A GRAMMAR OF KOKAMA-KOKAMILLA

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Doctor of Philosophy

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Title: A Grammar of Kokama-Kokamilla

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This dissertation is a comprehensive grammar of Kokama-Kokamilla (KK), as spoken by about 1000 elders in the Peruvian Amazon. It presents detailed documentation of the structures of the language and the functions they serve, with rich exemplification. This study is based on significant fieldwork since 1997, allowing the analysis to be grounded in text data.

One of KK's most salient typological features is a morphological distinction between male and female speech in several grammatical categories. Major grammatical categories like person, number, tense, and modality are conveyed by positionally fixed clitics. Five tense clitics encode three degrees of distance into the past and two into the future. There are also six epistemic modal clitics, which interact to create a four-way modal system. None of the twelve suffixes is obligatory, but, in language use, as many as four can occur together on a single verb, followed by up to two clitics.

Syntactically, KK has intransitive and transitive clauses, but semantically three-place predicates are syntactically encoded by means of transitive clauses. There are six directive constructions that distinguish degrees of pragmatic force. Another noteworthy

point is the multiple types of purpose clause which differ in terms of coreference, controlled by the matrix clause absolutive argument rather than the subject. Clause nominalization is a central subordination strategy, particularly in relativization, which is largely achieved via an absolutive nominalizer.

Pragmatically, KK has constructions that explicitly distinguish subtypes of focus according to scope (narrow/broad) and pragmatic information (contrastive/non-contrastive). This bears on theories about whether contrast simply emerges from conversational implicature, versus can be explicitly coded by dedicated grammar. Information structure also explains the distribution of alternating pronominal forms and constituent orders.

Though long classified as Tupí-Guaraní, recent research claims that KK is the product of a contact language situation and hence has a mixed grammar. Although this claim seems accurate, this study shows the possible Tupí-Guaraní origin of a number of grammatical morphemes. What languages (and families) contributed to the rest of the mix remains to be determined. Thus, this comprehensive description is an important step in advancing comparative studies among the languages of the region.

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To the *Kukama-Kukamiria* people.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This document aims to provide a comprehensive account of the grammar of Kokama-Kokamilla (henceforth, also KK), an Amazonian language spoken in Peru. The present chapter gives a general overview of this dissertation. It includes the motivations for this study (§1.1), the overall organization of the dissertation (§1.2), an introduction to the KK people (§1.3) and their language (§1.4). It also offers the typological profile of the language (§1.5) and the theoretical framework followed in this study (§1.6). This dissertation entails a significant fieldwork component. Each chapter of this dissertation is grounded essentially in text data, which are the outcomes of several projects I carried out with the KK since 1997.The methodology employed to gather the data used throughout the dissertation is explained in detail in Chapter II.

1.1. Why study Kokama-Kokamilla?

There are several reasons to study and document KK, also referred as Cocama-Cocamilla (Spanish), and Kukama-Kukamiria (indigenous orthography). First, the language is highly endangered. At present, the only people who know and speak it are

mostly older than 60 years. With Spanish being the language of communication for the vast majority of the population, the natural process of language transmission has been interrupted. Although there are some ongoing language revitalization efforts, clear results in terms of learning the language are not yet noticeable. Thus, describing KK allows us to link the scholarly goals of academic linguistics with the need of the community, so that it can contribute to the revitalization of the language. This reference grammar may constitute a valuable resource for the development of pedagogical grammars and classroom materials, as well as for training bilingual teachers in KK and Spanish. The grammatical description offered here is based on uniquely reliable text data which, per se, constitutes a repository of traditional knowledge.

Second, comprehensive and modern linguistic description covering different aspects of KK is sparse. This, of course, is not only true for KK. Amazonia is both among the most linguistically and culturally diverse areas of the world and among the least understood. For years, scholars have been lamenting both the lack of detailed linguistic work on and the precarious condition of most Amazonian languages (Derbyshire & Pullum, 1998, Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999, Moore 2007, D. Payne ed. 1990). Looking at Peru more specifically, this country displays great cultural diversity with about 39 spoken languages, but less than ten of them have been described deeply enough to represent these languages when testing hypotheses that make cross-linguistic predictions. What makes even more urgent the study of the languages of this region is that of the 400 or so languages spoken in South America, Kaufman (1990) estimates that most will be dead in 50 years. This is likely to be the case of KK.

