also appears from the fact that morphemes within one and the same group can be combined. The elements within one class therefore should not be seen as being in paradigmatic opposition to each other. Which combinations are possible within the classes of epistemic and expressive enclitics and what meaning they yield will be the topic of the subsequent sections. Combinatory possibilities of affixes expressing event modality were discussed in 6.3 above. Epistemic combinations are discussed in 7.3.2, Expressive combinations in 7.3.3.

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[7] I include momentaneous and 'se' here, in spite of their more aspectual values, because they also have clear modal values.

[8] The imperative and prohibitive actually replace the person markers.

7.3.2 Combinations of epistemic enclitics

I have not encountered all logically possible combinations of the different epistemic morphemes. This does, of course, not mean that they are impossible. The combinations that do occur are mostly not very common. For most combinations, therefore, it is of no use making any general remarks about their combined meaning. The point of this section is to show which combinations have been found and in which order. Remarks about the meaning should be taken as *ad hoc* assessments. I have found the following combinations:

=ya non-veridical + =chi ignorative

(72) a shama-shtu**=y=chi**   chata=la
        die.PL-FUT:3PL.S=NVR=IGN   food=INS
        'They almost died of hunger.' (FA-6MA-7)

    b nij   ka-la-bbë-ti   oshewo tiyu**=y=chi**   talipa=w
       NEG   3SG-AFO-cover-POT:1SG.S   pot   eat:3PL.S=NVR=IGN   chicken=PL
       ti-chata
       1SG-food
       'If I had not covered the pot, the chickens would have eaten all.' [MH-31MA-6]

The combination of *=ya* and *=chi* often gets a counterfactual, incompletive or frustrative reading (cf. also (16) above). These readings do not follow straightforwardly as the sum of the parts.

=ya 'non-veridical' + =laba 'subjective'

(73) a mala-*ø*=**ya=laba**   asha=chi
        go.SG-3=NVR=SBJ   above=DIR
        'He tried to go up (but he could not).' (AY-3NC-8)

    b ta-bobo-shta-*ø*=ya   samma ta-*ø*=**ya=lab**   noe
       1PL-hit;kill-FUT-3=NVR   water   say-3=NVR=SBJ   Noah
       'The water is going to kill us, Noah said (in vain).' (OR-20MA-3)

This combination also gets a frustrative reading in these examples, in the sense of 'in vain' or 'without success'.

=chi 'ignorative' and =laba 'subjective'

(74) a ati=w   ma-bëjta-ø=w=ja   yokkoshe   bobo-jti-m=**chi=laba**
         DEM=PL   3PL-see-3=PL=SS   true   hit;kill-HAB-2SG.S=IGN=SBJ
         'When they saw them [they said] is it really true that you killed it? (AR-8MI-30)
      b nish   ti-tejte   ku-ta-m=**chi=laba**
         NEG   1SG-grandmother   3SG.CO-say-2SG.S=IGN=SBJ
         'So you are saying that this is not my grandmother?' (AR-8MI-46)

This combination of epistemic markers can often be interpreted as a marker of scepticism, strong doubt or even disagreement. In (74)a, the speakers (who are jaguars) see a number of dead birds lying around, and they cannot believe that their mother has killed them by herself. They strongly suspect that she did not kill the human child they gave to her in order for her to kill and eat it. In (74)b, the speaker gets the message that the family he lives with is not his family after all, a statement he disagrees with.

=jtë 'speculative' + =ya 'non-veridical'

I have found one example of the above combination. In this example, *=jtë* preceeds *=ya*:

(75) ama-shku   ibëbë-shti=jtë=yu   ibëbë=**jtë=ya**   ta-mme=yu
      WH-ADV.CMP   treat-FUT:1SG.S=SPC=EXPR.F   treat=SPC=NVR   1PL-mother=EXPR.F
      'What should I do to our mother?' (OR-19MA-30)

In (75) the verb is repeated with the non-veridical marker (for this construction cf. 7.1.1 and 8.2.2) and interestingly, the speculative marker is still on the repeated verb, and comes before the non-veridical marker. Normally, the repeated verb would be devoid of any TMA marker and person marking. In this case, there is no person marker on the repeated verb, but the speculative marker is still there.

These are the combinations of epistemic modality that I have found. I did not encounter combinations of the enclitics *=bala* 'admonitive' and *=tiba* 'assumptive' with other epistemic enclitics. Once again, it must be stressed that this does not entail that combinations of this kind are impossible.

With the above examples of combinatory possibilities we can come up with the following tentative template:

Table 43 - Combinatory possibilities of epistemic modals

jtë	ya	chi	laba
tiba			
bala			

Static templates such as the one in Table 43 may be inferior to more principled accounts for morpheme orders (cf. Muysken 1986), but it is a good start for the study of morpheme order and interpretation.

7.3.3 *Combinations of expressive enclitics*

Here, not all logical possibilities are present in my data either, but I can supplement my data with the information in Day (1980). Nevertheless, the same cautionary remark should be made as in the previous section, namely that most combinations are not very common, and statements about their meaning should be taken as preliminary and *ad hoc*.

=la 'validational' + =ri/yu 'expressive'

(76) a   ati-kka-jtë   latiji=**la=yu**
         DEM-MEA-SPC   subsequently=VAL=EXPR.F
         'He will have been about this size.' (FA-6MA-6)

     b   l-ati-jti=ja=**la=yu**
         REF–DEM-LIM=EMPH=VAL=EXPR.F
         'But that is the only one there is!' (DV-14MA-2)

These are actually the only instances that I have found of this combination. In (76)a, the interpretation seems to be that the speaker is giving an estimate (a combination of =*jtë* and =*yu*), but she is convinced of her estimate. In   (76)b,   the speaker tries to convince her husband that he is wrong.

  Day (1980) has the following examples. She mentions that these are very common in preaching.

(77) a   a-wësh-tijti=naja   tishilë   tuwa=**la=yu**
         INC-sense-HAB:1PL.S=DSC   now   1PL.PRN=VAL=EXPR.F
         ti-bis=ipa=**la=yu**
         1SG-brother=VOC.PL=VAL=EXPR.F
         'We now know, my brethren.' [DAY-1980-32]

     b   ta-tata   dios=ja   ta-m-bache=bë=**la=yu**
         1PL-father   god=EMPH   1PL-IO-leave.CAU=MOM=VAL=EXPR.F
         ta-n-toyo-jbëshë=**la=yu**   ta-n-shopche=bë=**la=yu**
         1PL-IO-take.care-entity=VAL=EXPR.F   1PL-IO-go.down.CAU=MOM=VAL=EXPR.F
         'God sent to us one to care for us, he caused him to come down.'[DAY-1980-32]

=la 'validational' + =ra/ye 'notable information'

(78) a   l-ati-jti=w   winani-jti-ø=w   at=chi   ana-kki=**la=ra**
         REF-DEM-LIM=PL   walk-HAB-3=PL   DEM=DIR   DEM-MEA:LOC=VAL=NB.M
         'They always walk there at this time.'   (AA-27MA-9)

   b   ati   ka-puppu-ta -ø   bobo-ø=ya=chi   laij=**la=ye**
       DEM   3SG-make.loose-POT-3   hit;kill-3=NVR=IGN   too=VAL=NB.F
       'If he had cut that one loose, he would have killed him as well.'   (FA-6MA-11)

This combination indicates that the speaker is commited to the truth of the proposition, and he considers it as being highly relevant or noteworthy. Day mentions another use of this combination, to mark astonishment, which I have not encountered:

(79) a   bëmë-ø=w=**la=ye**
         much;many-3=PL=VAL=NB.F
         'Wow! What a lot of them!' [DAY-1980-32]

   b   mashi-ø=**la=ra**
       rain-3=VAL=NB.M
       'I poured and it is still pouring!' [DAY-1980-32]

=la 'validational' + emotive =se

(80) a   poyde -tu=**la=se**   ma-y-bali=ya=se   mu-winan-tu
         can-1PL.S=VAL=SE   3PL-VPL-go.PL=NVR=SE   3PL.CO-walk-1PL.S
         'Yes we can! We follow them and take them each!' (AY-3NC-8)

   b   nij-ta-ø=**la=se**
       NEG-MID-3=VAL=SE
       'No! (I don't believe it).'   (AR-8MI-50)

   c   bëti   tiya-tu=**la=se**
       ATT-DEM   eat-1PL.S=VAL=SE
       'This is what we eat.' (OR-19MA-20)

In (80)a and b the combination *=la* and *=se* seems to mark determination or conviction. In (80)a, which has already been discussed above, the speaker tries to convince the hearer that something is possible, in spite of the fact that the hearer thinks otherwise. In (80)b the speaker does not believe her son who said he was sad for no reason. She thinks there must be a reason. In (80)c, however, the meaning is slightly different. The speaker has just been telling about the founding father of the Yurakaré, Tiri, and how he transformed all kinds of animals, so that the Yurakaré Indians would have food. The utterance in (80)c is explanatory: 'And so this is what we eat, you see'.

repetitive =se + =ri/yu 'expressive'

I have found no examples of this combination, but Day (1980) mentions the following examples, in which the combination marks regret that an event recurs:

(81) a yupa-ø   sama=**si=ri**
       go.in.SG-3   water=SE=EXPR.M
       'It's flooding again1" (Day-1980-32)
    b ta-la-bata-ø=**si=yu**
       1PL-AFO-leave-3=SE=EXPR.F
       'She's leaving us again!' (Day-1980-32)

repetitive =se + =ra/ye 'notable information'

(82) duminku=y   wita-shti   tu-ta-ø   ushta-lë-kki
     Sunday=LOC   arrive.SG:1SG.S 1PL-say-3   before-AMP-MEA:LOC
     bata-shta-ø=**si=ra**   (…) a-moto   ka-mala-ø=**si=ra**
     leave-FUT-3=SE=NB.M   3SG.P-motorboat 3SG-go.SG-3=SE=NB.M
     'I will arrive on Sunday, he said to us before, when he was going to leave (…) when he took his motorboat.' (FL-27MA-13)

Day (1980) has the following examples:

(83) a amala-cha-p   pu-ti=si=ye
       come-JUS-2PL.S   2PL-say:1SG.S=SE=NB.F
       'I've already told you to come!' [DAY-1980-32]
    b cham mi-m-bëbë~bë-y   ushta=si=ye
       ?   2SG-IO-search~DST-1SG.S   before=SE=NB.F
       'I was looking for you before!' [DAY-1980-32]

With this combination the speaker informs the hearer of an event that occurred before, of which the consequences have not turned out as expected.

=bë 'momentaneous' + =ri/yu 'expressive'

The combination *=bë* and *=ri/yu* is found on questions, and it indicates thinking aloud, often translatable with 'let's see', 'I wonder', or 'possibly':

(84) a ama-shku   ta-n-dyërërë-shta=**bë=ri**
       WH-ADV.CMP   1PL-IO-converse-FUT=MOM=EXPR.M
       'Let's see, what shall we talk about?' (AA-27MA-9)

   b tëtë-pshë   dula-shti=**bë=yu**
      what-entity   do;make-FUT:1SG.S=MOM=EXPR.F
      'What could I possibly do?'(OR-20MA-5)

The enclitic *=ri/yu* here marks that question as rhetorical, not really expecting an answer to the question. It is not really clear what element of meaning *=bë* adds, but with the rhetorical questions marked with *=jtë* and *=yu* (cf. example (30) above), the speaker seems to be somewhat more acquiescent to the fact that he does not know the answer to the question.

If we take the combinatory possibilities of the expressive particles into consideration, we can come up with the following template:

Table 44   - Combinatory possibilities of expressive modals

la 'validational'	se 'se'	ri/yu 'expressive'
bë 'momentaneous'		ra/ye

The aspectual enclitics *=naja* and *=bëla* seem to compete with *=la* over the same position, since I have found no combinations of those enclitics.

Of course, it has to be borne in mind that the combinations of the different modal enclitics are infinitely more complicated that this. Apart from the fact that I did not find all logical possibilities, there are also possible combinations between the three groups of event-related, epistemic and expressive modality that may yield their own specific interpretation. However, further research is necessary to study all these possible combinations. The data in this section are merely intended to show that combinations even within one modality group are possible and that they can yield rather specialized meanings.

8. The Clause

This chapter deals with clauses. Clauses in Yurakaré consist minimally of a predicate, and optionally of overtly expressed arguments, and/or adverbs and particles. First I will discuss simple clauses (8.1), then I will go on to discuss complex constructions (8.2), such as complementation, relative clauses, adverbial clauses and coordination.

8.1 The simple clause

In (1), there are three participants on stage, the addressee (subject), the wound (it), and the beneficiary (her). None of these three participants is expressed overtly:

(1) tishi   ka-n-tëptë-cha-m   konsono
     now   3SG-IO-wash-JUS-2SG.S   well
     'Now wash it [wound] well for her.' (FL-14MA-1)

In fact, text analyses show that objects and subjects are overtly expressed in only 25.6% (objects[1]) and 28.1% (subjects) of all clauses. Table 45 below shows how different types of predicates behave in terms of the (non-)expression of arguments. It also shows the word order of predicates and arguments when the latter are overtly expressed. I looked at five texts: three mythological narratives, one explanatory text and one conversation. I counted the number of instances where the subject was not expressed (Vs), and the subject was overtly expressed; furthermore, I counted the number of instances where it was expressed after the verb (VS) and before the verb (VS). I did the same for objects.

Table 45   - Pro-drop and word order in texts according to predicate type

	%	*n=*	%VS	%SV	%Vs	%OV	%VO	%Vo	unanalyzable
intr	42.87	472	31.99	5.51	62.50	*	*	*	0
NVpred	7.18	79	20.25	12.66	31.64	*	*	*	35.44
tr	20.07	221	10.86	8.60	80.54	18.55	21.27	58.37	0.90
extintr	25.70	283	13.78	3.89	82.33	6.36	10.95	82.69	0
ditr	4.18	46	17.4	4.35	78.26	32.61	23.91	43.48	0
total	100	1101							

As far as valency is concerned, there are three basic types of predicates in Yurakaré: one-place predicates, two-place predicates and three-place predicates. In Table 45, however, I distinguish five types of predicates rather than three.

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[1] In this case I count both direct objects and applied objects. They will be considered separately below.

Predicates with a valence of one can be divided into intransitive verbs and non-verbal predicates. These two categories are not formally distinct. Still, I consider them to be separate categories, since with regard to non-verbal predications, it is often difficult to say what is the word order exactly, VS or SV. This is because it is not always clear which of the two elements is the predicate and which the argument, hence the high percentage of unanalyzable non-verbal predicates in Table 45. As Payne (1997:83) says: "(…) the probability of mistakenly including predicate nominals in a study of constituent order is quite high (especially if the language uses a zero copula element in predicate nominals)." Predicates with a valency of two can be divided into inherently transitive and derived transitive predicates, or extended intransitives. It is useful to distinguish these two, since, as will become apparent below, they behave differently in some respects.

   In the remainder of this section I will discuss the types of predicates mentioned in Table 45: intransitive verbs (8.1.1), transitive verbs (8.1.3), extended intransitive verbs (8.1.4), ditransitive verbs (8.1.5), and non-verbal predicates (8.1.2). In 8.1.6, I will discuss word order from an overall perspective; in 8.1.7, finally I will briefly discuss interrogative and negative sentences.

8.1.1 Intransitive verbs

As can be seen in Table 45, subjects of intransitive verbs (S)[2] have a stronger tendency to be overtly expressed than subjects of two-place and three-place verbal predicates (A). In about 37,5% of the cases the S-argument is overtly expressed, whereas A-arguments are overtly expressed in only 18,7% of all cases. The (non-) expression of arguments has to do with information structure (cf. Du Bois 2003, more discussion on this in 8.1.3 below). Stories in Yurakaré almost without exception begin with an intransitive verb and an overtly expressed subject following the verb. Consider the two consecutive utterances from the beginning of a story in (2)a and b:

(2) a achu-ta   imbëtë-jti-ø=w   shinama ta-ppë-shama=w   shilata   yaju=ya
         like.that-MID   behave-HAB-3=PL before   1PL-old-PST=PL   music   tell=NVR
         'Our ancestors did as follows when they were making music.' (AY-3NC-2)
     b ma-shoja   shendye-ø=ti   shinama tuputa=y   li-tüta-jti-ø=w
         3PL-daughter   adolescent-3=DS before   mosquito.net=LOC   DEL-put-HAB-3=PL
         'When their daughter became a woman, they used to put her inside a mosquito net.' (AY-3NC-2)

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[2] I am not taking into consideration non-verbal predicates here, they will be discussed separately in section 8.1.2.

In (2)a, an intransitive verb *imbëtëw* 'they behave', is followed by the overt subject *tappëshamaw* 'our former ancestors'. Topics are often introduced in this way. In the clauses following this opening sentence as shown in the latter part of (2)a and in (2)b, this topic is an argument in almost all predications, but never overtly mentioned. First in the adverbial clause of (2)a, *shilata yajuya*, which does not have morphological subject marking, but the subject has to be coreferent with the subject of the main clause *imbëtëjtiw* (cf. section 8.2.2 for this construction). Then the topic is cross-referenced as a possessor in the adverbial clause *mashoja shendyeti* in (2)b, and finally as the subject of the transitive verb *litütajtiw*.

When overtly expressed (i.e. as an overt NP) the subject NP can be preverbal as well as postverbal. Nevertheless there is a clear tendency to have the subject argument in postverbal (almost six times as often as preverbal) position.

8.1.2 Non-verbal predications

Stassen (1997:13) divides intransitive predications into four subcategories that he defines as follows (italics are mine):

(i)   Sentences in which the predicate indicates an *event* (=actions and processes and states);
(ii)   Sentences in which the predicate designates a *property* or *quality*;
(iii) Sentences in which the predicate designates a *class* in which the subject is assigned membership;
(iv)   Sentences in which the predicate refers to a *location.*

In Yurakaré, there is no formal difference between categories (i), which was discussed in 8.1.1, (ii) and (iii). Category (ii) predications are formed simply by taking an adjective[3] and treating it as a verb.

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[3] A similar function (i.e. property or quality assignment) can be expressed in the following way:

na	ana	tijë	ati	jente-shku-ta	tütü-ø=ya	lacha
DEM	DEM	cocinero.bird	DEM	person-ADV.CMP-MID	sit;be-3=NVR	too
ta-apta-shku-ta				tütü-ø=ya		
1PL-family-ADV.CMP-MID				sit;be-3=NVR		

'This Cocinero-bird was also like a human being, like a Yura, they say.' (AR-8MI-82)
The element expressing the quality or property is a derived adverb combining with the semantically rather empty verb *tütü*. This verb is not used in copula constructions as discussed in the text.

(3) a yita-p=naja
        good-2PL.S=DSC
        'You are alright now.' (AR-8MI-37)

     b maj~matata-ø=ya   latiji   a-jukkulë
        INTS~big-3=NVR   subsequently   3SG.P-field
        'His field was very big subsequently (after Tiri had used his magic).' (AR-8MI-42)

     c ma-ñesse-lë-ø=ti   tëjmi-ø=w=ya
        3PL-sow;plant-RC-3=DS   ripe-3=PL=NVR
        'Right after he had sown them (i.e. the pumpkins) they were ripe.' (AR-8MI-43)

In (3)a, the adjective carries the subject marker -*p* for second person plural, as well as the propositional discontinuative marker =*naja*. This indicates that we are dealing with a complete sentence, in which the adjectival element *yita* functions as a predicate. In (3)b, the adjectival element *matata* carries the non-veridical marker, which is always attached to a predicating element. Furthermore, *majmatataya* is followed by an adverb and the subject of the predication. In (3)c, finally, the subordinate clause anticipates the subject of the non-verbal predication by means of a different subject marker. The predicate adjective itself is marked for number of the subject, and carries the non-veridical marker[4].

   Stassen's class (iii) functions in exactly the same manner as classes (i) and (ii) in Yurakaré:

(4) a së=ja   ulë-y
        1SG.PRN=EMPH   guayabochi.tree-1SG.S
        'I was a Guayabochi tree.' (AR-8MI-7)

     b arsenio=ja   poropesor-shta-ø=la
        arsenio=EMPH   teacher-FUT-3=VAL
        'Arsenio will be a teacher.' [AT-3MI-121]

     c (…) achaya   ti-bba-cha-ø
              so.that   1SG-husband-JUS-3
        '(…) so that he would be my husband.' (AR-8MI-2)

The predicate nominal can carry person markers (overtly in (4)a), tense and mood markers, as in (4)b and c, and it allows for its argument to carry the emphatic enclitic =*ja*, almost exclusively associated with subjects, as in (4)a and b.

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[4] There is a construction in which the adjectival predication has an overt verb (cf. section 4.5):

a. matata mala-ø
    big   go.SG-3
    'He is fat'

b. shudyu   bali-ø=w
    beautiful go.PL-3=PL
    'They are beautiful.'

It is these two kinds (i.e. Stassen's types (ii) and (iii)) of intransitive predication that I have counted as a distinct type of 'non-verbal predicates' in Table 45. Stassen's type (i) falls into the class which I term 'intransitives' in Table 45. The high percentage of unanalyzable instances of non-verbal predicates (35.4%) is due to the fact that there are often problems concerning the analysis of these constructions. In many cases (third persons without any TMA clues on the predicate) it is impossible to say which is the predicate and which is the subject argument, for instance:

(5) seryanu   ushta ati=w   seryanu   mënñu seryanu   ushta   mënñu
     Sirionó:PL   before DEM=PL Sirionó:PL deer:PL sirionó:PL before   deer:PL
     They used to be Sirionós. The sirionós were deer, the sirionó were deer before.'

<div align="right">(OR-19MA-20)</div>

There are three propositions here, three nominal predicates, but for none of them it is clear which element functions as the predicate and which as the argument[5], since the third person plural subject marker is phonetically identical to the nominal plural marker. Nevertheless, in the instances that are analyzable, we still see a slight preference for a post-predicate subject (20.3% vs. 12.7% pre-predicate).

Stassen's category (iv) functions differently, in the sense that there is usually no simple juxtaposition of a predicate and locational element. Predicate locative clauses usually have one of at least five stative location verbs indicating the manner of location: *tütü* 'be in general' or 'sit' (marginally *leta/lele* is used for sitting), *daja* 'hang' or 'float', *tësë* 'standing, or 'be in general', *bushu/peta* 'lying (down)' and *pëjta*, 'place', 'be placed', when the figure is enclosed by the location[6].

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[5] The place of the adverb *ushta*, which is post-verbal, indicates that *seryanu* probably is the predicate. However, this is not very strong evidence, since adverbs are generally rather free with regard to their position in the sentence (cf. section 6.5.9)

[6] Some of these sentences were elicited with the help of Bowerman 1993.