Third, the genetic classification of KK, together with Omagua, its closest relative, is questionable. Kokama-Kokamilla and Omagua had been traditionally classified as part of the Tupi-Guarani family (Adam 1896, McQuown 1955, Loutkotka 1968, Lemle 1971, Rodrigues 1958, 1985); however, later research (Cabral 1995) claims that KK and Omagua are creole languages; hence they cannot be genetically classified. At this point, it is important to clarify two things. First, Cabral's hypotheses are based mainly in the variety of Kokama spoken in Brazil by a very few elders. In Peru it is still possible to find speakers, both of Kokama and Kokamilla, who have the full range of fluency and are capable of distinguishing finer subtleties and nuances in the language. Second, there is a consensus among anthropologists and historians alike that the Kokama-Kokamilla and Omaguas living in Peru are descendent from the Tupí ethnic group. As been pointed out by Lathtrap 1970, Chaumeil 1981, Rivas 2000, among many others, the migration of Tupí groups from Eastern Brazil towards the Western Amazon, centuries prior to the arrival of Spanish explorers, is clearly reported in early chronicles. Thus, this grammatical description will allow a comparison between the patterns found in the Kokama community of Brazil and the somewhat more robust communities of speakers in Peru. It may also constitute the basis for further research on Omagua. By doing so, it will ultimately contribute to have a better picture of the linguistic ecology in this area of the Amazon, and to shed some light in the history behind these groups.

All in all, my research on the Kokama-Kokamilla language adds a wealth of primary data to inform our current knowledge of areal-typological features, as well as

our understanding of discourse-pragmatic issues. It will also offer a new corpus of data and analysis to test our hypotheses regarding how language develops and changes in socio-historical contexts of language contact and language shift. Although the analysis provided in this document is essentially qualitative, some mentions of the frequency with which a given construction or a phenomenon occurs in the data are given at relevant points. However, no statistical significance is claimed in these cases.

1.2. Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation consists of 12 chapters. The remainder of this chapter offers an overview of the KK people and their language, etc. It also describes previous works on KK as well as the theoretical framework for this study. Chapter II describes the efforts to document the language, which is the larger project that constitutes the basis for this dissertation. Chapter III is devoted to the phonology of the language. Chapter IV points out some morphological distinctions relevant for the discussion in the following chapters. Chapter V deals with Nouns, Noun Phrases, and the categories that occur within noun phrases. Chapter VI describes postpositional phrases and adverbial elements that contribute with circumstantial information to the clause. Chapter VII discusses verbs, verb phrases and auxiliary verb constructions. While Chapter VIII is dedicated to simple clauses and sentence types, Chapter IX treats simple verbal clauses. Chapter X described multiclause constructions, including complement clauses, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and paratactic constructions. Chapter XI presents topics regarding the grammar-discourse interface. Finally, Chapter XII offers a summary of

the major findings of this study in the form of conclusions. The abbreviations used in this document are listed in Appendix A.

1.3. The Kokama-Kokamilla People

1.3.1. About the origins of the words Kokama and Kokamilla

When the KKs are asked about their origins, there is a high chance they will tell you a traditional story. What follows are portions of a story told by Victor Yuyarima Chota (65 year old at the time of the recording), which contain an explanation of the origins of the KK. Victor is a well known shaman and very knowledgeable about the traditional practices of the KK (see the complete version with glosses in Appendix C).

Ɨmɨna niapapa ukua upimaka. Ra purara ikian tsukuri waynauri, yapararinan wepe, wepe ɨpatsu tsɨmara. Umipupenan ra mɨmɨrata. Ikiaka tichari wepe tataɨrautsu, na. Ay, uri warikan ɨwati. Ra taɨra uwari, tsukuri, tsukurikɨra. Uri, ay ruwaripuka, ra uwata amutse ra utsu. Raepe ra yawachima wepe ɨpatsukuara, era kukunapura tururukanan… Raepe ra yutin ra yakuarara ramama. Maniataka tikua tamamamia. Makatakura. Amutsetaka tuwata. Tsenutaka ta tsapuki rapuka ramia na rikuaka riya. Aytsemeka ra ipamata ryakɨra yapararitupatsui. Ya tsapuki wiiii, na ra eretse. Tɨma mari katupe. Ya ra tapiara wiuta. Maniamaniakan tsukuri uri, amutsewetutsu. Ene tɨma tamama, ya rutsu. Rama urika. Riay ene tɨma ta tsapukiuy, ta mama ta tsapuki. Awɨrɨ tsukurikana uritsuri rakakura; tɨma ra tseta ikuakaka rana. Raepetsui ra mama tapiaratsui katupiuri. Etse namama, ikian ramama kumitsa. Mariariray ene ajanka. Mariraray na tsapukitsuy, na ra kumitsa. Ta

Long time ago, our father used to be everywhere. He came across with this woman-boa who was lying down at the lake shore. Only with a look, he makes her pregnant. Here I'm gonna leave a son, he says. Next he goes above. Then his son is born, the little boa. After he is born, he goes far away. He arrives to a lake with shores full of good-ripen *cocona (Solanum sessiliflorum)*… Once there, he remembers his mother. How would I be able to recognize my mother? Where might she be. Far away she must be. Maybe she would listen if I call her, that's what he thinks. For real, he raises his head from his lying. He calls "wiii"; he does it loud. Nothing shows up. He keeps on whistling for a while. Then all kinds of boas come closer. You are not my mother (says). So she goes. Another comes. I haven't called you either, I call my mother… Quite a few boas come to him, but he doesn't recognize them. After some time, his mother shows up. I am your mother, his mother says. Why are

ikuatsenene, rikua ta tsapukinuy.Ay eray papisha, ene t#mapuray tsukuriutsu. Ene napapaya utsu. Napapa ikuapura na ikuautsu. T#mapuray na utsu ajan ɨpatsukuara, riaura na ra kumitsa. Tsakumitsara napapapuka, ene ajan, katupiutsu awara. T#mapuray na utsu tsukuri; natsenuay? Tatsenura, na kumitsa. Ɨiss, ikiakatika ay awaura. Ene yay utsu na umipupenan, na errata upi awautsu. Ria na kak#r#utsu. Raepetsui, na utsu napapa kakura; na tsukuri wayna kumitsa. Upinan ay ruwaka awara. Raepe ra kumitsa: Yawa utsu ene uwata tuyukari ritamanu chitay na ukua. Tsukuri wayna upuri, makataka ra utsu... Aytsemeka ra uwata, rayawachimutsu wepe ritamaka. Aytsemeka yuka ritamaka upi awakana chikariura ra umipupenan ra eratatsen rana. Aykuankana, ria ryaukiura. Rama ritamaka ria, rama ritamaka ria... Ay ra kunumi. Rapurara wepe wayna, uri riay ram#m#rata umipupenan. Raepetsui ikia #k#ratsenk#ra ay uwari. Ra uwari wepe napitsarak#ra… Ikian wayna yaparachita ram#m#rak#ra: ta uwaritsuriay, ta uwakatsuriay awara ikian kukuna ɨpatsuka. T#mapura ta chirarutsu tsukuri, ta chirarutsu kukama. Raepetsui, kukamakana katupe ikian ɨpatsu ts#maran kukunakanatsui, ikian tsukurik#ratsui, rikua ra chirara ikian kukama. Raepetsui ikian wayna yaparachita ra m#m#rak#ra: kukamak#ra, kukamak#ra. Uriaka ra kumitsa, ra kumitsa tsupara. Ra kumitsa: kukamiriak#ra, kukamiriak#ra. Rikua Kukamiria riay emete…