(6) a juan tütü-ø ëshshë matat-ima a-dojo=y
       Juan sit;be-3 stone big-COL 3SG.P-body=LOC
      'Juan sits on top of the big stone.'[FR-PC]

    b ana lampara daja-ø ashaa=y
       DEM lamp hang-3 above=LOC
       'This lamp hangs above.' [FR-PC]

    c lëshie shunñe=w tütü-ø=w lëtta tësë-ø
       two man=PL sit;be-3=PL one stand-3
       'Two men are sitting, one is standing.' [FP-2MA-10]

    d kummë=ja bushu-ø juan a-charaba=y
       tree=EMPH lie(down).SG-3 Juan 3SG.P-shoulder=LOC
       'The log is on Juan's shoulders.' [FR-1TA-4]

    e a-shishta=y li-pëjta-ø a-surtikka
       3SG.P-finger=LOC DEL-placed-3 3SG.P-ring
       'On his finger he has his ring.' [FR-PC]

Locational question words can behave as predicates, even if they are marked with a postposition:

(7) ama=ti-ø=w pa-mme=w pa-tata=w
     WH=LOC-3=PL 2PL-mother=PL 2PL-father=PL
     'Where are your parents?' (AR-3NC-1)

Occasionally, predicate locative clauses appear without an overt verb; this is, however, exceptional:

(8) ti-tenche=w ti-dette=y
     1SG-necklace=PL 1SG-neck=LOC
     'My necklace is on my neck.' [FR-PC]

When asked for the location of a person, speakers can say the following, leaving out the location verb:

(9) mi-tata=ja grueso
     2SG-father=EMPH Grueso
     'Your father Grueso [where is he?]' (AA-27MA-14)

Movement verbs can also be used as stative predicates:

(10) a   pujta=jsha   mala-ø serbo
          outside=ABL   go.SG-3 gate
          'The gate is outside (surrounding the house).' [FR-PC]

      b   achu-ta   dula-ø=ya   shinama ta-ppë   tiri   l-ana
          like.that-MID   do;make-3=NVR   before   1PL-grandfather Tiri   REF-DEM
          elle=y   winani-ø=ja
          ground=LOC   walk-3=SS
          'Tiri made it [i.e. the Bible] like this when he lived on this earth.' (AR-8MI-76)

Payne (1997:111) considers a 'family' of constructions related to predicate nominals: 'proper' predicate nominals, i.e. clauses indicating proper inclusion or attribution – Stassen's categories (ii) and (iii) – predicate locatives, existentials and predicative possession. He sets up the following continuum for predicate nominals, based on the likelihood of the constructions having a semantically rich verb (p.113):

Table 46   - semantically rich verbs and predicate nominals (Payne 1997:113)

likely to lack a semantically rich verb				*not likely to lack a semantically rich verb*
predicate nominals	predicate locatives	existentials	possessive clauses	locomotion clauses

We have already seen that the leftmost category does not have a semantically rich verb, and that predicate locative clauses usually do have a semantically rich verb, although constructions without such a verb marginally occur.

   Purely existential constructions normally have a location verb:

(11) a   tütü-ø=ya   shinama   ati   aysa
          sit;be-3=NVR   before   DEM   Aysa
          'Once upon a time, there was this Aysa.' (AY-3NC-6)

      b   ma-ssë-ø=w
          3PL-stand-3=PL
          'Are there any?' (DV-14MA-1)

Example (11)a occurs at the beginning of a story, when the principal character is introduced. Example (11)b comes from a dialogue in which one of the interlocutors starts talking about beehives that he has seen. This is a surprise to the other interlocutor so she verifies whether there indeed are any.

   There are occasions where an existential sentence occurs without a semantically rich verb:

(12) lëtta   tejte-ø=la
     one   grandmother-3=VAL
     'There was this woman.' (OR-19MA-29)

Possessive predication may lack a verb, since the following examples constitute complete utterances:

(13) a an   a-pii=w   an   tata
         DEM   3SG.P-brother=PL   DEM father
         'These were the younger brothers of this father.' (OR-19MA-2)
     b lëshie sëë   ti-pëpë=w
         two   1SG.PRN   1SG-grandpather=PL
         'I have two grandfathers.' [AA-12MA-29]

An alternative construction is to derive a possessive predicate from a noun with the prefix *i-* (cf. section 4.4.3 above):

(14) a ana=jsha   i-tanti-ø=w
         DEM=ABL   VBL-eye-3=PL
         'They had eyes here (on the backside).' (AR-8MI-22)
     b i-wishwi-ø ushta   na   ishete layshu-shku-ta
         VBL-tail-3 before   DEM agouti squirrel-ADV.CMP-MID
         'The agouti once had a tail, he was like a squirrel.' (AR-8MI-44)

Another possessive construction, used for temporal possession, is with the verb *tütü* 'sit, be' and a comitative applicative (cf. section 5.2.1):

(15) tëtë-pshë   ka-tütü-m=chi
     what-entity   3SG-sit;be-2SG.S=IGN
     'What do you have with you?' (AR-8MI-23)

Locomotion clauses always have a semantically rich verb. Whereas location verbs differ from each other in manner, distinctions between locomotion verbs usually concern the path of motion, e.g. *otto* 'go out' vs. *yupa* 'go in'; *danda* 'go up' vs. *shopto* 'go down'.
   Payne's continuum for Yurakaré can be displayed as follows:

Table 47 - predicative elements in non-verbal predications in Yurakaré

predicate nominals	predicate locatives	existentials	possessives	locomotion
ø	location verb (ø)	location verb (ø)	i-derivation (ø) *tütü* + appl.	locomotion verb

Only the predicate nominals have a zero copula (i.e. the nouns and adjectives are used as predicates) as their only strategy. All other categories, except for locomotion clauses, have possibilities to be expressed without a semantically rich verb, but canonically, they have an overt predicative element.

8.1.3 Transitive verbs

As far as subjects of the transitive verb (A) are concerned, we see that they are left unexpressed much more often than intransitive subjects (S), cf. 8.1.1 above. The fact that overtly expressed noun phrases appear more freely in intransitive subject or direct object roles (O) than in transitive subject role is a universal tendency, which "is evidenced widely in the spontaneous discourse of virtually all languages investigated to date" (Du Bois 2003:48). This phenomenon has to do with the fact that new information is typically expressed in either intransitive subject or transitive object role, positions more salient than the transitive subject position.

As far as the position of overtly expressed subjects is concerned, there is a slight tendency for A to favor the postverbal position. Nevertheless, this preference is much weaker than in intransitive verbs, where 85.3% of all overtly expressed S-arguments is realized in post-verbal position, whereas only 55.8% of all overt A-arguments of inherently transitive verbs is expressed post-verbally. This difference can possibly be attributed to the emphatic function of the preverbal position, as will be discussed in section 8.1.6.

The percentage of direct objects left unexpressed (58.4%) is comparable to the percentage of non-expressed S-arguments (62.5%) in intransitives. This fact seems to support the claim that, as far as information-structure goes, the S-position and the O-position have similar functions: they are equally equipped for introducing new linguistic material.

The position of overt O's is rather unpredictable, in the sense that there does not seem to be a clear preference for either preverbal or postverbal O's. I will discuss this matter in section 8.1.6.

8.1.4 Extended intransitives

Extended intransitives are verbs that have a basic valency of one, to which one argument is added by means of an applicative construction:

(16) a   ti-la-mala-ø
          1SG-AFO-go.SG-3
          'He left me behind.'
      b   të-sawata-m
          1SG.CO-work-2SG.S
          'You work with me.'

The verbs *mala* and *sawata* are basically intransitive verbs, but in (16), there is an additional argument marked on the verb, in (16)a an affected object, in (16)b a co-operative object. I consider all verbs that have a formally marked applied object as extended verbs.

As can be seen in Table 45, the numbers for the realization of subjects are very similar for transitive and extended intransitive verbs. Both drop their subjects in around 81% of the cases, while there is a preference for overt subjects to be realized postverbally, like with intransitive verbs. I assume that the discourse status of the subject is the same in transitive and extended intransitive verbs, i.e. prototypically, highly topical participants are expressed in A position.

There is a difference, though, between the behavior of direct objects of transitive verbs (O) and applied objects (E) of extended intransitives. Extended intransitives drop no less than 82.7% of their objects, whereas transitive verbs drop 'only' 62.5%. These numbers suggest that the direct object position of a transitive verb is more salient than the applied object position of an extended intransitive verb. In fact, the number suggests that the salience of the applied object position is at the level of transitive subjects, i.e. typically topical and accessible information. Onishi (2000:136-137), argues that applicatives are often used as discourse structuring devices in the sense that they identify the topic of the discourse. Since topic is old information, we would not expect too many overt NP applied objects. In Van Gijn (2005) I argue that the split between the head-marking patterns of the applicatives on the one hand and the case/postposition-marked adjuncts highly correlates with topicality and animacy.

When applied objects are overtly expressed, there is a slight preference for the postverbal position. The numbers are very low, however, so the significance of these percentages is questionable. In section 8.1.6 I will discuss the different positions of arguments.

8.1.5 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs are of two types: extended transitives (17)a, and doubly extended intransitives, (17)b:

(17) a   ti-ma-la-che-ø=w   ti-petche=w   ti-tib   chajmu
         1SG-3PL-kill-3=PL   1SG-fish=PL   1SG-pet dog:PL
         'My dogs ate my fish on me.' [FL-13MA-9]

     b   ti-ma-y-mala-m=chi   ku-ta-ø=ya
         1SG-3PL-PO-go.SG-IMP.SG=IGN   3SG.CO-say-3=NVR
         '"Go and get them for me!", she said to him.' (OR-19MA-9)

In (17)a, the verb *che* 'eat' has a basic valence of two (i.e. a subject and a direct object, and to this is added a third, applied argument, an affected object (cf. section 5.2.4). In (17)b, the verb *mala* 'go', is a one-place verb. In (17)b, there is also an indirect object and a purposive object (cf. section 5.2.5), extending the valency to three.

   Ditransitives do not occur frequently in texts. They constitute only about 4.2% of all predicates. Almost all instances I encountered in the texts were combinations of a direct object with an applied object (89%). The subjects of these verbs are overtly expressed in 82.3% of all cases. This is roughly equivalent with subjects of transitive and extended intransitive verbs. In Table 45 above I collapsed the group of applied objects and direct objects. If we look at their behavior separately in ditransitives, we get the following picture:

Table 48 - Direct objects (O) and applied objects (E) in ditransitive verbs

%OV	%VO	%Vo	%EV	%VE	%Ve
28.26	17.39	54.35	4.35	6.52	89.13

Applied objects are dropped much more often than direct objects. The percentages are comparable to O-drop in transitive predicates and E -drop in extended intransitive predicates:

Table 49 - Comparing direct object and applied object across multivalent verbs

	%OV	%VO	%Vo	%EV	%VE	%Ve
transitive	18.55	21.27	58.37	*	*	*
ext. intransitive	*	*	*	6.36	10.95	82.69
ditransitive[7]	28.26	17.39	54.35	4.35	6.52	89.13

The percentages of direct object drop are not far apart (58.4% for transitives, 54.4% for ditransitives). The same holds for the dropping of applied objects: 82.7% in the case of extended intransitives, 89.1% in the case of ditransitives. It seems that the role of direct objects does not differ in ditransitive and transitive verbs, nor does

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[7] To be able to compare like with like, I have disregarded instances of doubly extended intransitives, i.e. a one place predicate with two applied objects. In practice this appeared to be only a small number; by far most instances were combinations of a direct object and an indirect object.

the role of applied objects differ across extended intransitives and extended transitives.

With regard to the position of overtly expressed direct objects (preverbal or postverbal), not much can be said. In transitive verbs the odds are roughly even. In ditransitive verbs there seems to be a slight preference for the preverbal position, but the number of occurences is too small to draw any reliable conclusions. There does seem to be a slight preference for postverbal position for the applied objects, although, again, the number of instances of ditransitive verbs is too low to draw firm conclusions.

In most instances (82%), only one or none of the three arguments is overtly expressed. This can be seen as another instantiation of what Du Bois (2003:68) calls the One Lexical Argument Constraint:

(18)   Avoid more than one lexical core argument

The idea behind this constraint is that, even if verbs provide in their argument structure more than one core argument position, only one of them will be used to introduce a lexical noun phrase. The others are mainly used for referents that have already been mentioned in the discourse. These latter argument positions are more often expressed either by pronouns or by zero forms. As with two-place verbs, in three-place verbs, the position of the direct object is the preferred position to introduce new referents. This apparently is a pervasive pattern in discourse throughout the languages of the world.

8.1.6 Word order and pragmatic status

As can be concluded from Tables 45, 48 and 49 above, the order of predicates and their arguments in Yurakaré is fairly flexible. This is directly connected to the fact that all grammatical relations are marked either on the verb or by postpositions on the dependent noun phrase. This flexibility of word order makes it rather difficult to come up with a basic word order.

Nevertheless, overtly expressed subjects (both S and A[8]) seem to have a clear preference for the postverbal position. Occurrences of preverbal subjects can often be explained in terms of special pragmatic status, whereas overtly expressed pragmatically neutral subjects are generally found in postverbal position. Preverbal subjects are almost invariably emphatic topics, though not every marked topic ends up before the verb. Givón (2001b:253-269) mentions a number of cross-linguistically found marked topics and discusses the morphosyntax associated with these. What Givón calls 'existential-presentative constructions',

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[8] I take A here to mean subjects of all two- and three-place predicates, including extended intransitives and extended transitives.

also called new topics (cf. Dik 1997: 213) end up in postverbal position in Yurakaré:

(19) tütü-ø=ya   shinama   ati   aysa
     sit;be-3=NVR   before   DEM   Aysa
     'There was once this [person called] Aysa.' (AY-3NC-6)

As mentioned in 8.1.1, this kind of sentence is a typical start to a story, where the main character gets introduced. This is invariably done by means of an intransitive predicate and a postverbal overt subject NP.

  Another kind of strategy that places subjects after the verb is right dislocation. Right dislocation is associated with afterthought or repair strategies, in the sense that, even though the referent is accessible, the referent is considered to be not as topical after all, and re-coded as a full NP, after a pause. This type of construction is also found in Yurakaré:

(20) otto-ø=ti   achuta   latiji   irepu=ya   daja-n-tu   ta-itta
     go.out-3=DS   like.that   subsequently   tie=NVR   hang-INTL-1PL.S 1PL-thing
     ta-embarkashon   ku-ta-ø=ya   na   choponi na   noe
     1PL-boat   3SG.CO-say-3=NVR   DEM   pigeon DEM   Noah
     '"When a tree has come out, we'll go ashore and tie our boat", he said to the pigeon, Noah did.' (OR-20MA-2)

In (20), both overt referents are to the right of the verb, but the last one, *na noe*, is pronounced with extra stress, and after a short pause. This NP is right dislocated. Apparently, the speaker did not judge the referent to be accessible enough to be left unexpressed.

  Apart from these two uses (new topic and afterthought) postverbal subjects normally do not have a special pragmatic status. Rather, they specify the participants cross-referenced on the verb. Many different kinds of participants can be marked on the verb in Yurakaré (cf. chapter 5), so if it is clear who is who, there is no need to express these participants overtly. Often, post-verbal subjects are not stressed and do not appear after a pause. In other words: they are not right-dislocated. This seems to be the pragmatically most neutral form.

  Pre-verbal subjects are associated with emphasis, special pragmatic status.

(21) a aysa ati salva-ta-ø latiji na tata aysa ati latiji
Aysa DEM rescue-MID-3 subsequently DEM father aysa DEM subsequently
salva-ta-ø
rescue-MID-3
'As for Aysa: he was saved, father Aysa was saved then.' (OR-19MA-11)

b na pëpë-shama=w pëlë-ø=w
DEM grandfather-PST=PL finish-3=PL
'As for the ancestors: they were dead'. (OR-20MA-2)

c sinoro=w=ja ka-bali-ø=w ku-ta-ø=ya
Sinoro=PL=EMPH 3SG-go.PL-3=PL 3SG.CO-say-3=NVR
'*The Sinoros*[9] took her!' (OR-20MA-8)

All of the examples of (21) prepose a participant that is relatively new. In (21)a and (21)b, the subject used to be a topic, but it was some time ago that the speaker had mentioned it. So it is reintroduced with extra emphasis, to mark the topic shift. In (21)c, the subject participants are new to the addressee, but they is not presented in an existential construction. Moreover, the referents are known to the addressee as evil figures he has heard about before.

Another type of marked subjects that are realized in preverbal position are contrastive focus subjects (Y-movement in Givón's [2001-II: 225] terms). A particularly telling instance of this is the following:

(22) a lash un tiempo itta-ø=ja itta aysa latijsha na itta … të-pshë
then one time thing-3=SS thing Aysa then DEM thing what-entity
itta a-tumi
thing 3SG.P-enemy
'Then one day, when he had done this thing, thingee, Aysa and this – what's he called? –this enemy of his?'

b na aysa mu-winani-ø=ti-pshë … itta … të-pshë na a-tumi
DEM Aysa 3SG.CO-walk-3=DS-entity thing what-entity DEM 3SG.P-enemy
ku-ti
3SG.CO-say:1SG.S
'The one that followed them around with Aysa? Thing… What do I call his enemy?'

c pëpësu
Pëpësu
'Pëpësu!' (she remembers)

---

[9] *Sinoros* are man-hunting mythological creatures, cf. section 1.3.3.

d **ati pëpësu**   ma-mala-jti-ø=se
  DEM Pëpësu   3PL-go.SG-HAB-3=SE
  'It was Pëpësu who used to take them [i.e. persons] with him!'

e **aysa aysa=ja**   **at** **aysa=ja**   ka-la-puchu-ø=ti
  aysa aysa=EMPH   DEM aysa=EMPH   3SG-AFO-escape-3=DS
  'And Aysa was the one who escaped him.'

f **ati=ja**   tajta-ø ëshshë=la itta   tulujshi=la katcha=la
  DEM=EMPH   cut-3   stone=INS thing wax=INS   ax=INS
  'He was the one who cut him with a stone and with wax and an ax!' (OR-19MA-9)

This text fragment, consisting of sequential utterances, is taken from a narrative in which the speaker mixes up the main characters of the story and then finds out about her mistake. She then continues to set things straight by explicitly stating the roles that the main characters have. The subjects of (22)d-f are pre-verbal and in contrastive focus.

In general, then, we can say that VS is the pragmatically more neutral order; preposing a subject gives some kind of emphasis to it. The fact that the pre-verbal position is pragmatically marked is corroborated by the fact that question words are always sentence-initial, regardless of their semantic or syntactic role (more discussion on questions in the next section):

(23) a **të-pshë**   li-tütü-ø   na   ashaa=chi   (subject)
     what-entity   DEL-sit;be-3 DEM above=DIR
     'What is lying above?' (FA-6MA-5)

   b **ama**   a-bëshë   ka-n-tëptë-m   (direct object)
     WH   3SG.P-clothing   3SG-IO-wash-2SG.S
     'Whose clothes are you washing?' [MH-24MA-8]

   c **ama**   ka-n-tëptë-m=chi   (indirect object)
     WH   3SG-IO-wash-2SG.S=IGN
     'Who are you washing for?' [VL-24MA-13]

As far as the position of objects is concerned, no clear preference for pre- or postverbal position can be given in terms of frequency. Preverbal and postverbal objects (O as well as E) occur in about equal proportions.

Typological research in the past decades has revealed some rather strong correlations between sentence word order and the order of words in other constructions. In Table 50 I give Greenberg's (1963) list, taken from Payne (1997:72):

Table 50   - Word order correlations in Greenberg 1963, taken from Payne 1997:72

Parameter	Correlation		Yurakaré
main clauses	V-O	O-V	both
adpositions	prepositions	postpositions	postpositions
nominal possession	Psd-Psr	Psr-Psd	Psr-Psd (Psd-Psr)
head noun and modifier	N-M	M-N	both
rel clauses & head noun	N-RelCl	RelCl-N	N-RelCl (RelCl-N)
comparatives	Adj-Mkr-Std	Std-Mkr-Adj	Std-Mkr-Adj
inflected auxiliaries	Aux-V	V-Aux	both
question particles	sentence initial	sentence final	dna
question words	sentence initial	sentence initial/elsewhere	sentence initial
affixes	prefixes	suffixes	both

Table 50 shows that Yurakaré has a slight tendency to correlate with the O-V type. Nevertheless, these correlations are not very convincing and can never be evidence in themselves for a basic order.

Generally, preverbal objects are pragmatically marked as well:

(24) a bëshë yurujare-tu   bëshë   a-mumuy bëshë   kamba-tu   ma-mmuy
        entity yurakare-1PL.S   entity   3SG.P-all entity   Camba-1PL.S   3PL-all
        tuwa   ta-tebe   bëshë   emme
        1PL.PRN   1PL-benefit   entity   meat
        'We, the Yurakaré, the Camba's, all of them (animals) their meat was for us.'

     b **ati   a-mumuy** lë-peshë-ø   winani-ø   ushta   ta-buyta tiri
        DEM   3SG.P-all   DEL-transform-3   walk-3   before   1PL-chief Tiri
        'All of that our chief Tiri transformed before.' (both: OR-19MA-20)

In (24), the narrator is telling about the mythological ancestor of the Yurakaré, Tiri, who used his magic to transform into jungle animals all kinds of objects and creatures that he encountered during his wandering, so that the Yurakaré would have meat. In the second line, the object *ati amumuy* is preposed, because it is a marked topic, with a deictic function, referring back to the topic of the previous sentence.

In the following fragment, the object is emphasized (stressed) and fronted in the final sentence of the example:

(25) F

tëtë-pshë=la   ma-itta   ma-kema-shta-tu=bë=ri   piasha-yle!

what-entity=INS   3PL-thing   3PL-burn-FUT-1PL.S=MOM=EXPR.M   chuchio-leaf

'With what could we burn them? With the leaves of the chuchio!'

D

Chewete=la

jisopo=INS

'With jisopo-wood.'

F

piasha itta   chewete ka-n-dula=ya   ma-kema-n-tu   lëshpëni

chuchio thing   jisopo   3SG-IO-do;make=NVR   3PL-burn-INTL-1PL.S first

'Let's make her *chuchio*, ehh *jisopo* and burn it first.'   (FL&DV-14MA-1)

Generally, it seems that marked objects are found in initial position. Postverbal objects can also refer to new and unpredictable information, but objects with extra emphasis (focus), whether direct or applied, are found in preverbal position. The fact that applied objects have a slight preference for being postverbal can be explained by the fact that they are usually very topical (cf. Van Gijn 2005).

The emphatic function of the preverbal position can also be seen in examples such as the following, where the object NP is discontinuous (cf. section 4.1), the modifier being in preverbal position, while the head noun is in postverbal position:

(26) **lëshie=w**   ma-bëjta-y   shunñe=w

two=PL   3PL-see-1SG.S   man=PL

'I see two men.'   [FL-3MA-4]

This construction gives emphasis to the quantifier, while the head noun is presented as a specification, or afterthought, possibly but not necessarily after a pause. The quantifier is also stressed.

Not very often both object and subject are overtly expressed. In the instances where this *was* the case, I have encountered four word orders in texts:

(27) a tos   tos   ma-che-ø=ya   na   pëpësu   a-ñishshë=w   (VSO)
        IDEO IDEO 3PL-eat-3=NVR DEM   Pëpësu   3SG-louse=PL
        '"Tos tos" Pëpësu ate his lice.' (AY-3NC-6)

     b ati ayma duche-ø=ja   dula-ø   desayuno a-chata   noe-se   (VOS)
        DEM fire burn:CAU-3=SS do;make-3 breakfast 3SG.P-food Noah-SE
        'When he had made a fire there, Noah made breakfast.' (OR-20MA-2)

     c pënchi samma ma-bobo-ø   tejte-shama=w   (SVO)
        later   water 3PL-hit;kill-3   grandmother-PST=PL
        'Later, the water killed the old women.' (OR-20MA-3)

     d enñe   bëbë-ø=ya   na   aysa   (OVS)
        sabalo.fish search-ø=NVR DEM   Aysa
        'Aysa was looking for sabalo.' (OR-19MA-11)

I have found no instances of SOV or OSV. The reason that these are rare seems to be connected to the tendency in the Yurakaré main clause for the verb to be preceded by only one constituent. In analyzing the first 85 clauses of a text, I have encountered only three instances where the verb was not in second or first place in the clause. All kinds of constituents can precede the verb. In (27)a two ideophonic particles precede the verb; in (27)b and c, two elements precede the verb. Consider (28), where some other elements that can precede the verb are given:

(28) a ta-dyuluta=la danda-tu   tuwa   (PP-phrase)
        1PL-back=INS go.up-1PL.S 1PL.PRN
        'We went up by our back.' (AY-3NC-6)

     b am=chi   bata-p=chi   (Question word)
        WH=DIR   leave-2PL.S=IGN
        'Where are you guys going to?' (AY-3NC-7)

     c tëbëttëbë-sh   ma-ssë-ø=w=ya   (Adverb)
        red-ADV   3PL-stand,be-3=PL=NVR
        'They were standing there red (ripe).' (AY-3NC-7)

In almost all of the sentences that I examined in two texts, the verb was in either initial or second position, preceded by all kinds of elements. In some instances, the verb is in third place. This is also the case in the examples in (27)b and c. In these circumstances, the first element is always a kind of setting marker, like *latijsha* 'then' *pënchi* 'later' *ati* 'there'. These are elements that have a scope which is on the level of the proposition. Subordinated clauses are also often in this position, often, like setting words (adverbial elements setting the stage for a main event), marked by an intonation break:

(29) **ati shuju-ø=ja** an=chi woroj~wo-ø=ya   latiji   ana a-jorejto=chi
     DEM pierce-3=SS DEM=DIR tunnel~CAU-3=NVR subsequently   DEM 3SG.P-neck=DIR
     'Piercing him on the one side, they drilled a tunnel through his neck.' (AY-3NC-7)

If these subordinated sentences are not at the beginning of a proposition, they are at the very end:

(30) kwarenta dia kwarenta noche mashi-ø=ja tom wita-ø ashaa=chi
forty day forty night rain-3=SS IDEO arrive.SG above=DIR
noe a-ponton **ka-mala-ø=ja**
Noah 3SG.P-boat 3SG-go.SG-3=SS
'After raining 40 days and 40 nights, the water level had reached the sky when it took Noah's boat' (OR-20MA-1)

Subordinated clauses marked by the enclitics *=ja* (cf. 8.2.3) and *=ti* (8.2.4) have a different internal word-order, generally. Overtly expressed arguments mostly precede the predicate in these types of clauses:

(31) **na ishete buybu ka-n-dyuju-ø=ti** lash achama lëtta dia nish
DEM agouti word 3SG-IO-tell-3=DS then be.like.that one day NEG
wita-ø=ya
arrive.SG-3=NVR
'When the agouti told him the news, he did not come home for a day.' (AR-8MI-49)

Nevertheless, sometimes elements that belong to the subordinated clause can appear to the right of the subordinating enclitic *=ja* (or *=ti*):

(32) ku-benemne-ø latiji na ta-ppë tiri **bëjta-ø=ja**
3SG.CO-lamentable-3 subsequently DEM 1PL-grandfather Tiri see-3=SS
na ishete tejte
DEM agouti grandmother
'Then Tiri felt sorry for the old agouti when he saw her.' (AR-8MI-47)

Leaving aside subordinated clauses, the data suggest that Yurakaré main clause structure is V-initial, with two positions before the verb, one position for setting words, followed by an emphasis position, then followed by the verb. If we look at how the elements after the verb are ordered, there is not a clear pattern, but generally the most topical, known information is found rightmost. Adverbs and adjuncts can intervene; adverbs related to the event are generally adjacent to the verb, either to the left or to the right (cf. section 6.5.9 above). The following is a continuous text fragment from the beginning of a text:

(33) a tütü-ø=ya   shinama ati   aysa
        sit;be-3=NVR   before DEM   Aysa
        'There was this Aysa once.'

     b mala-jti-ø=ya   arroyo=la
        go.SG-HAB-3=NVR   creek=INS
        'He used to walk along the creek.'

     c bali-jti-ø=ya   pëpë-shama=w   lacha arroyo=la
        go.PL-HAB-3=NVR   grandfather-PST=PL too   creek=INS
        'Our ancestors also used to walk along the creek.'

     d achu   ajuyja-ni-ø=w=ti   latijsha pëpësu=ja   ma-y-otto-ø=ya
        like.that fish-INTL-3=PL=DS   then   Pëpësu=EMPH   3PL-PO-go.out-3=NVR
        'When they went fishing like that, Pëpësu[10] appeared in front of them.'

     e ana-ja-l-ima   ka-mala-jti-ø=ya   a-werta   na   pëpësu
        DEM-MEA-AMP-COL   3SG-go.SG-HAB-3=NVR   3SG.P-basket   DEM Pëpësu
        'He carried with him a very small basket, this Pëpësu.' (AY-3NC-6)

Clause (33)a of the fragment is an existential-presentative construction. The subject, as expected, is in postverbal position. The adverb *shinama* generally appears right after the verb. In (33)b the main new information in the form of an adjunct is postverbal. The same adjunct in (33)c is the final element and old information. The new information is the combination *pëpëshamaw lacha*, which comes before the old information. In (33)d, the subordinate clause is preposed, followed by a setting-word *latijsha* and a preverbal subject with an extra emphasis marker *=ja* introduces a new topic. In (33)e, finally, the emphasized element *anajalima* is taken out of the object NP and positioned in the preverbal position. The new object *awerta* comes right after the predicate, while the old information *na pëpësu* is the final element. The template of the main clause, then, roughly looks as in (34). Note that these are not absolute positions, but rather tendencies in the clause.

(34) (setting), emphasis, VP (pred. + adverbs), new information, topic, afterthought

8.1.7 Negative and interrogative clauses

Negative clauses are marked by the negative adverb *nish*, with phonetic variant *nij* (to negate a predicate or VP) or by the form *nij-ta* (NEG-MID; existential negation). *Nish/nij* normally immediately precedes the predicate it negates:

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[10] Aysa and Pëpësu are two characters that are closely connected in this story in which they work together. The reason the narrator started the story with Aysa is probably because I asked him to tell the story of Aysa.

(35) nish bobo-ø=w=ya latiji
   NEG hit;kill-3=PL=NVR subsequently
   'They did not kill him then.' (AR-8MI-33)

The same strategy is used to negate nominal and adjectival constituents. Since adjectives and nouns can function as predicates without any overt marking, nominal (36)a and adjectival (36)b constituents can be negated in the same way as verbs:

(36) a nish ti-bashti ana
     NEG 1SG-wife DEM
     'This is not my wife.' (AY-2NC-6)
   b nish yita-ø at=chi elle
     NEG good-3 DEM=DIR earth
     'The earth is not good over there.' (AR-8MI-58)

Adverbs (37)a and postpositional phrases (37)b can be negated by placing the negative adverb *nish*/*nij* before the whole verb phrase (verb + adjuncts).

(37) a nish [achu imbëtë-shta-ø=w=ya]
     NEG like.that behave-FUT-3=PL=NVR
     'They will not behave like that (but otherwise)' (AY-2NC-7)
   b nij [an ti-tewe=la danda-y]
     NEG DEM 1SG-foot=INS go.up-1SG.S
     'I did not go up by foot (but otherwise).' (OR-19MA-10)
   c nish [awëwë-ø=w=ya binta]
     NEG cry-3=PL=NVR   strong
     'They did not cry loudly.' (AY-3NC-9)

Auxiliaries are negated in the same way, by placing *nish*/*nij* before the auxiliary + main verb:

(38) nish [poyde danda-ø]=ja mala-ø
   NEG [can go.up-3]=SS go.SG-3
   'When he could not go up, he went (away).' (AY-3NC-8)

A special construction with the negative adverb *nish*/*nij* involves the limited degree marker -*mash*:

(39) a nish   i-bürrü-mash   ma-la-tta-ø=w
        NEG   VBL-clothes-LD   3PL-AFO-put-3=PL
        'They put her before them with absolutely no clothes on.' (OR-20MA-9)

    b nish   ka-müta-mash-i-m   ñowwo
        NEG   3SG-take.out-LD-VBL-2SG.S   manioc
        'You did not even harvest a little manioc!' (OR-19MA-29)

This combination of the negator and *-mash* indicates absolute negation. It can be literally translated with 'not (even) a little'.

    The independent form *nij-ta* consists of the negative adverb *nish/nij* and the middle marker *-tA*, and marks existential negation. It is not associated with a predicate or VP it negates; rather it functions as a predicate itself:

(40) a nij-ta-jti-ø=ya   emme
        NEG-MID-HAB-3=NVR   meat
        'There was no meat.' (AR-8MI-87)

    b nij-ta-ø=w=ya   a-bontu
        NEG-MID-3=PL=NVR   3SG.P-son:PL
        'Her sons were not there.' (FA-6MA-5)

Interrogative clauses can be divided into yes/no questions and question-word questions. Yes/no questions are structurally not very deviant from declarative sentences, they differ mainly in pitch:

(41) a yokkoshe   tiya-m   *mem*=la
        truly   eat-2SG.S   mother=VAL
        'Did you really eat it, mother?' (AR-8MI-25)

    b Yita-*ma*shi-ø=la
        good-LD-3=VAL
        'Is she a little bit better?' (FL-14MA-1)

    c mi-tulu   a-*të*bë-ø
        2SG-lip   INC-bleed-3
        'Is your lip bleeding?' (FL-27MA-9)

Yes/no questions are only marked by the fact that the clause final stressed syllable gets a higher pitch, indicated in (41) by means of italics.

    Question-word questions are somewhat different structurally. The three question words *ama* 'what, which (N)', *tëtë* 'what which (A)' and *ëshë* 'why'[11] must occur in clause initial position and can only be preceded by setting-constituents such as subordinate clauses, (42)a and b, communicative verbs, (42)b, discourse linkers, (42)c, etc.:

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[11] Question words are discussed in sections 4.4.4 and 4.5.2.

(42) a   l-ati   ka-n-wita-ø=ti   ama=jsha amala-m (…) ku-ta-ø=ya

        REF-DEM   3SG-IO-arrive.SG-3=DS   WH=ABL   come-2SG.S   3SG.CO-say-3=NVR

        'When she arrived with her, she said: "Where did you come from?"' (AR-8MI-19)

    b   ku-y-mal-uma-ø=ja   ash   ta-ø=ya   latiji

        3SG.CO-VPL-go.SG-DST-3=SS   like.this   say-3=NVR   subsequently

        ama-shku-ta   dula-ti=bë   dula=ya

        WH-ADV.CMP-MID   do;make-POT:1SG.S=MOM   do;make=NVR

        'After he had been thinking he said: "What (how) could I do?"' (AR-8MI-38)

    c   latijsha tëtë-pshë   ti-ja-n-wita-m   ti-nñu   ku-ta-ø=ya

        then   what-entity   1SG-3SG-IO-arrive-2SG.S   1SG-child   3SG.CO-say-3=NVR

        'The she said: "What did you bring me my son?"' (OR-19MA-30)

With a number of matrix verbs, i.e. expressing (transfer of) knowledge, question words can also introduce a dependent WH-clause:

(43) a   nij   të-yle   am=chi mala-ø=ti=la   ati   ayma

        NEG   1SG-know   WH=DIR go.SG-3=DS=INS   DEM   Fire

        'I do not know where he went, this Fire(man).' (AR-3NC-1)

    b   ti-n-dyuju-m=chi   lacha ama-shku   ma-dula-jti-m   yarru

        1SG-IO-tell-IMP.SG=IGN   too   WH-ADV.CMP   3PL-do;make-HAB-2SG.S   chicha

        'Tell me too how you make chicha.' [MH-24MA-6]

Finally, question-word questions *ama* 'what, which', *amashku(ta)* 'how' and *tëtëpshë* 'what' can also function as a special negation strategy:

(44) a   ama=j   ka-n-dele-ø   nish   ka-n-dele-ø=la

        WH=EMPH   3SG-IO-fall.SG-3   NEG   3SG-IO-fall.SG-3=VAL

        'Who was going to fall? He did not fall!' (OR-19MA-10)

    b   ama   nish   shiwwa-ø

        WH   NEG   lie-3

        'He was a liar alright!' (OR-19MA-20)

    c   ama-shku   nij   pa-ma-m-wewe-jti=chi

        WH-ADV.CMP   NEG   2PL-3PL-IO-chew-HAB:1SG.S=IGN

        'What do you mean I don't chew them for you? (of course I did!)' (OR-19MA-29)

    d   tëtë-pshë   li-ttü-ni-ø

        what-entity   DEL-sit;be-INTL-3

        'What is going to be there? (= there is nothing there) (FA-6MA-7)

The question in (44)a is rhetorical, put like this, we know that the answer is "no one", explicitly stated in the second part, which is in fact redundant. In (44)b, the same construction (negation by means of a question) contains a negation adverb, which means that there is a double negation, so that the statement is ultimately

positive. The same is true for (44)c, with *amashku* 'how', where the speaker has been suspected to chew other things for her sons than manioc to make them chicha. In (44)c, finally, there is an example of negation by means of a rhetorical question with *tëtëpshë* 'what'.

8.2 Complex clauses

In this section I will discuss complex constructions, consisting of two or more combined predicates. There are two parameters involving the coding of complex clauses in Yurakaré: first, the inflection on the verb (i.e. do the combined predicates have the same range of possibilities marking TMA and person agreement?) and second, specific morphemes indicating subordination.

Starting with subordinating[12] morphemes, there are three different enclitics that can have a subordinating function: =*ya*, =*ja* and =*ti*. They indicate different degrees of semantic unity with the main predicate, as will become clear in the following sections. Furthermore, there is a limited set of independent words indicating that two clauses should be considered together. This latter construction is mostly confined to coordination.

Regarding the form of the verb, Stassen (1985) makes a distinction between balancing and deranking strategies. A verb form is considered to be deranked if it differs from an independent verb form in the sense that it has limited or different possibilities for marking TMA and argument agreement. A dependent verb form is considered to be balanced if it has the form of an independent verb, with all its TMA and agreement. In Yurakaré, in combination with the three subordinating morphemes, the following possibilities are attested, examples of each construction will follow in the next sections (8.2.1-8.2.5):

Table 51 - balancing and deranking strategies in clause combinations

	ø	=ya	=ja	=ti	ø
balanced	-	-	+	+	+
deranked	+	+	+	-	-

As can be seen in Table 51, there is a deranked subordinate form not marked by a special subordinating morpheme[13]. In these constructions, subordination is

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[12] With subordinate predicates I mean predicates that are functionally and grammatically dependent on another predicate either because they share subject markers and/or TMA morphemes with it, or because they are marked for having the same or a different subject than the main predicate. Subordination in this view does not necessarily mean that the subordinate verb form is deranked.

[13] It is not clear whether it is possible to speak of a deranked form here, since it rather seems a construction involving a complex predicate; nevertheless, the leftmost verb in these constructions seems to have more inflectional possibilities.

marked by the fact that subject agreement and TMA marking are not present on the deranked predicate.

Subordinate forms with =*ya* are also deranked; they show no subject agreement and in their marking of TMA distinctions they are dependent on the main predicate. There are also independent clauses marked with =*ya*. In those circumstances =*ya* indicates non-veridical modality (cf. section 7.1.1).

The column under =*ja* has two '+'-values. With this I mean that there are both balanced and deranked constructions marked with =*ja*. I will discuss the relevant conditions in 8.2.3 below.

Clauses marked with =*ti* have the full range of possibilities for marking TMA and person marking. The difference with the balanced versions of =*ja*-marked clauses is that the =*ja* clauses must have the same subject as the main predicate[14], while =*ti* marked clauses normally have a subject different from that of the main predicate. Moreover, =*ti* is the only subordinating morpheme that can be further specified by means of a postposition (cf. section 8.2.4).

In the last column of Table 51, there is an unmarked, balanced combination of clauses. This means that the combined predicates each have the full range of possibilities of person marking and TMA-marking. The meaning of the combination can be specified by means of an independent word. Most of these constructions are coordinated.

The five strategies mentioned in Table 51 form a continuum: from left to right the grammatical integration with the main predicate is increasingly lower. According to Givón (2001b:40), "the stronger the semantic bond between the two events, the more extensive will be the syntactic integration of the two clauses into a single though complex clause". This means that a decline of grammatical coherence should coincide with a decrease of semantic coherence with the main predicate.

In the next sections (8.2.1-8.2.5) I will describe the five strategies used for clause combining in turn, indicating their formal and functional properties. In section 8.2.6 I give some alternative strategies used to encode clause combinations. In section 8.2.7, finally, I will give an overview of the types of clause combinations and the way they are marked.

8.2.1 Unmarked conjunction of VP's

Conjunctions of VPs without any marking of subordination are used in a range of different circumstances. The type of clause union it conveys ranges from serial verb constructions to auxiliary verb constructions. These constructions in Yurakaré are characterized semantically by the following grammatical features:

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[14] With some exceptions which will be discussed in 8.2.3 below.

(i)   Immediate juxtaposition;

(ii)   The leftmost verb is not marked for TMA, nor does it show subject agreement;

(iii)   The leftmost verb may show object agreement;

(iv)   There is no separate morpheme indicating subordination;

(v)   The combination of predicates is pronounced within one intonation phrase.

Union of the VPs is associated with the following semantic/pragmatic characteristics:

(i)   Participant integration: the two clauses share at least one participant (not necessarily in the same semantic role);

(ii)   They share tense, mood, aspect and inflection, marked on the rightmost verb only;

(iii)   Temporal integration: the two events take place more or less simultaneously;

(iv)   Spatial integration: the two events take place in the same space.

A number of examples will serve to illustrate the characteristics mentioned here:

(45) a   l-ati   **chitta**   **mala-ø=ja**   latijsha ma-bëbë-ni-ø   a-wishwi=w
          REF-DEM   throw.SG go.SG-3=SS then   3PL-search-INTL-3 3SG.P-tail=PL
          'When he left him, he went looking for his tail.' (AR-8MI-55)

     b   ka-la-mashi-ø=chi   achaya   wilita-cha-ø   ti-n-kaya-cha-ø
          3SG-AFO-rain-3=IGN so.that return-JUS-3 1SG-IO-give-JUS-3
          ti-n-chitta   **mala-cha-ø** tullë ku-ta-ø=ya
          1SG-IO-throw.SG go.SG-JUS-3 salt 3SG.CO-say-3=NVR
          '"Maybe he gets caught by the rain so that he must return, so that he gives me, so that he leaves me salt", she said.' (AR-8MI-82)

     c   **pa-n-kokko**   **bata-y**   ana   ropa
          2PL-IO-throw.PL leave-1SG.S DEM   clothing
          I will leave you these clothes.' (AY-2NC-9)

The examples in (45), are all of the same type, combining the verb *chitta/kokko*[15] 'to throw' with a movement verb. In (45)a, the clausal marker *=ja* (cf. section 8.2.3) is shared by the two verbs *chitta* and *mala*, i.e. the combination of verbs is marked for subordination, not just one of them. In (45)b we can see that the two verbs share the jussive marker *-cha*, which is the modality for the combination of verbs, but only marked on the second verb. The cross reference + applicative prefixes *ti-n-* in

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[15] This verb has a suppletive stem which changes according to the number of objects (cf. section 6.2.2)

(45)b and *pa-n-* (45)c *are* marked on the dependent verb. Apparently, dependent verbs of this type can be marked for object agreement, but not for subject agreement. This latter point can be seen in (45)c, where the subject agreement marker *-y* for first person singular is only found on the rightmost verb; the examples in (45)a-b seem to have the following structure.

(46)   [[chitta]ᵥᴾ[mala]ᵥᴾ subject]ₛ

The examples in (45) denote two highly integrated events that share subject and TMA. In (45)c, the fact that we can have another verb than *mala/bali* 'to go' shows that we are not dealing with a frozen expression. The construction in (45) looks most like a serial verb construction, cf. Sebba 1987: 86-87, who mentions shared subject, TMA, polarity, as well as simultaneity or consecutivity of the two events as generally accepted characteristics of serial verb constructions.

  Simultaneous action can also be indicated with a serial verb construction, though this is less common, and the examples are not very clear:

(47)   a   pelota   otto   mala-ø   sibbë   inele=jsha
           ball   go.out   go.SG-3   house   inside-ABL
           'The ball rolled out of the house.'[FR-PC]
       b   i-gora   mala-m=la=yu
           VBL-cap   go.SG-2SG.S=VAL=EXPR.F
           'You did go with your cap!'   (DV-14MA-2)
       c   ta-n-dyërërë[16]   chichi-tu   achittu=chi
           1PL-IO-converse   cross.PL-1PL.S   other.side=DIR
           'While talking we crossed the river to the other side.'[FA-24MA-16]

Syntactically, (47)a and c are difficult to distinguish from coordinate clauses without overt marking (cf. 8.2.5), since there is no overt person or TMA inflection. They can be distinguished by the fact that they are pronounced within a single intonation phrase. In (47)b, there is overt person marking. Here we see that the subject is indeed shared: *igora* 'have, carry, wear a cap' would have person marking in other circumstances, but here it does not since it shares the subject with *mala* 'go'. I have found only instances of this particular construction where the rightmost members are movement verbs.

  The rightmost verb in these constructions takes its own object marking:

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[16] The verb *dyërërë* has deviant person marking; the person conversing is indicated as an indirect object. Apparently, it still has to be expressed since it is not a subject syntactically, cf also the constructions discussed below in this section.

(48) pa-dayu   pa-bati
      2PL-carry.on.back 2PL-leave:1SG.S
      'I am going to take you with me on my back.' (AY-3NC-6)

Example (48) is an instance of VP-conjunction, evidenced by the fact that the leftmost predicate shares subject marking with the rightmost verb. This indicates that we are in fact not dealing with two equivalent predicates, but in fact with a construction where the rightmost predicate is superordinate to the leftmost.

If a speaker for some reason wishes to dissociate the two verbs that can appear in a VP-conjunction construction, he can use a backgrounding enclitic =*ja* (cf. 8.2.3):

(49) a chitta-ø=**ja**   mala-ø=ya   a-chichi
         throw.SG-3=SS   go.SG-3=NVR   3SG.P-nail
         'He threw away his nail and left.' (AR-8MI-59)

      b pelota=ja otto-ø=**ja**   mala-ø   sibbë   inele=jsha
         ball=EMPH go.out-3=SS   go.SG-3   house   inside=ABL
         'The ball came rolling out of the house.' [FR-PC]

There is no clear difference in meaning between the examples in (49)a and b and their respective counterparts in (45)a and (47)a, except for the division of the two subevents, where one is backgrounded. These constructions do reveal that the two events are not exactly equivalent. If the events are dissociated, the leftmost event is revealed as the subordinate event, carrying the subordinating morpheme =*ja*.