you here? Why did you call me? She says. To know you, that's why I called you. It's OK, son, you will no longer be a boa. You will be like your father. You will get your father's wisdom. You are not going back to the lake, this is what she says. When I call your father, you will turn into a person. You will no longer be a boa; do you hear? I hear, he says. And he becomes a person. You too, with only a look you will cure all the people, will make women pregnant. Like this you will live, and only after that you will go to your father's side; that is what the woman-boa says. And then all (boas) turn into people. Next, she says: Go around the earth, visit all the villages. Then the woman-boa leaves. For real he goes and arrives to a village. In that village, everyone looks for him to cure them with only a look. So he cures the sick people. In another village, the same; in another village, the same… By then he's a young man. He finds a woman; he too makes her pregnant with only a look. And then, this kid is born, a boy… This woman makes her son dance saying: I was transformed into a person here in the cocona lake. I won't be called boa, I'll be called Kukama. And then from a little boa, the kukamas appear at this lake shore of coconas. That's why it's called Kukama. Later, this woman keeps making her son dance saying: little kukama, little kukama. She repeats it so many times that she gets confused and says: little kukamiria, little kukamiria. And that's how the Kukamiria came to exist too…

Before we advance the discussion, a clarification about some alternative terms for these ethnic groups is in order. In the ethnographic and linguistic literature produced

in Spanish, *cocama* corresponds to Kokama, and *cocamilla* to Kokamilla. Since 2000 the Amazonian indigenous people of Peru organized under the *Asociación Indígena de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana* —AIDESEP— have decided to use the terms with which they call themselves, and write them using the alphabets of their languages. As a result, the Kokama and Kokamilla have adopted the terms *Kukama* and *Kukamiria*, respectively. Basically, what they have done is adapt the long-used terms.

Due to the absence of historical records, clear etymologies for these words cannot be established. Despite this fact, a few hypotheses have been proposed. Espinosa (1935), who certainly knows the structure of the language, puts forward two possible etymologies for Kokama. The first hypothesizes that Kokama might come from *gwiká-m+awa* strength-of people which could be interpreted as 'people of strength'. His second suggestion is that Kokama might come from *kuika-m+wa* there-of+people, that is, 'people from over there' (1935:13). As for Kokamilla, Espinosa posits that it may come from *kokama+ia* Kokama+heart, interpreted as 'Kokama at heart' or 'legitimate Kokama.' Espinosa's second hypothesis for Kokamilla is that it might consist of *koka+miri+ia* koka(ma)+small.tiny.slim+heart or 'small (group of) Kokama' (Espinosa 1935:14). Finally, for the term Omagua, Espinosa suggets *umi+awa* see+people, 'people who stay alert.'

An additional suggestion can be found in FORMABIAP (2003). It has been proposed that Kokama may consist of *ku+kama* farm+breast, with the methaphorical interpretation of '(people) nursed by the farm.' In the same vein, for Kokamilla it is proposed *ku+kama+miri+ia* farm+breast+tiny+heart 'small field.' Three things need to

be pointed out here. First, these hypotheses seem to depart from the recently rephonologized forms Kukama and Kukamiria. Second, the terms Kokama and Kokamilla have been in use for more than five centuries, which means we should not expect such transparent etymologies. Third, following the structure of the language, a sequence of two nouns is automatically interpreted as [Npossessor Npossessed]. For instance, *ku+kama* field+breast would be interpreted as 'breast of the field,' which seems unlikely for some of my consultants.

It should be pointed that early chronicles make reference to the groups Kokama, Kokamilla, and Omagua on their own. The first explicit reference to *Omagua (i.e., Omawa, Homagua)* dates from 1542 by the explorer Gaspar de Carvajal. Describing Francisco Orellana's expedition, he talks about the existence of areas under the authority of chiefs, such as the land of *Aparia Menor*, *Machiparo*, *Coca*, *Paguana*, *Omaga/Omagua, Aparia Mayor* (Carvajal 1942:26-37).

As for *Cocama*, the first mention is found in Santiago de Loyola's account of his exploratory journey to the Ucayali River in 1557. He details that the *Cocama* people were settled along the lower Ucayali River. Interestingly, it is known that the explorers gave the Ucayali River several names, among them *Coca* and *Cocama*:

> *"Por los años de 1578 en que Diego de Aguilar y de Córdoba, gobernador de Huánuco y autor de la Soledad Entretenida, escribía su libro titulado El Marañón […] dichas noticias no habían cambiado de carácter, de origen ni de rumbo. Describiendo el río de* ***Cocama o Ucayali****, en el cap. 8.0 del ms. original, "su verdadero nacimiento —dice (equivocándose)— es en la misma provincial de Guánuco (verdadera madre de este famosísimo río…"* [Around 1578, when Diego de Aguilar y de Córdoba, governor of Huanuco and author of Solitude Entertained, wrote his book El Marañon […] the news didn't change with respect to

> its origin. Describing the **Cocama** or Ucayali River, in Chapter 8.0 of the original manuscript he says mistakenly "its true origin is in the Province of Guánuco (the true mother of this famous river)"] (Jiménez de la Espada 1965:172, fn. 1).