There is also a slightly different type of VP-conjunction, more towards an auxiliary construction, with the auxiliary *tütü* 'be, sit' indicating durativity or progressive. Morphosyntactically these constructions behave the same as the ones in (45), but notionally, there is only one event, and one auxiliary verb:

(50) a **piensa tütü-y**   ti-shoja=y   shinama
         think   sit;be-1SG.S   1SG-young.woman=LOC before
         'I am thinking of my childhood.' [MH-24MA-4]

      b mi-bëjti   **ayaj tütü   mala-m=ti**
         2SG-see:1SG.S   fast sit;be go.SG-2SG.S=DS
         'I saw you running.' [MV-24MA-22]

      c an   shunñe **ajanta~ta tütü-ø**   ichijsha   numma
         DEM   man   sing~DST   sit;be-3   long.time   night
         'That man was singing all night.' [RF-29MA-3]

      d ti-dyolj-ti   tütü-y
         1SG-anger-NLZ   sit;be-1SG.S
         'I am angry.' [RF-26MA-6]

Here too subject-agreement marking is expressed only on the final element of the combination of predicates. This becomes clear from example (50)a and b, where participant marking is overt. Example (50)b is somewhat deviant, since the auxiliary *tütü* and the rightmost verb *mala* are in reverse compared to the other examples. Moreover the ideophone *ayaj* belongs to *mala*, not to *tütü*. In examples (50)c and d we see that the dependent verb can even carry some morphology, in the case of (50)c, aspectual morphology. The morphology of *ajantata*, however, is lexicalized to a high degree. Normally, no TMA information appears on the leftmost verb. In (50)d, the nominalization obviously pertains only to the dependent element, but here, we are not dealing with very productive morphology either. Nevertheless, it seems that the leftmost verb can take some morphology, notably derivational morphology.

Another type of auxiliary VP conjunction occurs when a deranked location verb combines with *mala/bali*[17] 'to go'; in this case, the second verb mostly indicates distribution, but cf. (50)b:

(51) a peta   bali-ø=w=ya   pëpësu   latiji   a-sibë   inele=y
     lie(down).PL go.PL-3=PL=NVR pëpësu subsequently 3SG.P-house inside=LOC
     'Pëpësu (and Aysa) were lying around the floor inside his house.' (AY-3NC-9)

   b dashaa   peb-bali-ø=w   (peta + bali)
     eyes.up   lie(down).PL-go.PL-3=PL
     'They were lying around on their backs.'   (FA-6MA-5)

   c i-daj-bali-ø=w=chi   noe   a-ponto=y   (daja + bali)
     VPL-hang-go.PL-3=PL=IGN   Noah   3SG.P-boat=LOC
     'They were clinging on to Noah's boat.'   (OR-20MA-1)

In (51), manner is indicated by the dependent verb – in the first and second example they are lying, in the second floating (indicated by the verb hanging in Yurakaré); the second verb (*mala/bali*) only indicates spatial distribution. The predicates of this type are often morphologically fused, as in (51)b and c.

Another verb often found in these auxiliary constructions is the verb *iba* 'should'[18], often in combination with the dubitative marker =*chi* and, with third person marking as well as with the non-veridical marker =*y(a)*:

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[17] The verb *mala/bali* has a suppletive stem for number. Cf. section 6.2.2.

[18] *Ibaa* also occurs in a different sense as an auxiliary before the subject-inflected verb, see this section below.

(52) a nij   mashi   iba-ø=y=chi
      NEG   rain   should-3=NVR=IGN
      'It shouldn't be raining (I wish it wouldn't).' [RF-26MA-7]

    b nij   sawata   iba-m=chi
      NEG   work   should-2SG.S=IGN
      'You shouldn't work.' [RF-26MA-7]

    c nij   che   iba-m=chi=naja
      NEG   eat   should-2SG.S=IGN=DSC
      'You shouldn't eat more.'[RF-26MA-7]

Depending on the speaker, the verb *iba* often behaves as a suffix, judging from the stress pattern (i.e. *iba* causes stress shift as a suffix would).

Slightly different is the causative construction of (53) below, with the transitive verb *ibëbë* 'treat like, cause to behave like'[19].

(53) a bop-to   ta-m-bë-ø
      hit-MID   1PL-IO-treat-3
      'He made us fight.'   [FP-2MA-8]

    b awëwë   ti-m-bë-ø
      cry   1SG-IO-treat-3
      'He made me cry.' [FP-2MA-8]

    c awëwë   ibëbë-y
      cry   treat-1SG.S
      'I made him cry.' [FP-2MA-8]

Here the leftmost verb does not share the subject with the rightmost verb. Instead, indirect object of the rightmost verb (causee) is interpreted as the subject of the leftmost verb; apart from this difference we are dealing with the same kind of construction as discussed above in this section, without any marking of subject on the leftmost verb.

The construction of VP-conjunction can itself be embedded into another clause-combining construction:

(54) a chitta   mala   ti-m-bë-ø   ti-pojore
      throw.SG   go.SG 1SG-IO-treat-3   1SG-canoe
      'They made me leave my canoe behind.' [MH-24MA-4]

    b abëssë-y=ti   të-shujuta   ti-m-bë-ø
      play-1SG.S=DS 1SG.CO-sweat   1SG-IO-treat-3
      'Playing football made me sweat.' [FA-28MA-1]

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[19] The paradigm of the verb *ibëbë* has been discussed in section 5.3.2.

In (54)a, the clause combination *chitta mala* is as a whole subordinate to the verb *timbë*. This means that the subject of *chitta mala* is not indicated on either of these verbs, but rather it is marked as the direct object of *ibëbë*. In (54)b, the construction *tëshujuta timbë*, which in itself is a clause combination, is superordinate to the subject clause *abëssëyti*. The construction with the subordinate marker *=ti* will be discussed in section 8.2.4 below. Note that, even though the causee is marked on the verb *timbë* in (54)b, it is also marked on the dependent verb, as a cooperative object.[20] Apparently subject agreement is blocked, but object agreement is not, even though we are dealing with coreference.

This morphosyntactic type of clause combinations is used when the two events are inextricably interwoven. States of affairs that are encoded in this way are manner clauses, like the ones discussed above, where the leftmost, subordinated verb can be replaced by a manner adverb:

(55) achu   ti-m-bë-ø
      like.that   1SG-IO-treat-3
      'Like that he did to me.'

These manner verbs can also be path-movement verbs or location-manner verbs combining with a semantically more or less empty movement verb like *mala/bali* 'go' or *winani* 'walk'.

Some complement relations can be expressed as VP-conjunctions. Complementation can be defined as "the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predicate is an argument" (Noonan 1985:42). Normally, complementation in Yurakaré is marked by the subordinating particle *=ti* (cf. section 8.2.4), as in (54)b. Some complement relations, however, can additionally be represented as follows:

(56) ti-m-pëlë   ma-pu-y=naja   ti-arush
      1SG-IO-finished   3PL-take.PL-1SG.S=DSC   1SG-rice
      'I'm done harvesting my rice.   [FL-24MA-1]

The predicate *pëlë* 'be finished' can take a nominal subject:

(57) ti-m-pëlë-ø=w=naja   ti-tib   talipa=w
      1SG-IO-be.finished-3=PL=DSC   1SG-pet   chicken=PL
      'I have finished off my chickens.' [FL-24MA-1]

In (57), the subject of the predicate *pëlë* is the noun phrase *titib talipaw*. In (56), this subject argument has been replaced by another predicate. This combination of

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[20] This is due to the semantics of the verb *shujuta* 'to sweat'. The experiencer of sweating is always indicated as a cooperative object.

predicates behaves as a VP-conjunction, evidenced by the fact that the subject marking disappears. The 'experiencer' of the predicate *pëlë* is encoded as an indirect object, and the cross-reference prefix is not deleted under co-reference, just like *shujuta* 'sweat', lit. 'be hot' in example (54)b, where the experiencer is expressed as a cooperative object. Examples (58)a and b show the same phenomenon with the verb *ile/yle* 'know':

(58) a të-yle   së   ti-buybu
         1SG.CO-know-3   1SG.PRN   1SG-language
         'I know my language.' [MH-24MA-4]

      b të-yle   lee-shta-y=naja   së
         1SG.CO-know   read-FUT-1SG.S=DSC   1SG.PRN
         'I am going to learn how to read.' [MH-24MA-4]

      c nij   të-yle   së   am=chi   bata-ø=ti=la
         NEG   1SG.CO-know   1SG.PRN   WH=DIR   leave-3=DS=INS
         'I don't know where he is going.' [FL-24MA-1]

In (58)a the predicate *yle* 'know' has a nominal complement. In (58)b the same predicate has a sentential complement with the structure of a VP-conjunction. Note that the scope of the future marker extends over both predicates. In (58)c, there is a sentential complement marked with the subordinating and nominalizing enclitic *=ti* and the postposition *=la*.

   Within the group of complement-taking verbs, there are a number that cannot encode their sentential complements as conjoined VPs. Some, like *ile* 'know' in example (58) can either take a sentential complement marked with *=ti* or as a conjoined VP. Finally, the verb *pëlë* 'finish' can only take a conjoined VP as its complement:

Table 52   - Encoding principles of complement-taking verbs

verb	meaning	encoding complement	encoding experiencer
kusu	want	=ti	DO
shojñe	frighten	=ti	AFO
sheta	be lost	=ti	AFO
banna	lack	=ti	DO/AFO
pëni	bother	=ti/VPC	AFO/CO
ibaa[21]	be able	=ti /VPC	IO/AFO
poyde	be able	=ti /VPC	S
toro	ended	=ti/VPC	IO
kukku	nice	=ti/VPC	IO
ile	know	=tila/VPC	CO
pëlë	finish	VPC	IO

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[21] This verb also occurs as the rightmost member of a VP-construction, in which case it means 'should', cf. this section above.

The only complement-taking verb that marks the experiencer as a subject is the loanword *poyde* 'be able'. This verb clearly shows that we are dealing with an opposition between VP-conjunctions and subordinated balanced clauses:

(59) a nij   poyde winani-tu   puwa-tu=ja
       NEG   can   walk-1PL.S   drunk-1PL=SS
       'We could not walk when we were drunk.' [FA-28MA-1]
    b nish   poydi=la   ma-alkansa-ni=ti
       NEG   can:1SG.S=VAL 3PL-reach-INTL:1SG.S=DS
       'I couldn't; so as I would have reached them.' (AY-3NC-8)

In (59)a, we are dealing with a conjoined VP construction, as is evidenced by the fact that the subject marker *-tu* is shared by both predicates. In (59)b, on the other hand, the VP's are disjunct, the subordinate VP is marked with the subordinator =*ti*. Important to note here is that in (59)b, there is an intentional marker on the subordinate predicate. This marker only has scope over the subordinate predicate, presenting the two events as having two different modalities. This is why this combination of clauses cannot be represented as conjoined VPs, since for two events to be represented as conjoined VPs they need to be maximally overlapping in time and space, and as far as participants are concerned. This latter form of integration seems to be the main difference between (58)b and c: they have different participants.

   Looking at the verbs in Table 52, it is reasonable to say that the verbs at the top, which do not seem to allow for VP-conjunctions necessarily have complements that have other values for assertion, tense or main participant, while the ones at the bottom are more easily construed as sharing TMA and participant marking.

8.2.2 *ya-marked deranked clauses*

One step further along the continuum from integrated towards separate events are deranked clauses which are marked with the enclitic =*ya*. These clauses are deranked in the sense that they do not exhibit subject agreement. Since =*ya* marks irrealis events, I consider this marker and the non-veridical marker discussed in 7.1.1 to be identical.

   The phonological and morphosyntactic characteristics of *ya*-clauses are:

   (i)   The dependent predicate is marked with the enclitic =*ya*;
   (ii)   The *ya*-marked predicate is not inflected for person;
   (iii)   The *ya*-marked predicate usually precedes the fully inflected predicate, but this is not necessarily so;
   (iv)   Subordinate *ya*-predicates can have their own intonation pattern, this contrary to the VP-conjunctions discussed in 8.2.1;

(v) The *ya*-marked predicate has limited possibilities for marking TMA.

(vi) Overtly marked arguments of the dependent predicate almost always precede it.

Semantic characteristics are:

(i) The subject of the fully inflected clause is coreferent with the subject of the *ya*-clause;

(ii) The *ya*-marked dependent clauses in combination with the main clause are non-factual;

(iii) The *ya*-clause either forms a condition for the main verb or it shares its TMA information;

(iv) There is no necessary overlap in time between the *ya*-clause and the main verb.

Examples of these constructions are the following:

(60) a i-sama=**ya**   mala=**ya** chërë-ø chajtiyana yee
    VBL-water=NVR go.SG=NVR scratch-3 always DEM woman
    'When she went to get water, the woman always scratched it [a tree].' (AR-8MI-2)

  b a-bonto=w lëtëmë=ij bali=**ya** ka-wiwi-ø=w   emme (…)chajtiya
    3SG.P-son=PL jungle=DIR go.PL=NVR 3SG-arrive.PL-3=PL meat   always
    'Always when her sons went to the jungle, they arrived with meat.' (OR-19MA-30)

  c kummë otto-ø=ti aramba=**ya** ana-ja-lë   ti-ja-mal-cha-m
    tree   go.out-3=DS break.off=NVR DEM-MEA-AMP 1SG-3SG-go.SG-JUS-2SG.S
    'When a tree has come out, break off a piece of it and bring it to me.' (OR-20MA-1)

In all three examples of (60), the *ya*-clause precedes the main clause. In (60)a, there are two *ya*-clauses following each other before the main predicate *chërë*. The fact that the *ya*-clause is not inflected for person is best illustrated by (60)b, where the main predicate *kawiwiw* is inflected for person, or, to be more precise, for number, while the *ya*-clause *baliya* shows no such inflection.[22] This can also be observed in (60)c, which is first introduced by a different-subject clause (8.2.4) *kummë ottoti*, which will be disregared here. The main predicate is inflected for second person singular, whereas the *ya*-predicate is not inflected for person. Furthermore, in (60)c, the main predicate is marked for jussive modality while the dependent is not, even though, as appears from the translation, the *ya*-clause too should be interpreted as a command or wish.

 The examples in (61) show that the tense marker *-shta* and the habitual aspect marker *-jti* can also be shared by the *ya*-clause and the main verb in the sense that

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[22] Note that the fact that person and number inflection are lacking, is of no consequence for the obligatory use of the plural verb stem *bali*.

the scope of these markers is over the main verb as well as the dependent *ya*-clause:

(61) a létëmë=chi mala-m=ti mi-n-nënë=**ya** mi-n-tütü-shti
    jungle=DIR go.SG-2SG.S=DS 2SG-IO-cook=NVR 2SG-IO-sit;be-FUT:1SG.S
    'While you go to the jungle, I'll cook and wait for you.' [MV-24MA-22]
   b siempere deche-te=**ya** ta-n-dyërërë-jti ta-buybu=la
    always meet;find-MID=NVR 1PL-IO-converse-HAB 1PL-language=INS
    'Always when we meet we speak Yurakaré.' [AA-25MA-3]

However, there are also instances such as the following:

(62) létëmë=yj wita=**ya** a-nënë-cha-m
    jungle=DIR arrive.SG=NVR INC-cook-JUS-2SG.S
    When you arrive in the jungle, you should cook.'[MH-24MA-6]

In (62), the *ya*-clause is not marked for mood and the main predicate is, just as in (60)c. However, the difference is that the *ya*-clause is not interpreted as a command, but rather as a background for the command, a condition. In other words: even though the main event is marked for mood and the *ya*-clause is not, the *ya*-clause is not interpreted in the same modality as the main event. Nevertheless, it seems that the jussive marker has scope over the whole complex proposition, since the wish involves the condition as well. It remains to be seen, however, what would happen in a situation where the addressee has in fact arrived in the jungle. I have no examples of this situation.

    In example (63), the main verb *balijtiwya*[23] precedes the *ya*-clause *ajuyjanishtaya*. Furthermore, the *ya*-clause carries modal and tense information in the form of the suffixes *-ni* and *-shta*.

(63) bali-jti-ø=w=ya pëpë-shama=w lacha arroyo=la ajuyja-ni-shta=ya
    go.PL-HAB-3=PL=NVR grandfather-PST=PL too creek=INS fish-INTL-FUT=NVR
    'Our ancestors also went along the creek to fish.' (AY-3NC-6)

Note that in this example, the TMA information on the *ya*-clause pertains only to the event expressed by the *ya*-clause, but the habitual aspect marker on the main verb has scope over the whole complex clause. As to the position of the *ya*-clause, it is to the right of the main predicate, even though the usual position of a *ya*-clause is to the left of the main predicate. This may be iconically motivated, since the purposive event follows the event in the present.

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[23] This verb is also marked with =*ya*; the crucial difference with the participle is that we are not dealing with a deranked form here, since it displays person agreement.

Summarizing, the *ya*-clause cannot agree with its subject, it can carry TMA information, but the TMA information on the main verb has scope over the dependent *ya*-clause as well. Furthermore, the *ya*-clause usually precedes the inflected verb, but this is not necessarily so, nor do the two predicates need to be adjacent.

As described in the previous chapter, =*ya* marks non-veridical events (cf. section 7.1.1). There is reason to believe that we are dealing with one and the same morpheme here. This morpheme occurs as a marker of a dependent clause when the construction as a whole is habitual, optative, imperative or future tense. What ties these situations together is their irrealis status[24]; therefore we can assume that we are dealing with one and the same morpheme. The fact that we are dealing with a subordinate construction is supported by the fact that the *ya*-clause is deranked, with limited possibilities for at least person marking, and often, an intonation phrase typical for non-completed sentences, where pitch is raised at the penultimate syllable and maintained at the final syllable. Especially sentence initial *ya*-clauses are marked by the typical rising intonation of a not-yet completed sentence.

Functionally, *ya*-clauses can be used to mark some types of adverbial clauses: conditional, purposive, and temporal clauses. They can also mark coordinate clauses. Examples of temporal *ya*-clauses, some of them repetitions of earlier examples, are given in (64):

(64) a   lëtëmë=ij   wita=**ya**   a-nënë-cha-m
          jungle=DIR   arrive.SG=NVR   INC-cook-JUS-2SG.S
          'When you arrive in the jungle, cook'[MH-24MA-6]

     b   siempere   deche-te=**ya**   ta-n-dyërërë-jti   ta-buybu=la
          always   meet;find-MID=NVR 1PL-IO-converse-HAB 1PL-language=INS
          'Always when we meet we speak Yurakaré.' [AA-25MA-3]

     c   ma-otche-shta=**ya**   ma-ma-n-dula-jti-ø=w   yarru
          3PL-go.out.CAU-FUT=NVR   PL-3PL-IO-do;make-3=PL   chicha
          'Before getting them out, they made them chicha.[25]' (AY-3NC-2)

In (64)c, the *ya*-clause carries a future tense marker, placing the event after the main event. In (64)a and b, repetitions of (62) and (61)b respectively, the clauses are co-temporal. In each of the clauses, the main clause is marked for non-assertion and the subjects are identical.

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[24] Palmer (2001:22) mentions that habitual past may be marked as irrealis in the languages of the world, though it is not very common.

[25] Note that the combination of a future event and a *ya*-type subordination does not automatically lead to a purposive interpretation. As can be seen in (64)c, these constructions can also get the interpretation of a 'before'-clause. Note also that in this case the order of the predicates is not iconically motivated.

Simple conditional clauses with a *ya*-clause are exemplified in (65):

(65) a   lëtëmë=chi   ka-mala=**ya**   konsono ujwa-cha-m   ta-tiba   chajmu
           jungle=DIR   3SG-go.SG=NVR   well   look-JUS-2SG.S   1PL-pet   dog
           'If you take it to the jungle, look after our dog well.' [MV-26MA-21]

      b   mi-n-kukku-sh   sawata=**ya**   sawata-cha-m
           2SG-IO-nice-ADV   work=NVR   work-JUS-2SG.S
           'If you like working, then work!' [MH-27MA-17]

The example in (65)a can also be interpreted as a temporal clause, but (65)b is a clear example of a conditional clause.

    Purposive clauses can also be encoded by means of *ya*-clauses:

(66) a   mala=**ya**   ayee-m   losko=chi
           go.SG=NVR   vomit-IMP.SG   creek=DIR
           'Go to the creek to vomit!' (OR-19MA-30)

      b   bali=**ya**   ma-pu-n-tu   palanta=w   matat-ibi-wma=w
           go.PL=NVR   3PL-take.PL-INTL-1SG.S   banana=PL   big-COL.PL-DST=PL
           'Let's go and harvest the big banana-racemes.' [MV-31MA-3]

      c   lëtta simana-ø=ti bali-ø=w=ya   yosse=se   ta-ppë-shama=w
           one   week-3=DS   go.PL-3=PL=NVR   again=SE   1PL-grandfather=PL
           ajuyja-ni-shta=ya
           fish-INTL-FUT=NVR
           'After one week our grandfathers went fishing again.' (AY-3NC-7)

Note that the future event of the purposive clause can either be expressed in the subordinated clause, as in (66)c, or in the main clause, as in (66)a and b.

    Finally, coordinate clauses of the type 'x & y' can be represented as a *ya*-clause construction if the subjects of the two events are the same and both events fall under the scope of the same TMA morphemes expressing irrealis:

(67) a   sheche=w   ma-pu=**ya**   ta-ma-m-wewe-cha-m
           camote=PL   3PL-take.PL=NVR   1PL-3PL-IO-chew-JUS-2SG.S
           'Get some camotes and chew them for us.' (OR-19MA-30)

      b   lëtëmë=chi   mala-m=ti   mi-n-nënë=**ya**   mi-n-tütü-shti
           jungle=DIR   go.SG-2SG.S=DS   2SG-IO-cook=NVR   2SG-IO-sit;be-FUT:1SG.S
           'While you go to the jungle, I'll cook and wait for you.' [MV-24MA-22]

8.2.3 ja-marked clauses

Clauses marked with =*ja* have the following morphosyntactic characteristics:

  (i)   One of the predicates is marked with =*ja*;
  (ii)   The *ja*-marked predicate is inflected for person, except in a few constructions;
  (iii)   The *ja*-marked clause often precedes the main clause;
  (iv)   Overtly expressed arguments of the *ja*-marked predicate usually precede the predicate, but this is not necessarily so.

Semantic characteristics are the following:

  (i)   There is no necessary spatial integration between the two events;
  (ii)   The event expressed in the *ja*-clause occurs either before the matrix event, or simultaneously;
  (iii)   The *ja*-marked predicate does not share TMA information with the main clause;
  (iv)   There is integration of participants to a certain degree: subjects are coreferent, except in some constructions.

Examples of these *ja*-clauses are given in (68):

(68) a   mi-bëjti=**ja**   mi-la-shuyuj-ta-y
          2SG-see:1SG.S=SS   2SG-AFO-hidden-MID-1SG.S
          'When I saw you I hid myself from you.' [FL-24MA-1]

      b   a-tiya-tu=**ja**   ka-la-wshë-tu   samu   pumë-ø=ti
          INC-eat-1PL.S=SS   3SG-AFO-listen-1PL.S   jaguar   whistle-3=DS
          'While we were eating we heard the singing of the jaguar.' [FA-28MA-1]

      c   mi-m-pëlë   a-rosa-m=**ja**   mala-m   kamiakku=chi
          2SG-IO-finish INC-clear-2SG.S=SS   go.SG-2SG.S   Camiaco=DIR
          'When you were finished weeding, you went to Camiaco.' [AA-26MA-16]

In (68), we see that the =*ja* clauses are indeed inflected for person: all *ja*-clauses have overt person markers for subject. In these constructions, the subjects of =*ja* marked clauses are obligatorily coreferent with the subjects of the main clause.

  If there are more dependent verbs in one sentence, they are marked according to whether they have a different or the same subject as the main clause. They are not marked with respect to each other:

(69) a   ati   ma-m-bëjtu~bë-ø=**ja**   nish   ka-n-kukku-ø=**ti**   kuymaluma-ø=ya

      DEM   3PL-IO-see~DST-3=SS   NEG   3SG-IO-nice-3=DS   think-3=NVR

      latiji   ka-n-dala

      subsequently   3SG-IO-alone

      'When he had seen it a couple of times, it did not please him, and he thought alone then.' (AR-8MI-38)

    b   awëshë-ø=**ja** ka-n-dyuju-ø=**ti** na   ishete   buybu   ka-n-dyuju-ø=**ti**

      listen-3=SS   3SG-IO-tell-3=DS DEM agouti   language   3SG-IO-tell-3-DS

      lash   achama   lëtta   dia   nish   wita-ø=ya

      then   be.like.that   one   day   NEG   arrive-3=NVR

      'When he listened to the agouti when she was giving him the news, he did not come home for one day.' (AR-8MI-49)

In (69)a, the main predicate is *kuymalumaya*, which has the same subject as *mambëjtubëja* and a different subject than *kankukkuti*. This means that *kankukkuti* and *mambëjtubëja* have different subjects. Nevertheless, *mambëjtubëja* is not marked for having a different subject than adjacent *kankukkuti*, but rather it is marked as having the same subject as *kuymalumaya*. Likewise, in (69)b, the subordinate predicates marked with =*ja* and =*ti* are not marked with respect to each other, but with respect to the subject of the main predicate *witaya*.

We can say then, that Yurakaré has clause chaining constructions. The marking of these chained clauses differs according to whether or not the subjects of the main clause are coreferent. If they are coreferent, the dependent predicate is marked with the enclitic =*ja*[26], if the subjects are different, the dependent predicate is marked with the enclitic =*ti* (cf. section 8.2.4).

   However, there are instances such as the following:

(70) a   bop-to-tu=ja   dëpë-y

      hit-MID-1PL.S=SS   punch-1SG.S

      'When we were fighting I gave him a punch.' [FA-28MA-1]

    b   ti-lëjëlë-ø=ja   deli   ti-chii

      1SG-morning-3=SS   fall.SG:1SG.S 1SG-bed

      'Waking up I fell out of bed.' [FA-28MA-1]

In (70)a, the subjects of the main and dependent clause are not coreferent. Nevertheless, =*ja* is used. Apparently this is possible between 1pl and 1sg subjects. This type of coreference marking is also possible between 1pl and 3sg, as long as the subject of the main verb is also included in the subject of the *ja*-predicate:

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[26] When subordinated events are irrealis and they have the same subject as the main predicate, the subordinate predicate is marked with =*ya*, cf. section 8.2.2.

(71) a-bop-to-tu=ja   ti-puñe-ø
     INC-hit-MID-1PL=SS   1SG-punch-3
     'While we were fighting, he hit me.' [MV-31MA-3]

In (70)b, the subject of the main verb is coreferent with the object of the dependent clause. This may have to do with the fact that we are dealing with an empty subject, or possibly a subjectless predicate. The object here indicates the experiencer. The event is presented and defined from his viewpoint: the moment of *lëjëlë* is determined by the moment the experiencer wakes up. This is a crucial difference with example (72), where the event of raining – also with an empty subject[27] – happens independently from the experiencer, so that the different subject marker =*ti* (cf. section 8.2.4) appears.

(72) lëtëmë=chi winani-tu=ti   ta-la-mashi-ø
     jungle=DIR walk-1PL.S=DS 1PL-AFO-rain-3
     'While walking in the jungle, we were caught by the rain.' [MV-26MA-21]

When the predicate *lëjëlë* does not have an experiencer, the different subject marker =*ti* is used:

(73) lëjëlë-shta-ø=ti   deli   ti-chanka=jsha
     morning-FUT-3=DS   fall.SG:1SG.S   1SG-plank=ABL
     'When it was going to be morning I fell out of bed.' [RF-30MA-6]

Another often mentioned characteristic of clause chaining is that there is a fully inflected verb at the end of a string of verbs. All foregoing verbs are marked for whether they have a different or the same subject as that final verb. Even though the dependent =*ja* clause usually precedes the main clause, this is not obligatory:

(74) ku-benemne-ø   latiji   na   ta-ppë   tiri bëjta-ø=**ja**
     3SG.CO-lamentable-3 subsequently DEM 1PL-grandfather Tiri see-3=SS
     na   ishete   tejte
     DEM   agouti   grandmother
     'Grandfather Tiri felt sorry for the old agouti when he saw her.' (AR-8MI-47)

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[27] There really seem to be subjects with these predicates, considering instances such as the following:
   a. lëjëlë-ø=**ti**   seta-ø=w lëtta shunñe
      morning-3=DS   grab-3=PL one   man
      'When it was morning they grabbed one man.' [MV-26MA-21]
   b. mashi-ø=**ja** wilita   ta-m-bë-ø
      rain-3=SS   return   1PL-IO-treat-3
      When it rained it made us return.' [FA-28MA-1]
Apparently, these empty subjects can trigger same or different subject morphology.

In comparison to the =*ya* clauses, the =*ja*-marked event is more separable from the main event. It does not depend on the TMA information of the main clause:

(75) a bali-ø=w=**ja** lash pënchi-mash yosse ati-kka=y
         go.PL-3=PL   then later-LD   again   DEM-MEA=LOC
         li-deche-**shta**-ø=w=ya   latiji
         DEL-meet;find-FUT-3=PL=NVR   subsequently
         'When they went away, later they were going to meet him again.'
     b latijsha la i-pu~**pu**-ø=**ja**   lat a-meme   ka-la-puna-ø=**ja**
        then   when VPL-take~DST-3=SS then 3SG.P-mother 3SG-AFO-burn-3=SS
        mala-ø=**ja**   ma-n-**tünni**   latiji   na   a-pii=w
        go.SG-3=SS   3PL-IO-sit;be:INTL-ø   subsequently   DEM 3SG.P-brother=PL
        'When he had picked up the pieces, when he had burned his mother and had gone, he was going to wait for his brothers.   (FA-6MA-9)

In (75)a the main verb is marked for future tense, the dependent clause is unmarked for tense. In the case of the =*ya* clauses both events would take place in the future relative to the temporal anchor. The translation would be: 'they were going to go and meet him'. In (75)b, the main event is marked for intentional, but the =*ja* marked dependent clauses are not marked for TMA, and they are not interpreted as intentional. Whereas the temporal, aspectual and modal information of the *ya*-clause is relative to the TMA information of the main verb, the situation is different with the *ja*-clauses: both the main event and the *ja*-clause have their own independent organization of TMA. Schematically, this can be represented as follows:
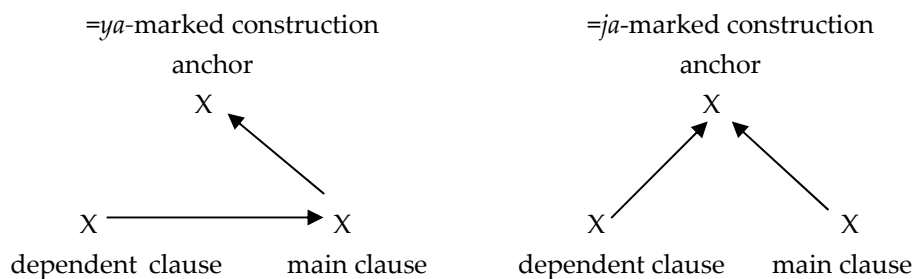
Figure 1 -Difference in TMA organization between =ya clauses and =ja clauses

The following construction is somewhat deviant. It is an absolute construction with the =*ja* marker:

(76) a liwsha së   **yupa=ja**   limeye   të-yupa-cha-p
         ahead   1SG.PRN go.in.SG=SS   behind   1SG.CO-go.in.SG-JUS-2PL.S
         'When I go in first, you guys must follow me inside.' (OR-19MA-31)
      b së   lëtëmë=chi **mala=ja** ti-n-ujwa-cha-m   ti-tib   chajmu
         1SG.PRN jungle=DIR go.SG=SS   1SG-IO-look-JUS-2SG.S 1SG-pet dog
         'While I go to the jungle, I want you to watch over my dog.' [RF-26MA-5]

This construction is used to make conditional/temporal commands where the speaker is the subject of the *ja*-clause and the main clause entails a command and has the addressee as its subject. The subject of the *ja*-clause is expressed overtly – in this case by the pronoun *së* – but does not trigger agreement. The main verb is fully inflected. Possibly the construction exemplified in (76) can be analyzed as having an abstract non-expressed speech event triggering the same subject marker. It seems that the dependent *ja*-clause cannot carry any TMA information either in this construction. If it does carry TMA markers in a similar construction, the different subject marker *=ti* is called for:

(77) sawata-shti=ti   sawata-cha-m   lacha
      work-FUT:1SG.S=DS   work-JUS-2SG.S too
      'When I am going to work, you should work as well.' [RF-30MA-2]

The construction in (76) is quite comparable with the conditional *ya*-clauses discussed in 8.2.2, an example of which is repeated here:

(78) lëtëmë=yj   wita=ya   a-nënë-cha-m
      jungle=DIR arrive.SG=NVR INC-cook-JUS-2SG.S
      'When you arrive in the jungle, cook.' [MH-24MA-6]

The only difference between (78) and, for instance, (76)b is that the subjects of the conditional clause are different in (76)b, while they are the same in (78).

Subordinate clauses marked with *=ja* are mainly used to encode temporal adverbial clauses, as has been shown by a number of the examples discussed above. Because of the fact that the *ja*-clause retains all possibilities for TMA marking and other modification by means of derivational morphology or adverbs, *ja*-clauses can express anterior, simultaneous and posterior events, relative to the main event. The default temporal interpretation of the *ja*-clause is that the *ja*-marked predicate expresses the event that occurred first. However, there are ways to create a co-temporal interpretation, e.g. through the use of the incompletive prefix *a-* on the *=ja*-marked predicate in (79)a, or by the phasal adverb *kaj* in (79)b:

(79) a **a**-tiya-tu=ja   ka-la-wshë-tu   samu   pumë-ø=ti
       INC-eat-1PL=SS   3SG-AFO-listen-1PL.S jaguar whistle-3=DS
       'While we were eating we heard the singing of the jaguar.' [FA-28MA-1]

     b **kaj** bali-ø=w=ja   dyulujta-ø=w=ya ma-shinojshi
       still go.PL-3=PL=SS scared-3=PL=NVR 3PL-heart:LOC
       'While they were still walking, they got scared.' (AY-3NC-9)

'Before' clauses can be encoded with the help of the future-tense marker *-shta*:

(80) a anu-ta   imbëtë-ø=ya   shinama ati   ayma shunñe
       like.this-MID behave-3=NVR before   DEM Fire   Man
       ta-ppë-shama=w   ma-chi-**shta**-ø=ja shinama
       1PL-grandfather-PST=PL 3PL-eat-FUT-3=SS   before
       'This is what the fire-man did before burning our ancestors.' (AY-2NC-1)

     b yarru   ma-dula-**shti**=ja   ma-wewi
       chicha   3PL-do;make-FUT:1SG.S 3PL-chew:1SG.S
       'Before I am going to make chicha, I chew them.' [28]   [VL-24MA-12]

While there is no reason for a *ja*-clause not to combine with the phasal adverb *kani* 'not yet' to form a before-clause, I have found no such examples in my database.

As mentioned above, the absolutive-like constructions with =*ja* discussed above (i.e. without person marking and TMA in the subordinate clause) can be interpreted as conditional clauses:

(81) a së   lëtëmë=ij   mala=ja   ti-ma-n-ujwa-cha-m   ti-tib   chajmu
       1SG.PRN   jungle=DIR go.SG=SS 1SG-3PL-IO-look-JUS-2SG 1SG-pet dog
       'While I go to the jungle, I want you to watch over my dog.' [FA-24MA-16]

     b së   mi-bobo=ja   të-yojlo-shta-m
       1SG.PRN   2SG-hit;kill=SS 1SG.CO-angry-FUT-2SG.S
       'If I hit you, you will scold me.' [MV-24MA-20]

A final type of subordinate clause that can be formed in this way are relative clauses in as far as they are subject relative clauses:

(82) am=chi bali-ø=w   yee=w   a-tëptë-ø=w=ja
      WH=DIR go.PL-3=PL woman=PL INC-wash-3=PL=SS
      'Where did the women that were washing go?' [FA-32MA-14]

These clauses are formally indistinguishable from adverbial clauses marked with =*ja*. They do not seem to be a separate category in Yurakaré. Sentence (82) could just as easily be translated 'Where did the women go after washing?'. This is not a

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[28] Chicha, manioc or maize beer, is inherently plural in Yurakaré, cf. section 4.2.

very frequent construction as a relativizing strategy, there is another, more widely used strategy to form subject relative clauses by means of a compound of the verb with the noun *bëshë* ' thing, entity', cf. section 8.2.6 below.

8.2.4 ti-marked clauses

Clauses marked with the enclitic =*ti* are characterized grammatically as follows:

(i)   one or more of the predicates are marked with the enclitic =*ti;*
(ii)   The =*ti*-marked predicate as well as the main verb are marked for person;
(iii)   The *ti*-predicate has no limitations on its TMA possibilities, nor is it dependent on the main predicate for its TMA organization;
(iv)   There is
  a. either no coreferentiality between the subjects of the *ti*-clause and the main clause;
  b. or the *ti*-clause has a case marker on it, in which case there may be subject-coreferentiality.

Semantically, in terms of event integration, the =*ti*-marked clause and the main clause are less integrated than *ja*-marked phrases and their main events:

(i)   There is no necessary temporal integration;
(ii)   There is no necessary spatial integration;
(iii)   The *ti*-predicate does not share TMA information with other predicates;
(iv)   The two clauses may have different participants without any overlap.

The following example shows a number of =*ti*-clauses:

(83) achu-ta   batche-ø=**ti**   a-wësh-shunñe   latijsha   l-achu-ta
       like.that-MID   leave.CAU-3=DS   3SG.P-in.law-man   then   REF-like.that-MID
       winani-ø=**ti** mujushi-ø=**ti**   a-bashti   l-achu-ta   lëtëmë=ij
       walk-3=DS   pregnant-3=DS   3SG.P-wife   REF-like.that-MID jungle=DIR
       winani-ø=**ti** tiya-ø=w=ya   latiji   puydara=w
       walk-3=DS   eat-3=PL=NVR   subsequently   Puydara=PL
       'So when his father-in-law sent him like that and when he was walking – his wife was pregnant – when he walked in the jungle like that, the Puydaras ate him.'
                                                                                                                (AR-8MI-13)

There are a number of subevents in this example, each marked with =*ti*, except for the final predicate, the main clause. The events in a row:

(84) [achuta batche**ti** awëshshuñe]   His father in law sent him away

     [latijsha lachuta winani**ti**]   He walks in the jungle

     [mujushi**ti** abashti]   His wife is pregnant

     [lachuta lëtëmëij winani**ti**]   He walks in the jungle

     [tiyawya latiji puydaraw]   The jaguars eat him

The whole set of =*ti* marked sentences serve as background for the final event: the fact that the Puydara-jaguars ate him. They are connected to that event in various ways. First of all they are all connected by the topic 'he' (=the father of Tiri). This is not a precondition, however:

(85) nij   mashi-ø=ti nij   ma-josecha-shti   arush

     NEG   rain-3=DS   NEG   3PL-harvest-FUT:1SG.S   rice

     'If it doesn't rain, we won't be harvesting rice.' [FL-24MA-1]

In (85), there is no overlap of topics; still the first sentence is marked with =*ti*. This is because it encodes a conditional background for the main event. Topic cohesion, then, is merely a coincidental byproduct of the thematic cohesion.

   This thematic cohesion can be of different kinds. In (86)a below, the *ti*-clause forms a sort of descriptive background, extra information concerning the main event 'go to the jungle'. In (86)b, there is a temporal and spatial relation between the two events. In (86)c, we are dealing with a conditional relation. In (86)d, finally, there is a cause-effect relationship, the first event causing the state of pity.

(86) a   tuwa   yujare-tu   winani-tijti   lëtëmë=chi   lëjëlë-shta-ø=ti

        1PL.PRN   yurakare-1PL.S   walk-HAB:1PL.S   jungle=DIR   day-FUT-3=DS

        'We Yuras go and walk to the jungle in the early morning.

     b   l-ati   ka-n-wita-ø=ti   ama=jsha   amala-m   amala-m=ja

        REF-DEM   3SG-IO-arrive.SG-3=DS   WH=ABL   come-2SG.S   come-2SG.S=SS

        ku-ta-ø=ya

        3SG.CO-say-3=NVR

        'When she_i arrived there she_j said: "Where do you come from?"' (AR-8MI-19)

     c   wiwi-ø=w=ti   ma-la-ñole-yu   ma-la-ñole=ya   ku-ta-ø=ya

        arrive.PL-3=PL=DS   3PL-AFO-desire-PROH   3PL-AFO-desire=NVR   3SG.CO-say-3=NVR

        '"When they arrive: do not fall in love with them!" she said.' (AR-8MI-21)

     d   la   bobo-ø=w=ja   tiya-ø=w   bobo-ø=w=ti   ku-benemne-ø=ya

        when   hit;kill-3=PL=SS   eat-3=PL   hit;kill-3=PL=DS   3SG.CO-lamentable-3=NVR

        latiji   na   tejte   elewita

        subsequently   DEM   grandmother   Elewita

        'They killed and ate her. When they killed her Elewita was in pain.' (AR-8MI-24)

In (86)d there furthermore is a contrast between a =*ja*-marked clause and a =*ti*-marked clause. In general, the connection of the subordinate clause to the main clause can be described as background.

As far as TMA information is concerned, *ti*-clauses function in the same manner as *ja*-clauses: they have their own separate temporal, modal and aspectual organization, without interdependency.

(87) a na   shunñe bobo-y=ti   të-dyojlo-shta-ø
        DEM   man   hit;kill-1SG.S=DS   1SG.CO-scold-FUT-3
        'The man that I hit is going to scold me.' [MH-24MA-8]
    b lëjëlë-shta-ø=ti   seta-ø=w ati shunñe
        morning-FUT-3=DS   grab-3=PL DEM man
        'They grabbed the man at daybreak.' [RF-29MA-3]
    c ti-sibë   li-dula-shti   mashi-shta-ø=ti
        1SG-house   DEL-do;make-FUT:1SG.S   rain-FUT-3=DS
        'I was repairing my house when it started to rain.' [FA-24MA-16]

In (87)a, the anchor moment is the moment after the subject of the dependent clause has hit the man, and before the subject of the main clause scolds the hitter. Since past tense is unmarked in Yurakaré, the dependent clause is not marked, while the main clause is marked for future tense. In (87)b the situation is reverse: the anchor moment lies before morning and is simultaneous with the moment that the man is grabbed. Consequently, the dependent event is marked for future tense while the main event is unmarked. In (87)c, finally, the anchor moment lies both before the dependent event and the main event, so both are marked for future tense.

Aspectual and modal distinctions also need to be specified for both events.

(88) a ti-n-ku-sh   abëssë-jti=ti=jsha   nij   mali   piesta=la
        1SG-IO-nice-ADV   play-HAB:1SG.S=DS=ABL NEG go.SG:1SG.S party=INS
        'Even though I like playing, I did not go to te party.' [RF-31MA-6]
    b më   lëtëmë=chi mala-m=ti   sëë   mi-n-nënë-ni
        2SG.PRN jungle=DIR go.SG-2SG.S=DS 1SG.PRN 2SG.IO-cook-INTL:1SG.S
        'While you go to the jungle, I'll cook.' [RF-26MA-5]
    c ma-müta-nta-ø=ti=jsha   pi-ma-n-kaya-yu   ma-bana=w
        3PL-pull-DES-3=DS=ABL IMP.PL-3PL-IO-give-PROH 3PL-arm=PL
        'Even though he wants to pull them, don't give him your arm.' (OR-19MA-31)

In (88)a, the subordinate event is marked for habitual aspect, and it is modified by a modal adverb *inkush*, whereas, the main event is unmarked for TMA. In (88)b, it is the subordinate event that is unmarked for TMA, and the main event that is marked for intentionality. In (88)c, finally, the subordinated event is marked with the desiderative marker, the main event is markerd for prohibitive.

As transpires from example (88)c, clauses marked with =*ti* can also carry postpositions (=*la* 'instrument', =*chi* 'direction', =*jsha* 'ablative', and =*ja* 'subject/topic'. These markers specify the relation to the main predicate:

(89) a latijsha   kundye-te-ø=ya   latiji   a-meme   a-tata
         then   satisfied-MID-3=NVR subsequently 3SG.P-mother 3SG.P-father
         a-shoja   abba-shta-ø=ti=la
         3SG.P-daughter   marry-FUT-3=DS=INS
         'Then her parents were satisfied because their daughter was getting married.'(AR-8MI-10)

  b bay-tu   ti-sibë   ti-tata   li-tütü-ø=t=chi
     go.EXH-1PL.S 1SG-house 1SG-father DEL-sit;be-3=DS=DIR
     'Let's go to my house, where my father is.' (AR-8MI-8)

  c sëë   mi-shuñe~ñe-y=ti=jsha   ushta anuta li-ti-bobo-shta-m
     1SG.PRN 2SG-grow-CAU-1SG.S=DS=ABL before like.thisDEL-1SG-hit;kill-FUT-2SG.S
     'Even though I raised you before, you are going to kill me like this!' (AR-8MI-52)

  d samu=ja   l-ati   na   mu-tütü-m=ti=ja   ati=w=ja tiya-ø=w
     jaguar=EMPH REF-DEM DEM 3PL.CO-sit;be-2SG.S=DS=EMPH DEM=PL eat-3=PL
     mi-meme-shama
     2SG-mother-PST
     'The jaguars, the ones you are living with, ate your late mother.' (AR-8MI-48)

The fact that =*ti* makes it possible for predicates to take postpositions makes a =*ti*-marked clause nominal in nature, and the morpheme =*ti* itself a nominalizer, not of the predicate itself, but of the entire clause. A possible analysis is that =*ti* is a pronominal deictic element, also found in the demonstrative *ati*. In this analysis, the enclitic =*ti* itself is nominal in nature, taking postpositions, and refers to the clause as a whole. I mention this only as a possible analysis, which requires further testing and argumentation. Note that when the predicate is marked with =*ti* and a postposition, the subjects may be coreferent:

(90) a awëwë-m=ti=jsha   të-dyërërë-m
         cry-2SG.S=DS=ABL   1SG.CO-converse-2SG.S
         'Although you were crying you were conversing with me.' [MV-24MA-22]

  b alista-y   ti-tomte   lëtëmë=chi bati=ti=la
     prepare-1SG.S 1SG-arrow jungle=DIR leave:1SG.S=DS=INS
     'I prepared my arrows to go to the jungle.' [MV-24MA-22]

  c ayma duchi   nënë-shti=ti=la
     fire burn.CAU:1SG.S cook-FUT:1SG.S=DS=INS
     'I lit the fire for cooking.' [MV-24MA-22]

  d lë-ensi=t=chi   chitta mala-y   ti-gora
     DEL:INC-drink=DS=DIR throw go.SG-1SG.S 1SG-cap
     'I left my cap where I went drinking.' [MV-24MA-22]

If there is no postposition and the subjects are identical, =*ja* is used, as can be seen in the following contrasting pair:

(91) a nij   poyde winani-tu=lab   puwa-tu=ja
     NEG can   walk-1PL.S=SBJ   drunk-1PL.S=SS
     'We could not walk because we were drunk.'[RF-31MA-6]

   b nij   poyde winani-tu   puwa-tu=ti=la
     NEG can   walk-1PL.S   drunk-1PL.S=DS=INS
     'We could not walk because we were drunk.'[RF-31MA-6]

As far as meaning is concerned, *ti*-clauses without any additional postpositions are used to mark three types of subordination: adverbial, relative, and complement clauses. Clause combinations with a *ti*-clause can also be interpreted as being coordinate.