Salinas de Loyola also mentions the following:

> "*Navegué por el río [Santiago de las Montañas], que le puse de Sant Miguel, por haber llegado a él el propio día [29 de setiembre de 1557] trecientas leguas río arriba…*" [I travelled along the river [Santiago de las Montañas] that I named Sant Miguel, for having arrived there on its own day, three hundred leagues up the river] (Jiménez de la Espada 1965:202).

Commenting on this portion of Salina de Loyola's account, Jiménez de la Espada writes:

> *"Nombre [río Sant Miguel] olvidado de todos los geógrafos, y sustituido en diferentes tiempos por los de* ***Ucayali,*** *Ucayare, Paro, Apu-Paro,* ***Cocama*** *y río del Cuzco. Nadie puede disputar a Salinas su descubrimiento desde su entrada en el Marañón hasta las espaldas del Cuzco…"* [Name forgotten by all the geographers and substituted at different times by Ucayali, Ucayare, Apu-Paro, **Cocama**, and River of Cuzco. Nobody could dispute Salinas'discovery from his entry to the Marañón up to the back of Cuzco…] (Jiménez de la Espada 1965:202, fn. 1).

Putting together all these records, we could hypothesize that perhaps *Cocama* originated from one of the names given to the Ucayali River, and from there it was extended to the people living in that region. Further, one could also posit that *Cocama* comes from *coca* + *awa* coca + people or 'the people of the Coca River.' Nevertheless, as Espinosa (1935:14) stresses, "all of these are not more than suppositions among many others [my translation]." (More on the history of this people is given in §1.3.8).

1.3.2. Location

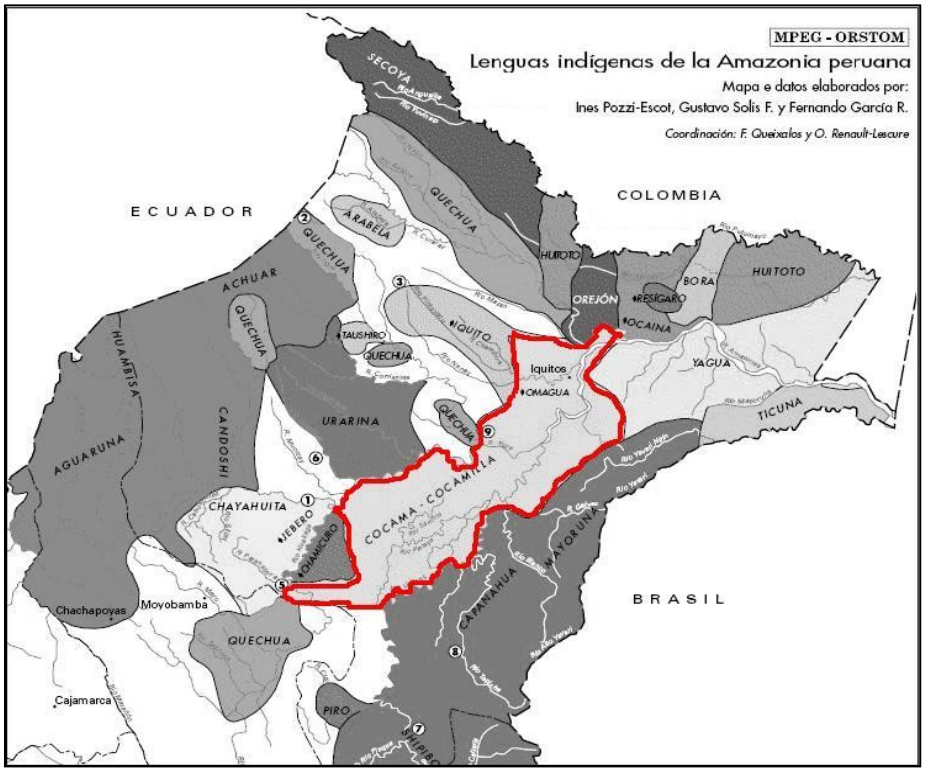
The KK people live in the Peruvian Amazon, approximately between 3˚ to 5˚ south latitude, and 73˚ to 76˚ west longitude. KK communities are located along the Huallaga, Marañon, Ucayali, Amazon, Nanay, and Itaya rivers and its main tributaries (See Map 1.1.).