   Adverbial temporal clauses can be marked with =*ti* if the subjects are different. This was shown above, e.g. in example (87). As with the *ja*-clauses, the temporal relation of the two events can be specified by means of temporal modification through certain affixes or adverbs:

(92) a **ushta**   mala-ø=**ti=jsha** ku-mala-y   poropesor
     before   go.SG-3=DS=ABL   3SG.CO-go.SG-1SG.S   teacher
     'After he had gone before, I followed the teacher.' [MV-31MA-3]

   b wita-**lë**-y=**ti**   mala-ø   ti-bba
     arrive.SG-RC-1SG.S=DS   go.SG-3   1SG-husband
     'As soon as I arrived, my husband left.' [FA-24MA-16]

In (92)a the different subject marker is followed by the ablative postposition. As will be shown below in this section, this combination also has a concessive interpretation ('although'), but here it simply means 'after'. The interpretation is constrained further by the adverb *ushta* 'before'. In (92)b, the suffix *-lë* 'recent completive' indicates that the event has just finished.

   When the adverbial clause should be interpreted as occuring after the main event, this can be specified by using TMA information:

(93) a lëjëlë-**shta**-ø=**ti**   seta-ø=w   ati   shunñe
     day-FUT-3=DS   grab-3=PL   DEM   man
     'They grabbed the man in the morning.' [RF-29MA-3]

   b achama   mujushi   ñu-**nishi**-ø=**ti**   ti-n-kaya-cha-p   a-buchi-nñu
     be.like.that pregnant   give.birth-NC-3=DS 1SG-IO-give-JUS-2PL 3SG.P-crop-DIM
     mu-ta-ø=ya
     3PL.CO-say-3=NVR
     'When pregnant, almost giving birth, she said: "Give me her womb".'(FA-6MA-5)

In (93)a, the subordinate event is marked with the future marker *-shta*, while the main clause is unmarked for tense, which indicates that, at the time of the event expressed in the main clause, the subordinate event has not taken place yet. In (93)b, the same effect is caused by the near completive suffix *-nishi*, which indicates that the event has almost come to an end, or will take place any moment.

Another type of adverbial clause encoded by *=ti* is conditional, as shown in example (85). As is the case with conditional *ya*-clauses and *ja*-clauses, for a *ti*-clause to be interpreted as conditional, the main clause needs to be in irrealis mode, i.e. future tense, intentional, optative, imperative, or habitual:

(94) a nij   mashi-ø=ti   nij   shuñe-jti-ø=w   arush
       NEG   rain-3=DS   NEG   grow-HAB-3=PL   rice
       'If it doesn't rain, rice won't grow.'   [FA-24MA-16]

    b awaryente   mi-la-banna-ø=ti   mi-cha-m   atta
       alcohol   2SG-AFO-lack-3=DS   take-JUS-2SG.S   other
       'If you need liqour, buy some more.' [AA-26MA-16]

    c mi-eta-ø=ti   sawata-yu=naja
       2SG-tired-3=DS   work-PROH=DSC
       'If you are tired, don't work.' [MV-26MA-21]

Reason and purposive clauses are marked by *=ti* plus the postposition *=la* 'instrument'. They generally follow the main verb:

(95) a na   shunñe   të-dyojlo-shta-ø   bobo-y=ti=la
       DEM   man   1SG.CO-scold-FUT-3   hit;kill-1SG.S=DS=INS
       'The man is going to scold me because I hit him.'   [VL-24MA-13]

    b lëtta shunñe bëbi   ti-martillo   li-ja-m-peresti=ti=la
       one   man   search:1SG.S 1SG-hammer   DEL-3SG-IO-lend:1SG.S=DS=INS
       'I am looking for the man because I lent him my hammer.' [MV-24MA-20]

    c alista-y   ti-tomte   lëtëmë=chi   bati=ti=la
       prepare-1SG.S   1SG-arrow   jungle=DIR   leave:1SG.S=DS=INS
       'I prepared my arrows to go to the jungle.' [MV-24MA-22]

    d ayma   duchi   nënë-shti=ti=la
       fire   burn.CAU:1SG.S   cook-FUT:1SG.S=DS=INS
       'I lit the fire for cooking.' [MV-24MA-22]

The examples in (95)a and b are reason clauses, and would be odd as purposive clauses. The examples in (95)c and d are easily interpreted as purposive clauses. This is, of course, only the case with clauses that are marked with *=ti=la* that have identical subjects.

Location clauses are formed by combining the marker =*ti* with the postposition =*chi* (direction) or =*jsha* (ablative) and the delimiting prefix *li-*. In this combination, the marker =*ti* is reduced to =*t*:

(96) a bay-tu   ti-sibë=chi   ti-tata   **li**-tütü=**t**=**chi**   ti-meme
         go.EXH-1PL.S 1SG-house=DIR 1SG-father DEL-sit;be=DS=DIR   1SG-mother
         li-tütü=**t**=**chi**
         DEL-sit;be=DS=DIR
         'Let's go to my place. Where my mother and father are.' (AR-8MI-8)
      b lëtta shunñe=ja   mala-ø   kummë **li**-ssë-ø=**ti**=**jsha**
         one   man=EMPH   go.SG-3   tree   DEL-stand-3=DS=ABL
         'A man goes from where the tree stands.'[FR-1TA-6]

Ablative location clauses, however, often lose the marker =*ti*:

(97) at=chi   banna-ø   na   pucha=w   **li**-ma-ssë-ø=w=**sha**
      DEM=DIR lack-3   DEM Bibosi.tree=PL DEL-3PL-stand-3=PL=ABL
      'There we still need to do something, from where the bibosi trees are.' (AA-27MA-13)

In these locative constructions, as with the other combinations of =*ti* with a postposition, the subjects of the location clause and the matrix clause may be the same:

(98) bëshë   ta-sawata li-dula-tu=t=chi   bëshë   tarabajo bëshë
      thing   1PL-work DEL-do;make-1PL.S=DS=DIR thing   work   thing
      li-winani-tu=t=chi   wiwi=ya   awëwë-tu
      DEL-walk-1PL.S=DS=DIR   arrive:PL=NVR   cry-1PL.S
      'When we arrive at where we did our work, where we lived, we cry.' (OR-20MA-5)

Concessive clauses are marked with =*ti* with the ablative marker =*jsha*:

(99) a mi-shuñe~ñe-y=ti=jsha   ushta   anu-ta   li-ti-bobo-shta-m
         2SG-grow~CAU-1SG.S=DS=ABL before   like.this-MID DEL-1SG-hit;kill-FUT-2SG.S
         'Even though I have raised you, you are going to kill me like this!' (AR-8MI-52)
      b mapakka sawati=ti=jsha   nij   ku-ichilë-y   ti-jukkulë
         big   work:1SG.S=DS=ABL NEG 3SG.CO-advance-1SG.S 1SG-field
         'Although I worked hard, I didn't make any progress with my field.'[MV-31MA-3]
      c ti-n-ku-sh   abëssë-jti=ti=jsha   nij   mali   piesta=la
         1SG-IO-nice-ADV play-HAB:1SG.S=DS=ABL NEG go.SG:1SG.S party=INS
         'Even though I like playing, I did not go to the party.' [RF-30MA-6]

Concessive conditionals are formed in the same way. They cannot be distinguished formally from concessive clauses, except for the fact that the main

predicate of the concessive conditional needs to be marked for irrealis, whereas this is not necessary in concessive clauses:[29]

(100) a   ti-ushi-ø=ti=jsha   sawata-jti
           1SG-tired-3=DS=ABL   work-HAB:1SG.S
           'Even if I am tired I still work.' [VL-24MA-11]

      b   mashi-ø=ti=jsha   ajuyja-shta-tu
           rain-3=DS=ABL   fish-FUT-1PL.S
           'Even if it rains we'll go fishing.' [MV-24MA-22]

Moving on to relative clauses, they are marked in exactly the same way as the temporal clauses marked with =*ti*. Relative clauses also function on the basis of the switch-reference distinction: the marker =*ja* is used when the subject of the main clause is identical to the subject of the relative clause (cf. section 8.2.3), as in (101)a, and =*ti* when the subjects are different, (101)b:

(101) a   am=chi   bali-ø=w   yee=w   a-tëptë-ø=w=ja
           WH=DIR   go.PL-3=PL   woman=PL   INC-wash-3=PL=SS
           'Where did the women that were washing go?'[FA-32MA-14]

      b   bëjta-y   mi-sibë   pinta-ta-ø=ti
           see-1SG.S   2SG-house   paint-MID-3=DS
           'I see your painted house.' [MH-24MA-4]

Although morphologically relative clauses are indistinguishable from adverbial clauses, they are syntactically different in that adverbial clauses usually precede the main clause, whereas relative clauses usually follow it. Another difference is that demonstrative *na* is often used at the beginning of a relative clause, whereas adverbial clauses are often introduced with the particle *la*:

(102) a   iyepi   na   shunñe   **na**   a-pojore   daja-ø=ti   ti-potto=chi
           know:1SG.S   DEM   man   DEM   3SG.P-canoe   hang-3=DS   1SG-harbor=DIR
           'I know the man whose canoe is in my harbor.'   [VL-24MA-13]

      b   **la**   bobo-ø=w=ja   tiya-ø=w
           when   hit;kill-3=PL=SS   eat-3=PL
           'When they had killed it, they ate it.' (AR-8MI-24)

By means of the rich applicative system (cf. section 5.2), participants in a number of different semantic roles can be relativized. Subject relativization was exemplified in (101)a and section 8.2.3.

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[29] As can be seen in example (99)a, concessive clauses do not necessarily get a conditional interpretation if the main clause is irrealis.

All roles that can be marked on the verb can be relativized in this way: in (103)a, the head of the relative clause is the direct object, in (103)b it is the indirect object, in (103)c the cooperative object, in (103)d it is the affected object, and in (103)e, finally, it is the comitative object.

(103) a dapassa -ø na pojore na shëy   duli=ti   (direct object)
          break-3   DEM canoe DEM yesterday make:1SG.S=DS
          'The canoe that I made yesterday broke.' [MH-24MA-8]

       b ama=ti   na shunñe ti-tib chajmu ka-m-bachi=ti   (indirect object)
          WH=LOC DEM man   1SG-pet dog   3SG-IO-send:1SG.S=DS
          'Where is the man to whom I sent my dog.' [VL-24MA-13]

       c ama=ti   na shunñe na ku-mala-m=ti   (cooperative object)
          WH=LOC DEM man   DEM 3SG.CO-go.SG-2SG.S=DS
          'Where is the man you came with?' [AA-25MA-4]

       d am=chi tütü-ø   na oshewo ka-la-bbë-m=ti   (affected object)
          WH=DIR sit;be-3 DEM pot   3SG-AFO-close-2SG.S=DS
          'Where is the pot that you closed.' [AA-26MA-15]

       e felis li-ssë-ø   a-embarkashon na samma ka-mala-ø=ti (comit. object)
          happy DEL-stand-3 3SG.P-boat   DEM water 3SG-go.SG-3=DS
          'He was happy in his boat that the water had taken.' (OR-20MA-2)

Semantic roles not marked on the verb are relativized by means of another construction involving case-marked demonstratives. This construction will be discussed in the next section.

Looking at the examples in (103), the head of the relative clause is cross referenced in the relative clause. This cannot be left out. As such there is no gapping in the relative clause. However, it is not allowed to overtly express the relativized argument in both the main and dependent clause. In this sense there is gapping. Headless relative clauses also exist.

(104) a ti-të-lë-sheta-ø=naja   na ti-n-dyuju-m=ti
          DEL-1SG-AFO-lost-3=DSC DEM 1SG-IO-tell-2SG.S=DS
          'I forgot what you told me.' [RF-26MA-7]

       b tiya-ø=w=naja   na bobo-m=ti
          eat-3=PL=DSC   DEM hit;kill-2SG.S=DS
          'They ate what you caught.' [MV-33MA-2]

In (104)a, the relative clause is the nominal subject argument of the predicate *sheta*. Still, it is marked for subject and indirect object. We could analyze example (89)d above, repeated here in (105), as an instance of a headless relative clause:

(105) samu=ja   l-ati   na   mu-tütü-m=ti=ja   ati=w=ja tiya-ø=w
     jaguar=EMPH   REF-DEM   DEM   3PL.CO-sit;be-2SG.S=DS=EMPH   DEM=PL   eat-3=PL
     mi-meme-shama
     2SG-mother-PST
     'The jaguars, the ones that you are living with, ate your late mother.' (AR-8MI-48)

Here the headless relative clause is additionally marked with the subject emphasis marker =*ja*, a construction which is very infrequent.

A third subordination type that can be associated with *ti*-clauses is complementation, already discussed in section 8.2.1. Complements are normally marked with =*ti* alone, but cognition verbs *wëshëtë* 'remember' and *ile* 'know' can take complements marked with =*ti* in combination with the instrument marker =*la*:

(106) a   nij   wëshë -të-y   chitta   mala-y=ti=la   ti-petche
       NEG   notice-MID-1SG.S   throw.SG   go.SG-1SG.S=DS=INS   1SG-fish
       'I did not remember that I left my fish.' [FL-24MA-1]
    b   ka-yle-ø=ya   na   ta-ppë   tiri   ama-shku-ta
       3SG-know-3=NVR   DEM   1PL-grandfather   Tiri   WH-ADV.CMP-MID
       imbëtë-shta-ø=ti=la
       behave-FUT-3=DS=INS
       'Our grandfather Tiri knew how he would behave.' (AR-8MI-52)

Other complements are marked with =*ti*, often in combination with the intentional marker -*ni*, which functions as a subjunctive marker here:

(107) a   ti-jusu   mi-n-nënë-ni=ti
       1SG-want   2SG-IO-cook-INTL:1SG.S=DS
       'I want to cook for you.' [FL-24MA-1]
    b   të-të-lë-sheta-ø   ti-peche   ma-warda-ni=ti
       DEL-1SG-AFO-lost-3   1SG-fish   3PL-store-INTL:1SG.S=DS
       'I forgot to store my fish.' [MH-24MA-4]
    c   ti-n-dyuju-jti-ø=w   shinama së   pojore dula-ni=ti
       1SG-IO-tell-HAB-3=PL   before   1SG.PRN   canoe   do;make-INTL:1SG.S=DS
       'They taught me before how to make a canoe.' [MH-24MA-4]
    d   të-pëni-ø   aperende-ni=ti (…)   estudia-ni=ti
       1SG.CO-difficult-3   learn-INTL:1SG.S=DS   study-INTL:1SG.S=DS
       'I find it difficult to learn.' [HC-26MA-24]
    e   ti-la-banna-ø=bëla   dula-ni=ti   ti-tomte
       1SG-AFO-lack-3=CNT   do;make-INTL:1SG.S=DS   1SG-arrow
       'I need to make my arrow.' [VL-27MA-35]
    f   nij   ti-n-kukku-ø=lab   a-teshe-ni-m=ti
       NEG   1SG-IO-nice-3=SBJ   INC-sleep-INTL-2SG.S=DS
       'I don't like it that you are sleeping.' [VL-27MA-35]

The distribution of *-ni* in subordinate clauses is comparable to the distribution of the Spanish subjunctive, which is required in subordinated verbs when there is doubt as to the truth of a proposition, when the proposition is unrealized, or when the proposition is presupposed (cf. Palmer 2001:3). The first category is not encoded by *-ni* in Yurakaré, but the other two are. Examples (107)a-e are instances of a non-realized events, while (107)f is an example of a presupposed proposition.

8.2.5 *Balanced clauses without enclitic*

Clause combinations also occur without any enclitic marking the combination. In these cases an independent word indicates the type of relation between the clauses. At least the following four connectives are used:

(108) latijsha   'then, after that'
      lachamatijsha   'even though; but'
      achaya   'so that'
      kusuti   'maybe; or'

All four forms can be analyzed further morphologically. The first three are related to the demonstrative *ati* 'that':[30]

(109) a   l-ati=jsha
         REF-DEM=ABL
         'after that'
    b   l-achama=ti=jsha
         REF-be.like.that=DS=ABL
         'even though it was like that'
    c   acha=ya
         DEM:JUS=NVR
         'may it be like that'

The form *kusuti* can be analyzed as follows:

(110) kusu-ø=ti
      want-3=DS
      'if it wants'

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[30] The form *acha(ma)* as being related to the demonstrative *ati* has been discussed in section 4.4.4.

Even though these forms can be analyzed into smaller pieces, I generally gloss them as single, lexical words, as they are used by speakers as fixed combinations.

The form *latijsha* is used to encode temporal adverbial clauses:

(111) mi-bëjti   së=ja   latijsha   shuyuj-ta-m
       2SG-see:1SG.S   1SG.PRN=EMPH then   hidden-MID-2SG.S
       'I saw you, then you hid yourself.' [FL-24MA-1]

This construction is not as common as the construction involving a *ti*-clause discussed in section 8.2.4. *Latijsha* can also be combined with a *ti*-clause:

(112) së   mala-y=ti   latijsha limeye mala-ø   poropesor kamiakku=chi
       1SG.PRN   go.SG-1SG.S=DS then   behind go.SG-3   teacher   Camiaco=DIR
       'When I went to Camiaco, the teacher went after me.' [FA-28MA-1]

Latijsha is most commonly used as a discourse-structuring word connecting two situations in the form of 'and' or 'and then'. In this sense it is a coordination marker. It is also optionally used to coordinate two NPs:

(113) mesa a-dojo=y   tütü-ø   lewle latijsha   baso
       table 3SG.P-body=LOC sit;be-3 plate   then   cup
       'On the table, there is a plate and a cup.' [FR-PC]

Lachamatijsha is used to indicate concession, or apparent contradiction 'although, but'; adversative coordination in Haspelmath's (2004:4) terms. Consider the subsequent utterances in (114):

(114) a   ati-jti-ø   shinama tuwa   ta-tata   tiri   ta-n-dula-ø=ti
         DEM-HAB-3 before   1PL.PRN 1PL-father Tiri   1PL-IO-do;make-3=DS
         ta-ropa
         1PL-clothes
         'It was like that before when our father Tiri made us our clothes.'
     b   lachamatijsha nish usa-tijti=naja   tishilë ana   ropa   kupatu=ti=la
         however   NEG use-HAB:1PL.S=DSC now   DEM   clothes use-1PL.S=DS=INS
         'But we do not use those clothes now, since we use these clothes.' (AR-8MI-80)

In these consecutive utterances, the speaker says in (114)a that their forefather made their clothes, while in (114)b, he explains the contradicting fact that these clothes are no longer here.

The form *acha(ya)* is used for purposive or objective clauses:

(115) a lëtta shunñe bëbi-shti   achaya ti-m-peresta-shta-ø podejpo
   one man search-FUT:1SG.S so.that 1SG-IO-lend-FUT-3 money
   'I am looking for a man so that he will lend me money.' [MV-24MA-20]

  b tütü-n-tu=naja achaya gana-cha-m podejpo uruju
   sit;be-INTL=1PL=DSC so.that earn-JUS-2SG.S money Uruju
   'Let's stay so that you earn some money, Uruju.' (OR-20MA-5)

These constructions are used when the speaker has hope that a certain action will have a certain advantageous result. The complement that follows *achaya* is often marked with *-cha*, but this is not necessarily so. In (115)a the complement is marked with the future marker *-shta*; the marker *-ni* (intentional) is also possible:

(116) ti-n-kaya-cha-m kudyu-tanti=w achaya ma-ñese-ni
   1SG-IO-give-JUS-2SG.S pumpkin-seed=PL so.that 3PL-sow;plant-INTL:1SG.S
   'Give me the pumpkin-seeds so that I can sow them.' (AR-8MI-42)

Kusuti is used to mark disjunction, 'or':

(117) tëtë-pshë mi-jusu-ø che-ni-m=ti   kusuti petche=ja mi-jusu-ø
   what-entity 2SG-want-3 eat-INTL-2SG.S=DS maybe fish=EMPH 2SG-want-3
   kusuti pirita=w=ja   mi-jusu-ø
   maybe fried.dough=PL=EMPH 2SG-want-3
   'What do you want to eat: fish or fried pieces of dough?' [FA-28MA-1]

If there is disjunctive coordination between two clauses or two noun phrases, both coordinands are preceded by *kusuti*. This is bisyndetic (Haspelmath 2004:4) coordination, involving two coordinators.

 Kusuti is also used to indicate uncertainty ('maybe'), cf. section 6.5.3:

(118) kusuti lëshie domingu-ø=ti i-saa-ø=w=ya   a-judyu
   maybe two Sunday-3=DS VBL-fruit-3=PL=NVR 3SG.P-joco:PL
   'After maybe two weeks, his joco's had fruit.' (AR-8MI-43)

I consider this to be the basic meaning of *kusuti*, which is compatible with its use as a disjunctive coordinator.

 Relative clauses have an encoding strategy alternative to the construction described in sections 8.2.3 and 8.2.4, involving two balanced clauses, without any subordinating enclitic. The semantic role of the relativized item is then indicated on a demonstrative (usually *bëti* or sometimes *ati*):

(119) a   am=chi   ka-bushu-ø   kuchilu **bë-ti=la**   chummë-m   emme
         WH=DIR   3SG-lie(down).SG-3   knife   ATT-DEM=INS   cut-2SG.S   meat
         'Where is the knife that you cut the meat with?' [AA-25MA-4]

      b   tëtë-pshë   a-makkatay   a   shunñe   **bë-ti=tina**   sawata-m=se
         what-entity 3SG.P-name   DEM   man   ATT-DEM=COM   work-2SG.S=SE
         'What is that man called you were working with?' [FA-32MA-14]

      c   bëbë-ni   na   shunñe **bë-ti**   ku-mi   podejpo
         search-INTL:1SG.S   DEM   man   ATT-DEM   3SG.CO-take.SG:1SG.S   money
         'I am looking for the man that I got money from.'   [AA-25MA-4]

      d   ama=ti   na   shunñe **bë-t**   ka-m-bachi   ti-tib   chajmu
         WH=LOC   DEM   man   ATT-DEM   3SG-IO-send:1SG.S   1SG-pet   dog
         'Where is the man that I sent my dog to?'[MH-24MA-8]

The demonstrative pronoun *bë-ti* is a 'landing site' for postpositions. Note that in (119)c and d, the relation between the predicate of the relative clause and the head of that clause is still indicated on the predicate. The alternation between the enclitic and free pronoun strategy may point to the fact that the enclitic *=ti* is connected to the deictic element *ti* in *ati* and *bëti*.

   The demonstrative pronoun strategy is more widely applicable, for instance to mark reason clauses:

(120) nish   otto-ø=ya   ta-buyta   ati=la   tuwa   nish   riku-tu
      NEG   go.out-3=NVR   1PL-chief   DEM=INS   1PL.PRN   NEG   rich-1PL.S
      'Our chief did not come out, therefore we are not rich.' (AR-8MI-78)

The utterance in (120) is taken from a mythological story, which can be termed the genesis of the Yurakaré. With the events of this story reasons are given why the current situation of the Yurakaré Indians is the way it is. One of the events is that the founding father of the Yurakaré Indians, Tiri, makes the Yurakaré people come out of a hole in the ground, but the hole closes before the leader of the Yurakaré can come out, so the Yurakaré are left without leadership. That is the reason that they are not rich right now.

   As for coordination, the simplest strategy possible is used: two juxtaposed balanced clauses without any element indicating the nature of the combination of clauses (asyndetic in Haspelmath's [2004:4] terms):

(121) abayla~la-y   ajanta~ta-y
      dance~DST-1SG.S   sing~DST-1SG.S
      'I am dancing and singing.'   [VL-24MA-11]

This asyndetic strategy is also used for coordinating two NPs, in addition to the coordinating construction with *latijsha* 'then', discussed above:

(122) latijsha na ëtëjñu=ja yijñu=ja nish ka-n-dyuju=ya
      then DEM boy=EMPH girl=EMPH NEG 3SG-IO-tell:3PL.S=NVR
      'Then the boy and the girl did not tell him.' (AY-3NC-6)

Another strategy to coordinate two NPs is by means of the postposition =*tina* 'comitative':

(123) latijsha wilita-ø=w=ya na pëpësu aysa=tina
      then return-3=PL=NVR DEM Pëpësu Aysa=COM
      'Then Pëpësu and Aysa returned.' (AY-3NC-8)

Although the meaning of =*tina* here seems quite close to conjunction, in many cases the two NPs that are associated by means of the postposition =*tina* are not entirely coordinate. Therefore it is more fruitful to regard =*tina* as a comitative marker rather than a conjunction marker. For more discussion on the postposition =*tina*, cf. section 4.3.1. The comitative strategy is not available for the conjunction of two clauses.

8.2.6 Alternative strategies

Apart from the strategies discussed above there are a few alternative strategies that can be used to combine two predicates into a single sentence.

  First, there is an enclitic =*jcha* (=*cha* after a consonant) which Day (1980-38) describes as meaning 'as soon as, just as'. In some circumstances, it seems to mean just that:

(124) pututu-tu=**jcha** süsh süsh süsh süsh mala-ø=ya[31] mënñu
      loose-MID:3PL.S=**DPT** IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO go.SG-3=NVR deer
      'As soon as they desentangled themselves they fled "süsh süsh"'. (OR-19MA-20)

On the other hand, there are instances where this interpretation does not fit well:

(125) l-ati=jsha mala-ø=**jcha** willë=y bë-l-ati=sh=la=ra
      REF-DEM=ABL go.SG-3=**DPT** far=LOC ATT-REF-DEM=ABL=VAL=NB.M
      'When you depart from there it is still a long way!' (FL-27MA-10)

Nevertheless, a connection between the examples (124) and (125) is imaginable along the lines of two temporally adjacent events. Therefore I gloss =*jcha* 'departitive', indicating that one event departs from the other. It is possible for

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[31] I have no explanation for the fact that the verb is marked for singular in this instance.

two temporally adjacent events to be both marked with *=jcha*, yielding the interpretation of two (near) simultaneous events:

(126) tomush-ta=w   mu-mala-ø=**jcha** bali-ø=w=**cha**   bali-ø=w=**cha**   bali-ø=w=**cha**
poison-MID=PL 3PL-go.SG-3=**DPT** go.PL-3=PL=**DPT**   go.PL-3=PL=**DPT**   go.PL-3=PL=**DPT**
'As soon as he followed the poisoned fish, they each went away. (AY-3NC-8)

As can be seen by comparing (126) with (124), the fact that a predicate is marked with *=jcha* tells us nothing about whether the subject of the connected event is the same or different. It is not clear whether this enclitic is connected to the homophonous nominal enclitic indicating 'total number', cf. section 4.5.2.

   Manner clauses can be marked by means of the adverbializing suffix *-shku(-ta)* or *-sh* (cf. sections 3.3.2, 4.4.3 and 6.4.3):

(127) a   pijasha   suwi-ta-shku-ta   elli   mala-ø=ya
         Chuchio grow-MID-ADV.CMP-MID   ground:LOC   go.SG-3=NVR
         'He went into the ground like a Chuchio root grows.'   (OR-20MA-9)
     b   ti-n-kukku-sh   sawata-jti
         1SG-IO-nice-ADV   work-HAB:1SG.S
         'I like working.'   [FA-24MA-15]

In (127)a, the entire clause *pijasha suwita* 'the chuchio grows' is adverbialized; in (127)b, the predicate *kukku* 'be nice' including its applied object is adverbialized: 'I always work with pleasure'. The difference between *-shku(ta)* and *-sh* has been discussed in section 3.3.2.

   Another type of adverbial clause which has an alternative strategy is the counterfactual conditional:

(128) a   ati   ka-puppu-ta-ø   bobo-ø=y=chi=la   layj=la=ye
         DEM 3SG-cut.loose-POT-3   hit;kill-3=NVR=IGN=VAL   too=VAL=NB.F
         'Had he cut that one loose too, he would have killed him as well.'   (FA-6MA-11)
     b   an   noe   nijta-ta-ø   nijta-shta-ø=ya   latiji   ta-chata
         DEM Noah   NEG-MID-POT-3 NEG-MID-FUT-3=NVR   subsequently   1PL-food
         tuwa=se
         1PL.PRN=SE
         'If it had not been for Noah, there wouldn't be any food for us.'   (OR-20MA-3)

The conditional clause in (128)a is marked with the 'potential' marker *-ta* (section 5.3.1)[32], which comes before the person markers in the verbal template. The counterfactual clause is usually marked with the non-veridical marker *=y(a)* –

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[32] This is not the same marker as the middle marker *-tA* (section 5.3.1), since it does not display vowel assimilation.

when dealing with third persons – plus the ignorative =*chi*. In (128)b, however, the counterfactual clause is marked with the future marker *-shta*. The counterfactual interpretation comes solely from the marker *-ta*, consider (129):

(129) a nij   ka-la-bbë-ti   oshewo tiyu=y=chi   talipa=w   ti-chata
        NEG 3SG-AFO-cover-POT:1SG.S pot   eat:3PL.S=NVR=IGN chicken=PL 1SG-food
        'If I had not covered the pot, the chickens would have eaten all.' [MH-31MA-6]
    b nij   ka-la-bbë-y=ti   tiya=w titib   talipaw
        NEG 3SG-AFO-cover-1SG.S=DS   eat-3=PL 1SG-pet chicken=PL
        'When I did not cover it, my chickens ate it.' [MH-31MA-6]

The conditional clauses in these counterfactual constructions apparently do not need a subordinating morpheme. They are, however, marked by means of intonation. The conditional clause ends in a rising intonation associated with subordinate clauses in Yurakaré.

There is also an alternative morphological strategy to encode subject relative clauses, by means of a compound form: predicate + *bëshë* 'entity', which is often shortened to *pshë*:

(130) a ayma=la bobo-shta-ø=ya   latiji   na   shuñe~ñe-pshë
        fire=INS   hit;kill-FUT-3=NVR   subsequently DEM   man~CAU-entity
        'With fire he was going to kill the one that raised him.' (AR-8MI-52)
    b ku-dojlo-shti   na   shunñe   ti-bobo-pshë
        3SG.CO-scold-FUT:1SG.S   DEM man   1SG-hit;kill-entity
        'I am going to scold the man that hit me.' [VL-24MA-13]

I have found one instance of a possessive relative clause marked with *-bëshë*:

(131) latijsha na   nish wiwi-pshë=w   ma-ba=w   ati=w
       then   DEM NEG   arrive.PL-entity=PL 3PL-husband=PL   DEM=PL
       adyindyi-jti-ø=w=ya
       sad-HAB-3=PL=NVR
       'The ones whose husbands had not returned were sad.' (AR-8MI-90)

A final strategy used for combining two or more predicates is the direct speech strategy. Reported speech is always encoded as direct speech and almost always in combination with the verb *ta* 'say' in Yurakaré, even though there are instances of direct speech without any communication verb. The verb *ta* 'say' cannot take indirect speech complements.

(132) a   chitta   mala-ma   të-ta-ø   ti-pojore
         throw.SG   go.SG-IMP.SG 1SG.CO-say-3   1SG-canoe
         'He told me to leave my canoe.' [FA-24MA-15]
    b   poybolo=chi bati   të-ta-ø   poropesor
         town=DIR   leave:1SG.S   1SG.CO-say-3 teacher
         'The teacher told me that he was going to go to town.' [RF-26MA-4]

The verb *dyuju* 'tell', which can take subordinate complements, cf. example (107)c above, is often combined with a direct speech quote and the verb *ta*:

(133) peredi=ja   ti-n-dyuju-ø anu-ta   dula-jti-ø   pojore të-ta-ø
     Freddy=EMPH 1SG-IO-tell-3 like.this-MID   do;make-HAB-3   canoe 1SG.CO-say-3
     'Freddy told me how to make a canoe.'[AA-25MA-1]

The verb *ta* usually comes after the quote. Sometimes, as in (132)a, one part, usually the theme, of the quote follows as a specification. Another positional possibility for *ta* is before the quote. In these cases, the predicate is often modified by the demonstrative adverbs *achu* or *anu*, which have a cataphoric function in these constructions. They are often shortened to *ash* and *an*:

(134) a   latijsha ash   mu-ta-ø=ya   tëtë-pshë   che-shta-p=naja   che=ya
         then   like.that 3PL-say-3=NVR what-entity eat-FUT-2PL.S=DSC   eat=NVR
         'Then he said this to them: "What are you going to eat now?"' (AY-2NC-8)
    b   an   ta-ø=ya   ta-tejte-shama   bata-ø=ja (…) tüt-cha-m=bë
         like.this say-3=NVR 1PL-grandmother-PST leave-3=SS   sit;be-JUS-2SG.S=MOM
         'Thus our grandmother said when leaving: "Stay for a while."'(OR-20MA-8)

In the system of switch reference discussed in sections 8.2.3 and 8.2.4 above, predicates in direct quotations are disregarded:

(135) ati=w   ma-bëjta-ø=w=ja yokkoshe bobo-m=chi=laba   ush   na
     DEM=PL   3PL-see-3=PL=SS   true   hit;kill-2SG.S=IGN=SBJ   before DEM
     mi-n-kaya-tu-ti   meme na   sewwe ku-ta-ø=w=ya   na   puydara=w
     2SG-IO-give-1PL.S=DS mother DEM child   3SG.CO-say-3=PL=NVR   DEM Puydara=PL
     a-buchi   ma-mme
     3SG.P-crop 3PL-mother
     'When they saw those [i.e. dead birds] the jaguars said to their mother: "Did you really eat the child when we gave you the womb?"' (AR-8MI-30)

The predicate *mabëjtawja* is the first in a chain of two predicates. The second is *kutawya*. In between there is a long quote which has two predicates in it, which are in a chain themselves. These two chains do not interact, however.

8.2.7 Overview: types of clause combinations and their encoding

In the previous sections, I have taken as a point of departure the morphosyntactic encoding of clause combinations, structuring the text along these lines. The disadvantage of this approach is that typological categories of types of clause combinations are scattered over the different sections. Therefore I end the chapter with a short schematic overview of clause combinations in Yurakaré which takes as a point of departure the different types of clause combinations:

Table 53   - types of clause combinations and their morphosyntactic encoding

	type of clause	VPC	ya	ja	ti	ø	other
1	time		*	*	*	* (+latijsha)	
2	location				*(+pp)		
3	manner	*					* (-shku)
4	purpose		*		*(+pp)	* (+achaya)	
5	reason				*(+pp)	* (+dem)	
6	simultaneous		*	*	*		
7	conditional		*	*	*		
8	counterfactual						* (-ta+int)
9	concessive				*(+pp)	* (+lachamatijsha)	
10	relative clauses			*	*	* (+dem)	* (-pshë)
11	complementation	*			*(±pp)		
12	coordination 'and'		*			* (± latijsha)	
13	adversative coordination					* (+lachamatijsha)	
14	disjunction					* (+kusuti)	

In Table 53 I give fourteen possible types of subordinate or coordinate (the bottom three) clauses, and with an asterisk I indicate which morphosyntactic devices are used to encode these types of clauses. Between brackets I have put some additional information, like (+pp), (+dem) or (+int) which indicates that in addition to the encoding strategy indicated in the top row, this type of clause needs a postposition, a demonstrative pronoun or a special intonation pattern. The symbol '±' indicates that the addition of an element is not required in all instances.

   As for the columns, they refer to the morphosyntactic encoding devices used. Since this is the point of departure taken in this chapter, they directly refer to sections. The verb phrase conjunctions (VPC) are discussed in section 8.2.1, *ya*-clauses in section 8.2.2, *ja*-clauses in 8.2.3, *ti*-clauses in 8.2.4; the symbol 'ø' means balanced clauses without morphological marking, which were discussed in section 8.2.5, and finally, the remaining 'other strategies' were discussed in section 8.2.6.

   The switch reference system can be schematically represented as follows:

Table 54   - The switch-reference system of Yurakaré

	same subject	*different subject*
=ya	irrealis events	
=ja	realis events	irrealis (1st person directives)
=ti		realis + irrealis (non 1st person directives)
	when specified by means of a postposition	

The enclitic =*ya* is used to mark subordinated or background events that are in irrealis mode (i.e. future, intentional, desiderative, habitual, imperative, jussive, etc.). The enclitic =*ja* is used to mark realis events that have the same subject as the main predicate, as well as certain irrealis events with different subjects, i.e. when the main clause can be interpreted as a directive, the subject of the subordinate clause is a first person, and the subject of the main clause is a second person. The different subject marker =*ti*, finally, is used for both realis and irrealis events that have a different subject from the main predicate, with the exception of the first person directives just outlined. When a subordinate event needs to be specified by means of a postposition, both same and different subject is marked with =*ti*.

Texts

In this section two samples of text are presented. The first, *Ayma Shunñe*, is one of the mythological texts of the Yurakaré culture; the second is an episode from a conversation. The representation of utterances is a little different from the rest of the grammar in that in the texts, there is an extra line of Yurakaré without morpheme breaks, with interpunction and transcribed in a manner which is rather faithful to the phonetic input; in the next line the utterance is represented with morpheme breaks where all morphemes are represented in their underlying form. In this way the changes that these underlying morphemes undergo become clear. The rest (glosses and translation) is the same as the rest of the grammar.

1. Ayma Shunñe (fire man)

What follows is an integral account of a very short version of the story of Ayma Shunñe (Fire man). For a summary of the contents in English, the reader is referred to section 1.3.3 above.

(1)   Inele elli yupaya ati pëpëshama ayetina.

inele	elle=y	yupa-ø=ya	ati	pëpë-shama	a-ye=tina
inside	*ground=LOC*	*go.in.SG-3=NVR*	*DEM*	*grandfather-PST*	*3SG.P-sister=COM*

ayma	ma-che-shta-ø=ti
fire	*3PL-eat-FUT-3=DS*

An ancestor and his sister went into the ground.

(2)   Ayma machishtati, lëshie yupatuya ayetina.

lëshie	yupata-ø=w=ya	a-ye=tina
two	*go.in.PL-3=PL=NVR*	*3SG.P-sister=COM*

When the fire was going to burn them, they went inside, he and his sister.

(3)   Latijsha atiwja puchuya, ayma kalapuchuya.

latijsha	ati=w=ja	puchu-ø=w=ya	ayma	ka-la-puchu-ø=w=ya
then	*DEM=PL=EMPH*	*save.o.s.-3=PL=NVR*	*fire*	*3SG-AFO-save.o.s.-3=PL=NVR*

When they did this, they saved themselves from the fire.

(4) **Yupaya amumay aballatatina: ashili, ñowwo, walujsa, palanta.**

yupa-ø=ya   a-mumuy a-ballata=tina a-shilli ñowwo
go.in.SG-3=NVR *3SG.P-all* *3SG.P-plant.seed=COM* *3SG.P-maize maize manioc*

walusa   palanta
walusa.fruit *banana*

When they entered, they took all kinds of seeds with them: maize, yucca, hualusa, banana.

(5) **Amumay kayupaya ati pëpëshama.**

a-mumuyka-yupa-ø=ya   ati pëpë-shama
3SG.P-all *3SG-go.in.SG-3=NVR* *DEM* *grandfather-PST*

All of that this ancestor took inside with him.

(6) **Latijsha litütüya ineli, elejanay.**

latijsha li-tütü-ø=ya   inele=y elle-jana=y
then *DEL-sit;be-3=NVR* *inside=LOC* *ground-under=LOC*

Then they sat inside, under the ground.

(7) **Lati atomtew madulaya, maotchejti ashachi.**

l-ati   a-tomete-w ma-dula-ø=ya ma-otche-jti-ø   asha=chi
REF-DEM *3SG.P-arrow=pl* *3PL-do;make-3=NVR* *3PL-go.out.CAU-HAB-3* *above=DIR*

Then he made an arrow, and stuck it out of the hole.

(8) **Lati poshpoto tiyati, nish ottojtiya, liwilita, litütüjtiya.**

l-ati   poshpoto tiya-ø=ti nish otto-jti-ø=ya   li-wilita-ø
REF-DEM *feather* *eat-3=DS* *NEG* *go.out-HAB-3=NVR* *DEL-return*

li-tütü-jti-ø=ya
DEL-sit;be-HAB-3=NVR

When the fire burned the feather, they did not go out, returned and remained inside.

(9) Latijsha yosse, lachuta dula, lachuta mache.

latijsha	yosse	l-achu-ta	dula-ø	lachu-ta	ma-che-ø
then	*again*	*REF-like.that-MID*	*do,make-3*	*REF-like.that-MID*	*3PL-eat-3*

Then again, he stuck it out like that and it burned.

(10) Macheti, nish poyde ottojtiya ashachi

ma-che-ø=ti	nish	poyde	otto-jti-ø=ya	asha=chi
3PL-eat-3=DS	*NEG*	*can*	*go.out-HAB-3=NVR*	*above=DIR*

When it burned, he could not go out.

(11) Latijsha yosse lachuta dula, dula achamaya.

latijsha	yosse	l-achu-ta	dula-ø	dula-ø	achama-ø=ya
then	*again*	*REF-like.that-MID*	*do;make-3*	*do;make-3*	*be.like.that-3=NVR*

Then he did the same again, like that it went.

(12) Lachuta dulaja, latijsha bijbinta mashiya latiji.

l-achu-ta	dula-ø=ja[1]	latijsha	bij~binta	mashi-ya	latiji
REF-like.that-MID	*do,make-3=SS*	*then*	*INTS~strong*	*rain-3=NVR*	*subsequently*

Then after he had done that, it rained heavily.

(13) Lati binta mashiti, latijsha bobomashiya latiji ayma.

l-ati	binta	mashi-ø=ti	latijsha	bobomashi[2]-ø=ya	latiji	ayma
REF-DEM	*strong*	*rain-3=DS*	*then*	*extinguish-3=NVR*	*subsequently*	*fire*

Then it rained heavily, it extinguished the fire.

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[1] The same subject marker is unexpected here. In fact this happens more often in this particular narrative. In elicitation, sentences such as these are ruled out on the basis of an 'incorrect' switch-reference marker. Possibly the speaker intended another second part of the utterance, featuring the same subject and then changed his mind after uttering the first part.

[2] The form *bobomashi* seems to be a sompounded form of *bobo* 'hit;kill' and *mashi* 'rain', although verb-verb compounds generally do not occur. Another possibility is that we are dealing with a VP-conjunction (cf. section 8.2.1 above) of a rare type (this is the only instance known to me), where *bobo* functions as a depictive secondary predicate.

(14) Ati bobomashiti, yosse madulaja, maotcheyase atomtew.

ati	bobomashi-ø=ti	yosse	ma-dula-ø=ja	ma-otche-ø=ya=se
DEM	*extinguish-3=DS*	*again*	*3PL-do;make-3=SS*	*3PL-go.out.CAU-3=NVR=SE*

a-tomete=w
3SG.P-arrow=PL

When the fire had been extinguished, he made another arrow stuck it out again.

(15) Lati nish macheya latiji ayma.

l-ati	nish	ma-che-ø=ya	latiji	ayma
REF-DEM	*NEG*	*3PL-eat-3=NVR*	*subsequently*	*fire*

This time the fire did not burn it.

(16) Ati nish macheti, ottoya latiji.

ati	nish	ma-che-ø=ti	otto-ø=ya	latiji
DEM	*NEG*	*3PL-eat-3=DS*	*go.out-3=NVR*	*subsequently*

When it did not burn, he went out.

(17) "Ottontunaja", kutaya latiji ayee.

otto-ni-tu-naja	ku-ta-ø=ya	latiji	a-ye
go.out-INTL-1PL.S-DSC	*3SG.CO-say-3=NVR*	*subsequently*	*3SG.P-sister*

"Let's go outside", he told his sister.

(18) Latijsha ottuya.

latijsha	otto-ø=w=ya
then	*go.out-3=PL=NVR*

Then they went out.

(19) Ottuja, tütuja, kuybalimaw ayetina.

otto-ø=w=ja	tütü-ø=w=ja	ku-y-bali-wma-ø=w	a-ye=tina
go.out-3=PL=SS	*stay-3=PL=SS*	*3SG.CO-VPL-go.PL-DST-3=PL*	*3SG.P-sister=COM*

They went out, sat down and thought, he and his sister.

(20) "Tëtëpshë dulashtatunaja tuwa dulaya?

tëtë-jbëshë	dula-shta-tu-naja	tuwa	dula-ya
what-entity	*do;make-FUT-1PL.S-DSC*	*1PL.PRN*	*do;make=NVR*

"What are we going to do now?"

(21) Anuta pëlëw tatatashamaw tammeshamaw", tawya.

anu-ta	pëlë-ø=w	ta-tata-shama=w	ta-meme-shama=w	ta-ø=w=ya
like.this-MID	*finished-3=PL*	*1PL-father-PST=PL*	*1PL-mother-PST=PL*	*say-3=PL=NVR*

"Our fathers and mothers are dead!", they said.

(22) Adyindyiwya atiw, ati sewebonto ayetina, ottuja pujtachi.

adyindyi-ø=w=ya	ati=w	ati	sewe-bonto	a-ye=tina
sad-3=PL=NVR	*DEM=PL*	*DEM*	*child-young.man*	*3SG.P-sister=COM*

otto-ø=w=ja	pujta=chi
go.out-3=PL=SS	*outside=DIR*

They became sad this young man and his sister, after had come out.

(23) Lati adyindyi tütuti amala ati; bëjtuya na Ayma Shunñe.

l-ati	adyindye	tütü-ø=w=ti	amala-ø	ati	bëjta-ø=w=ya
REF-DEM	*sad*	*sit;be-3=PL=DS*	*come-3*	*DEM*	*see-3=PL=NVR*

na	ayma	shunñe
DEM	*fire*	*man*

While they were sitting there sad, he came. They saw Fire Man.

(24) Mañeseya latiji na balla itta, kummësaw, kummëtantiw.

ma-ñesse-ø=ya	latiji	na	ballata	itta	kummë-sa-w
3PL-sow-3=NVR	*subsequently*	*DEM*	*plant.seed*	*thing*	*tree-fruit=PL*

kummë-tanti=w
tree-seed=PL

He sowed plant seed, tree-fruit, and tree-seeds.

(25) Atiw malañesese amalati.

ati=w   ma-l-a-ñesse~se-ø   amala-ø=ti
DEM=PL   3PL-AFO-INC-sow-DST-3   come-3=DS

He was sowing those for them when he (the man) came.

(26) Mabëjtaja, limawjwaniya.

ma-bëjta-ø=ja   li-ma-ujwa-ni-ø=ya
3PL-see-3=SS   DEL-3PL-look.at-INTL-3=NVR

When he saw them, he went to look at them.

(27) Bëtiw limawjwaniti, achutuya.

bë-ti=w   li-ma-ujwa-ni-ø=ti   achu-ta-ø=w=ya
ATT-DEM-PL   DEL-3PL-look.at-INTL-3=DS   like.that-MID-3=PL=NVR

When he went to see them they were like that.