Map 1.1: Location of the KK communities within Peru.

The estimated 120 KK villages are located in the Peruvian department of Loreto, specifically in the provinces of Maynas, Alto Amazonas, Requena, Maquia and Ucayali. A considerable number of KK reside now in cities within Loreto, such as Iquitos, Pucallpa,Yurimaguas, Lagunas, Nauta, Requena, and midesize towns like Tamishacu, Mazán, among others. During the boom of the rubber era, towards the end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century, small groups of Kokama migrated to Colombia and Brazil (FORMABIAP 2003). In Colombia, an estimated 250 KKs are located on the Island of Ronda; in Brazil about 50 families live in the Solimões region.

The neighboring indigenous groups are the Orejon and Yagua to the northeast, the Iquito, Kichwa, and Urarina to the northwest, the Chamicuro and Jebero to the southwest, and the Shipibo, Capanahua and Mayoruna to the southeast. This is shown in Map 1.2.

Map 1.2: The KK and their indigenous neighbors



1.3.3. Demography

In general, there is little agreement on the number of Indigenous Amazonians in Peru, which is in turn visible in the different population estimates for the Kokama-Kokamilla people. For instance, while the total figure of indigenous people reported by the National Institute of Statistics and Information from the penultimate Census (1993) is 239,674, the estimacion of the Native Communities Information System (SICNA) is well over 300,000. Unfortunatly, in the last Peruvian National Census (2007), no explicit question regarding ethnicity was included.

As for the KK, there are additional challenges to accurately calculating their population. First, speaking an indigenous language has been for years the defining factor to determine whether someone is indigenous or not, and the majority of KK no longer speak their heritage language. Second, being indigenous in Peru is being part of a stigmatized group, which generates unfavorable conditions for someone to self-identity as one. Third, a significant number of KK have migrated from their villages to neighboring towns and cities where they have mimetized with the locals. For all these reasons, there is a consensus among indigenous organizations and social researchers alike that the results from the official census underestimate the KK population. As a consequence, through the last four decades the estimated figures have varied significantly. Uriarte (1976) estimates 28,000; Chirif and Mora (1977) talk about 19,000, Stocks (1981) calculates 25,000, and the results from the penultimate Peruvian National Census (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática*, INEI, 1993) is 10,705.

If we put together the data provided by indigenous organizations themselves and by institutions working directly with Peruvian indigenous people, such as the *Programa de Formacion de Maestros Bilingües de la Amazonía Peruana* (FORMABIAP), and the *Instituto del Bien Comun* (IBC)[1], the number of KKs living in 120 small villages is about 20,000. (See Appendix 1: KK communities and their correspondent number of inhabitants.) Perhaps the most reasonable calculation for today's total KK population would be between 20,000 and 25,000, including people who no longer speak the language.

1.3.4. Environment

Most of the KK people inhabit the Amazonia landscape known as varzea, i.e., land subject to annual flooding. The Amazonian floodplain, one of the biggest tropical systems in the world, is perhaps the most productive environment in the region. Because of its fertile soil, dense concentrations of fish, and its natural accessibility, the varzea plays a key role in the economy of the Peruvian Amazon. Although a number of KK villages are located in interfluvial ecosystems, the vast majority of them are settled in the varzea (Stocks 1981), along white-water rivers and lakes whose altitude ranges between 200 to 700 feet above sea level. These rivers are the upper Amazon, lower Huallaga, lower Ucayali, lower Marañon and their main tributaries, such as Nanay, Itaya, Pacaya and Samiria.