(28) Muyteya latija: "Amatiw patataw pammew?" mutaya.

mu-ite-ø=ya   l-ati=ja   ama=y-ø=w   pa-tata=w   pa-meme=w
3PL.CO-ask-3=NVR REF-DEM=EMPH   WH=LOC-3=PL   2PL-father=PL 2PL-mother=PL

mu-ta-ya
3PL.CO-say-3=NVR

He asked them: "Where are your fathers and mothers?"

(29) "Kapëlë: tammew tammeshamaw, aymaja mache.

ka-pëlë-ø   ta-meme=w   ta-meme-shama=w   ayma=ja   ma-che-ø
3SG-finished-3 1PL-mother=PL   1PL-mother-PST=PL   fire=EMPH   3PL-eat-3

"It is finished: the fire burned our parents."

(30) Atila 'tëpshë dulashtatunaja tuwa' tatu", kutawya.

ati=la   tëtë-jbëshë   dula-shta-tu=naja   tuwa   ta-tu   ku-ta-ø=w=ya
DEM=INS   what-entity   do;make-FUT-1PL.S=DSC 1PL.PRN say-1PL.S 3SG.CO-say-3=PL=NVR

"That is why we said 'what are we going to do now?'", they said to him.

(31) Latijsha awëwëya ati Ayma.

latijsha	awëwë-ya	ati	ayma
then	*cry-3=NVR*	*DEM*	*Fire*

Then Fire Man cried.

(32) Awëwëja, latijsha ashmutaya: "Lanuta lëshie winaniya ilëtëchap."

awëwë-ø=ja	latijsha	achu	mu-ta-ya	l-anu-ta	lëshie
cry-3=SS	*then*	*like.that*	*3PL.CO-say-3=NVR*	*REF-like.this-MID*	*two*

winani-ya	ilëtë-cha-p
walk=NVR	*procreate-JUS-2PL.S*

He cried and then told them the following: "I want you to live together and procreate."

(33) "Kunwinantachap miyetina mipipitina", kutaya.

ku-n-winani-ta-cha-p	mi-yee=tina	mi-pipi=tina	ku-ta-ø=ya
3SG.CO-R-live-MID-JUS-2PL.S	*2SG-sister=COM*	*2SG-brother=COM*	*3SG.CO-say-3=NVR*

"You will live with each other, you with your sister you with your brother", he said.

(34) Latijsha "nish poydetu achuta dulantuti tuwa."

latijsha	nish	poyde-tu	achu-ta	dula-ni-tu-ti
then	*NEG*	*can-1PL.S*	*like.that-MID*	*do;make-INTL-1PL.S-DS*

Then they said: "We cannot do that."

(35) "Nish tajusu dulantuti", kutuya.

tuwa	nish	ta-kusu	dula-ni-tu-ti	ku-ta-ø=w=ya
1PL.PRN	*NEG*	*1PL-want*	*do;make-INTL-1PL.S=DS*	*3SG.CO-say-3=PL=NVR*

"We do not want to do that!" they said to him.

(36) Latijsha: "Sëja paordenay, pandyujuya lachuta."

latijsha	së=ja	pa-ordena-y	pa-n-dyuju-ya	l-achu-ta
then	*1SG.PRN=EMPH*	*2PL-order-1SG.S*	*2PL-IO-tell=NVR*	*REF-like.that-MID*

Then he said: "I am ordering you!"

(37) **"Lachuta dulachap", mutaya latiji Ayma.**

l-achu-ta   dula-cha-p   mu-ta-ø=ya   latiji   ayma
REF-like.that-MID   do;make-JUS-2PL.S   3PL.CO-say-3=NVR   subsequently   Fire

"You will do as I say", Fire Man told them.

(38) **Lash mutaja, malamalaya.**

latijsha   mu-ta-ø=ja   ma-la-mala-ø=ya
then   3PL.CO-say-3=SS   3PL-AFO-go.SG-3=NVR

When he had told them that, he left them.

(39) **Nish tayle amchi malatila, ati Ayma.**

nish   ta-ile   ama=chi   mala-ø=ti=la   ati   ayma
NEG   1PL-know   WH=DIR   go.sg-3=DS=INS   DEM   Fire

We do not know where Fire Man went.

(40) **Lati malamalati, lachuta winaniwja winaniwya, ayetina.**

l-ati   ma-la-mala-ø=ti   l-achu-ta   winani-ø=w=ja   winani-ø=w=ya
REF-DEM   3PL-AFO-go.SG-3=DS   REF-like.that-MID   walk-3=PL=SS   walk-3=PL=NVR

a-ye=tina
3SG.P-sister=COM

When he had left them they lived like this.

(41) **Lachuta dulawja, iñumawya atiw, ayetina.**

l-achu-ta   dula-ø=w=ja   i-ñuma-ø=w=ya   ati=w   a-ye=tina
REF-like.that-MID   do;make-3=PL=SS   VBL-mother-3=PL=NVR   DEM=PL   3SG.P-sister=COM

Acting like this, they had babies together, he and his sister.

(42) **Lati iñumawja, nish tayle amchi, amashkuta winaniwtila latiji.**

l-ati   i-ñuma-ø=w=ja   nish   ta-ile   ama=chi   ama-shku-ta
REF-DEM   VBL-mother-3=PL=SS   NEG   1PL-know   WH=DIR   WH-ADV.CMP-MID

winani-w-ti-la   latiji
live-3=PL=DS=INS   subsequently

After they had babies, we do not know where they went or how they lived afterwards.

2. Conversation

What follows is an episode from a recorded conversation between two friends Angel (A) and Freddy (F) and Angel's wife Brigida (B). The context of this particular piece is that they are occasionally working for the owner of a nearby farm (Cheke), who wants to make a road connecting the Yurakaré settlement Loma del Masí and his farm to the village Camiaco, which has supplies and connections to the city of Trinidad. Discontent about the way Cheke is handling things is growing and the speakers are thinking about quitting the job.

A

(1)   Nij kusushtanajalse, na Cheke, aumentaniti?

nish   kusu-shta-ø=naja=la=se   na   cheke   aumenta-ni-ø=ti
NEG   want-FUT-3=DSC=VAL=SE   DEM   Cheke   raise-INTL-3=DS

Cheke is not going to wantto raise [his pay] anymore, is he?

F
(2)   Nij kusushtanaja…Te.

nish kusu-shta-ø=naja   otte
neg want-fut-3=dsc   yes

He is not going to want anymore. Indeed.

(3)   Nij aumentashtanajala

nish   aumenta-shta-ø=naja=la
NEG   raise-FUT-3=DSC=VAL

He is not going to raise it anymore.

A
(4)   Nij aumentati latikkay tütüshtatu na tasawatalari

nish   aumenta-ø=ti   l-ati-kka=y   tütü-ø-shta-tu na   ta-sawata=la=ri
NEG   raise-3=DS   REF-DEM-MEA=LOC   sit,be-FUT-1PL.S DEM   1PL-work=INS=EXPR.M

If he does not raise his pay, we will be staying here with our work.

F
(5)   Hm

Hm.

A

(6) Aumentati, ittaya bati. Kansawatiba yosse

aumenta-ø=ti itta=ya bata-y ka-n-sawata ibaa-y yosse
raise-3=DS thing=NVR leave-1SG.S 3SG-IO-work can;should-1sg.s again

If he raises it, I am going [back to work]. Then I should work for him again.

F

(7) Amashta shëy nay madulacha puente tuwaj madulashtatuya

ama-sh ta-ø shëy naa=y ma-dula-cha-p puente tuwa=ja
WH-ADV say-3 yesterday DEM=LOC 3PL-do;make-JUS-2PL.S bridge 1PL.PRN=EMPH

ma-dula-shta-tu=ya
3PL-do;make-FUT-1PL.S=NVR

How did he say it yesterday? I want you to make a bridge there, He said: *we* are going to make it.

A

(8) "Kamandulantu puente!" Lati poromete na puente!

ka-ma-n-dula-ni-tu puente l-ati poromete-ø na puente
3SG-3PL-IO-do;make-INTL-1PL.S bridge REF-DEM promise-3 DEM bridge

"Let's make him a bridge!" *He* promised a bridge!

(9) "Tubu limapepishti, ellela taraktorla dujushti", tajti të amashku.

tubo=w li-ma-pepe-shta-y elle=la taraktor=la duju-shta-y ta-jti-ø
tube=PL DEL-3PL-put-FUT-1SG.S earth=INS tractor=INS dig-FUT-1SG.S say-HAB-3

tëtë ama-shku
what WH-ADV.CMP

"I am going to put in the tubes, I am going to dig the earth with a tractor", he said, and I don't know what else.

F

(10) Amashku poydentu tuwa?

ama-shku poyde-ni-tu tuwa
WH-ADV.CMP can-INTL-1PL.S 1PL.PRN

What can we do?

(11) Ashta tishi tawësh salta.

achu	ta-ø	tishilë	ta-wëshi	salta
like.that	*say-3*	*now*	*1PL-brother/son.in.law*	*Salta*

That is what our brother in law Salta said just now.

A

(12) Tammuynaja. "Tisawataya, tarajtor kamalishtij", tase.

ta-mumuy=naja	ti-sawata-ø=ya	trajtor	ka-mala-shta-y	ta-ø=se
1PL-all=DSC	*1SG-work-3=NVR*	*tractor*	*3SG-go.SG-FUT-1SG.S*	*say-3=SE*

All of us. "Work with me, I am going to bring a tractor", he said.

(13) Lani ittati tëtëj kamandulashtase

l-ana=y	itta-ø=ti	tëtë=ja	ka-ma-n-dula-shta-ø=se
REF-DEM=LOC	*thing-3=DS*	*what-EMPH*	*3SG-3PL-IO-do;make-FUT-3=SE*

But no one is going to do it for him when he [comes?] here.

F

(14) Nijta

No-one.

A

(15) Ati katoroshta sawata.

ati ka-toro-shta-ø	sawata
DEM 3SG-end-FUT-3	*work*

Here the work will end.

(16) Amaja? Amalibaychi "sawatantu" itta taibaychi konsonose tandyujuya.

ama=ja	amala	iba-ø=ya=chi	sawata-ni-tu	itta	ta	iba-ø=ya=chi
WH=EMPH	*come*	*should-3=NVR=IGN*	*work-INTL-1PL.S*	*thing*	*say*	*should-3=NVR=IGN*

konsono=se	ta-n-dyuju-ø=ya
well=SE	*1PL-IO-tell-3=NVR*

Who is going to do it? He should come himself to say "Let's work" telling us well.

F

(17) Bënnij wita duminkuy witishti tuta ushtalëkki batashtasira

bë-ti   nij   wita-ø   dumiku=y   wita-shta-y   tu-ta-ø
ATT-DEM   NEG   arrive.SG-3   sunday=LOC   arrive.SG-FUT-1SG.S   1PL.co-say-3

ushta-lë-kka=y   bata-shta-ø=se=ra
before-AMP-MEA=LOC   leave-FUT-3=SE=NB.M

He did say to us: "I will arrive on Sunday". He was supposed to have left a long tim
ago.

A

(18) Ashta?

achu   ta-ø
like.that say-3

Did he say that?

F

(19) Amoto kamalasira.

a-moto   ka-mala-ø=se=ra
3SG-motorboat   3SG-go.SG-3=SE=NB.M

He said he'd bring his motorboat.

A

(20) Mototish nij witabëla

moto=ti=jsha   nish wita-ø=bëla
motorboat=DS=ABL   NEG   arrive.SG-3=CNT

Even his motorboat still hasn't arrived.

F

(21) Amashku yupashta nayri? Ajamionetay?

ama-shku   yupa-shta-ø   naa=y=ri   a-kamioneta=y
WH-ADV.CMP   go.in.SG-FUT-3   DEM=LOC=EXPR.M   3SG.P-airplane=LOC

How is he ever going to enter there? In his airplane?

B

(22) Amashku *inaud*

How…

F
(23) Nachi tibanna nijnu, nakkashse.

naa=chi ti-banna-ø nijnu naa-kka=jsha=se
DEM=DIR *1SG-lack-3* *sister* *DEM-MEA=ABL=SE*

Overthere I still have work to do, further on.

B
(24) Atchi banna tiwiwi?

ati=chi banna-ø ti-wiwi
DEM=DIR *lack-3* *1SG-boy*

Overthere is still work to do, my son?

F
(25) Yitanaja anchi.

yita-ø=naja ana=chi
good-3=DSC *DEM=DIR*

Over here it is good already.

A
(26) "Yita", antawchi.

yita-ø anu ta-ø=w=chi
good *like.this* *say-3=pl=ign*

They said it was good here.

F
(27) Amumuy limpiatunaja motolati.

a-mumuy limpia-tu=naja motor=la ati
3SG.P-all *clean-1PL.S=DSC* *motor=INS* *DEM*

We have cleaned all of that with the chainsaw.

A
(28) Anala. Diegosha an Diego asibchi

ana=la Diego=jsha an Diego a-sibbë=chi
dem=ins Diego=abl dem Diego 3sg.p-house=dir

Here. From Diego's, at Diego's house.

F

(29) Atchi, nachi banna ati.

ati=chi naa=chi   banna-ø ati
DEM=DIR DEM=DIR   lack-3   DEM

There is still work to be done overthere.

A

(30) Atchi banna, na pucha limassëwsha antawchi.

ati=chi   banna-ø   na   pucha   li-ma-tësë-ø=w=jsha   anu   ta-ø=w=chi
DEM-DIR   lack-3   dem   bibosi   del-3pl-stand-3=pl=abl   like.this   say-3=pl

There, from where the bibosi trees are, there is still work to do, so they told me.

(31) Yitanaja piashamuchi sibëtëshamachi?

yita-ø=naja   piasha-muju=chi   sibbë-të-shama=chi
good=DSC   chuchio-GRP=DIR   house-MID-PST=DIR

Where the bunch of chuchio trees are, at the ruins of the house, is that done?

F

(32) Yitala. Pëp Tetes aitta ajukkulëtëchi asibëtëshamachi.

yita-ø=la   pëpë   Tetes   a-itta   a-kukkulë-të=chi
good-3=VAL   grandfather Tetes   3SG.P-thing   3SG.P-chaco-MID=DIR

a-sibë-të-shama=chi
3SG.P-house-MID-PST=DIR

It is fine. At grandfather Tetes' old chaco, at his former house.

A

(33)   An Diegochi ottoniti, atchi bannati.

Ana   diego=chi otto-ni-ø=ti   ati=chi   banna-ø=ti
DEM   Diego=DIR go.out-INTL-3=DS   DEM=DIR   lack-3=DS

There'still work there, where [the road] should come out at Diego's.

(34) Lipebbaliw lati kummëw warajwarajwa chama laij ati püü.

li-peta-bali-ø=w   l-ati   kummë=w waraj~waraj~wa   chama   lacha
DEL-lie.PL-GO.PL-3=PL REF-DEM   tree=PL   uneven~uneven~DST like.that   too
ati püü
DEM road

The trees are lying around there, and the road has many holes everywhere.

F

(35) Tampëlëchi nachi sawata ama nij latiji yaju

ta-n-pëlë-ø=chi   naa=chi sawata ama nish latiji   yaju-ø=w
1PL-IO-finish-3=IGN DEM=DIR work   WH   NEG subsequently say-3=PL

I think we have finished the work over there. They said so.

A

(36) Tampëlë?

We finished it?

F

(37) "Sawatashti së; matumbashti motola".

sawata-shta-y   sëë   ma-tumba-shta-y   moto=la
work-FUT-1SG.S   1SG.PRN 3PL-fell-FUT-1SG.S   motor=INS

"I am going to work I am going to fell them with the chainsaw" [he said][151].

(38) Bëchu kansawatantatu lëshpëni rampala, kan kandulatuja.

bë-chu   ka-n-sawata-nta-tu   lëshpëni rampala kani
ATT-like.that 3SG-IO-work-DES-1PL.S   first   ramp=ins not.yet

ka-n-dula-tu=ja
3SG-IO-do;make-1PL.S=SS

We wanted to work at the ramp first, before we did it for him.

A

(39) "Na motol mamatashti sëja", tuta.

na   moto=la   ma-mata-shta-y   së=ja   tu-ta-ø
dem   motor=ins   3PL-cut-FUT-1SG.S   1SG.PRN=EMPH   1PL.CO-say-3

He said that he was going to cut them down with his chainsaw.

F

(40) Ashtajti

achu   ta-jti-ø
like.that   say-HAB-3

That is what he said.

---

[151] This is said in a sarcastic, indignified tone.

A

(41) Shinam pëlëwcha ati kummëwri!

shinama pëlë-ø=w=jcha ati kummë=w=ri
before *end-3=PL=DPT* *DEM* *tree=PL=EXPR.M*

We would have finished the trees a long time ago.

(42) Mejor le ibamos a hacer que el moto.

We would do it better that the chainsaw!

(43) Ama lëttatu…tajacha kada turip turip mubalituchilari.

ama lëtta-tu ta-katcha ka-dayu turip turip
WH *one-1PL.S* *1PL-ax* *3SG-carry.on.back* *IDEO* *IDEO*

mu-bali-tu=chi=la=ri
3PL.CO-go.PL-1PL.S=IGN=VAL=EXPR.M

We are with more than one. With our axes on our backs, we would have felled those trees.

(44) Amakki kamalishta amotori?

ama-kka=y ka-mala-shta-ø a-moto=ri
WH-MEA=LOC *3SG-go.SG-FUT-3* *3SG.P-motor=EXPR.M*

When is he ever going to bring his motor?

(45) Kan lidulaj chamayabëla.

kani li-dula-ø chama-ø=ya=bëla
not.yet *DEL-do;make-3* *be.like.that-3=NVR=CNT*

He hasn't fixed it yet, like that he carries on.

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Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift geeft een overzicht van de basiskenmerken van de grammatica van het Yurakaré. Yurakaré is een Indianentaal gesproken door ongeveer 2500 mensen in een groot gebied in centraal Bolivia, aan de voet van de Andes. Het boek bestaat uit acht hoofdstukken, en is als volgt opgebouwd.

Hoofdstuk 1 'Introduction' geeft relevante geografische, demografische en historische achtergronden van de Yurakaré indianen. Vervolgens wordt op schetsmatige wijze de Yurakaré taal besproken: eerdere studies van de taal, mogelijke familietalen en een korte typologische schets. Het laatste deel van dit hoofdstuk is toegespitst op het huidige onderzoek. Hier wordt besproken hoe het veldonderzoek is verlopen, wat voor technieken er zijn gebruikt en wie de consultanten waren. Ook in dit deel een samenvatting van de belangrijkste mythologische teksten.

Hoofdstuk 2 behandelt de fonologie van de taal. In het eerste deel worden de betekenisonderscheidende klanken van de taal geïntroduceerd, waar nodig worden de klanken gecontrasteerd met andere klanken. Ook wordt in dit deel kort besproken wat er gebeurt met niet inheemse klanken die opgenomen worden in de taal. In het tweede gedeelte wordt beschreven hoe deze klanken worden gerepresenteerd in het orthografisch systeem. Syllabestructuur, fonologische processen en een beschrijving van het klemtoonsysteem sluiten het hoofdstuk af.

Hoofdstuk 3 is een introductie van de morfologie (woordvorming) van het Yurakaré. Hier vindt men een beschrijving van alle typen morfemen en woordvormingsprocessen van de taal (woorden, stammen, prefixen, suffixen, reduplicatie, samenstellingen, clitica en woordinterne veranderingen). Ook wordt hier beargumenteerd welke lexicale klassen worden onderscheiden en op basis waarvan. Het Yurakaré telt zeven woordklassen: naamwoorden, bijvoeglijke naamwoorden, werkwoorden, bijwoorden, ideofonen, interjecties en enclitische partikels.

In **hoofdstuk 4** wordt de interne structuur en de morfologie van de naamwoordfrase besproken. Eerst worden categorieën die relevant zijn voor de naamwoordfrase als geheel besproken, zoals getal en de markering van grammaticale relaties door middel van postposities. Vervolgens worden de twee woordsoorten die met name voorkomen binnen de naamwoordfrase afzonderlijk besproken. Eerst naamwoorden, met daarbij een beschrijving van de uitdrukking van bezit, derivationele morfologie en een subclassificatie van de naamwoorden, daarna volgt een bespreking van de bijvoeglijke naamwoorden die in twee subklassen worden verdeeld: kwalificerende en kwantificerende bijvoeglijke naamwoorden.

Hoofdstuk 5 richt zich op hoe participanten in een situatie of gebeurtenis worden gemarkeerd op het werkwoord voor de rol die ze in die situatie hebben. Er wordt uitgegaan van een basis markeringssysteem waarin het onderwerp en

het lijdend voorwerp op het werkwoord gemarkeerd worden; op basis hiervan wordt uitgelegd hoe deze basisstructuur van twee participanten kan worden uitgebreid met allerlei applicatieve constructies. In het tweede gedeelte wordt *voice* besproken: de *middle voice* en de causatief.

In **hoofdstuk 6** wordt verbale morfologie besproken: *tense*, *mood* en *aspect* alsmede derivationele morfologie die op het werkwoord gemarkeerd wordt. Ook is er in dit hoofdstuk een bespreking te vinden van de categorieën die nauw samenhangen met de werkwoordsfrase: adverbia en ideofonen, alsmede een bespreking van interjecties.

Hoofdstuk 7 geeft een beschrijving van allerlei verschillende enclitische partikels, waarvan de meeste gezien kunnen worden als modaal. Er zijn ook een aantal aspectuele markeerders bij. De focus in dit hoofdstuk ligt op een eerste benadering van deze partikels, waarbij veel aandacht is voor de context waarin ze voorkomen en de plaats binnen de zin die ze innemen.

In **hoofdstuk 8**, tenslotte, wordt de structuur van de zin besproken. Het eerste gedeelte behandelt de simplexe zin, met één predikaat en één tot drie argumenten. Besproken wordt *pro-drop*, de plaats van de argumenten en het werkwoord in de zin, pragmatische status van argumenten en soorten zinnen. Het tweede gedeelte richt zich op combinaties van twee of meer predikaten binnen een zin. Het behandelt de verschillende types van combinaties, waarbij uitgegaan wordt van een *switch-reference* systeem dat ten grondslag ligt aan veel adverbiale zinnen, relatieve zinnen en zinscomplementen. Tenslotte worden in dit hoofdstuk strategieën besproken die gebruikt worden om predicaten te combineren buiten het systeem van *switch-reference* om.

In de **appendix** zijn nog twee voorbeelden te vinden van gesproken tekst. Een mythologisch verhaal, *Ayma Shunñe* (Vuurman), dat integraal is opgenomen en een gedeelte van een conversatie tussen drie personen.

Curriculum Vitae

Rik van Gijn (Brunssum, Netherlands 01-03-1976) began studying Dutch Language and Literature at the University of Amsterdam in 1994. After receiving his propedeutics in 1995, he switched to General Linguistics, also at the University of Amsterdam. During his study he developed interest for Amerindian languages (he took courses in Quechua and Carib at Leiden University), theoretical linguistics (both functional and formal) and language contact. In line with this last interest he spent half a year at the University of Aarhus in Denmark where he took courses on mixed languages. His thesis, entitled *The syllable in mixed languages*, was largely a combination of his main fields of interest. After his studies he started working as a Ph.D. student at the Radboud University Nijmegen, then still called the University of Nijmegen, of which this book is the result. He worked for four and a half years on the description of Yurakaré, under the supervision of Pieter Muysken and Mily Crevels. He is currently working on the production of a dictionary Yurakaré-Spanish, Spanish-Yurakaré as well as a collection of Yurakaré myths. Both books are in co-authorship with Vincent Hirtzel.