In this area, two main seasons can be distinguished: the relatively dry season — or *tuyuka ikanan* 'dry land'— which roughly occurs from May to October, and the rainy

[1] FORMABIAP: www.formabiap.org, IBC: www.ibcperu.org/index.php?lg=EN&slt_rb=1047

season —or *uni nuan* 'high water'— from November to April. The height of the rainy season occurs towards the end of March; by then almost 90% of the KK communities are flooded by water (Meggers 1971, FORMABIAP 2003). During the dry season, canoe travel is difficult, but fishing is easiest since fish populations are concentrated. In contrast, in the rainy season agriculture is favorable.

In 1982, a significant portion (about 8042 square miles) of the ancestral KK territory was declared the Pacaya-Samiria National Reserve. The Reserve is well known for its more than 85 lakes and exuberant vegetation, and for its great diversity of wildlife as well as aquatic life: 330 bird species, 130 mammals, 256 fish, 1204 plants and a still unknown number of reptiles and amphibians. Threatened or endangered species that can be found in the Reserve are the jaguar (*Felix oca*), the black alligator (*Melanosuchus niger*), the giant river otter (*Pteronura brasiliensis*), the manatee (*Trichechus inunquis*), four different species of primate and two different species of turtle (*Instituto National de Recursos Naturales*—INRENA, 2006). One can also find a great diversity of medicine plants and trees, such as the lupuna —measuring up to 160 feet tall with a diameter of 10 feet— and, in certain areas, it is still possible to come across rubber trees which preserve the marks of the famous rubber exploitation. The downside is that circa 94 communities, about half of which are KK, ended up living within the Reserve under special legislation, which adds further pressures to their approach to natural resources, and ultimately on their way of life.

One of the external threats to the environment of the Kokama-Kokamillas is the development of petroleum reserves within their territories. Since 2003, the Peruvian

government has granted international oil companies access to indigenous ancestral lands throughout almost the entire Peruvian Amazon. As a consequence, there has been an invasion of traditional homelands and contamination of their environment. The KKs are very aware of cases of toxic wastewaters dumped into local rivers with terrible consequences for local communities. This had devastating consequences for indigenous groups who depend on fishing, hunting and forest products—e.g., the Kandoshi-Shapra that went through endemic hepatitis and entire communities almost vanished. As for the Kokamas, a study conducted by the Institute of Research of the Peruvian Amazon (*Instituto de Investigaciones de la Amazonía Peruana, IIAP*) found pollution caused by Occidental Petroleum Company in the oil block of the Pacaya Samiria National Reserve (IIAP, 1985). More recently, they experienced contamination from an oil spill when in October 2000 the Pluspetrol Company spilled 5500 barrels of crude into the Marañon River, a tributary of the Amazon. This is why indigenous organizations, the KK among them, are now challenging oil and gas development projects imposed on their communities and territories without their prior consent and in violation of their internationally recognized rights to defend their lands. In 1991, for instance, indigenous organizations blocked oil activities within the Pacaya Samiria National Reserve. The Peruvian government was ready to offer oil block 61 to exploitation by Texas Crude Exploration Inc. The problem was that part of this block overlapped with the Pacaya Samiria National Reserve. After pressure was exercised by environmental and indigenous organizations, Texas Crude Exploration Inc. decided not to pursue the exploitation.

Yet another threat to their environment is the tremendous pressure to sacrifice their resources for immediate consumption. This is the case, for instance, with the extraction of economically valuable tree species, such as mahogany and ceder. Even if the communities decide to protect their resources, illegal logging of mahogany and other wood species has intensified in the area. Although there are laws to protect the resources, there is a huge gap between law and practice. If this path continues, both the subsistence and the cultural identity of future generations are at risk.

1.3.5. Subsistence strategies

KK communities are largely self-sufficient in their agriculture and livestock provision. Their settlement has typically been based on a strategy of multiple resource use. Their main economic activities are centered on fishing, agriculture, gathering and hunting. But, of all, fishing is definitely the most important activity to satisfy their needs for both subsistence and market goods. Because of their sophisticated knowledge of the aquatic life and their fishing and water-hunting techniques, they have been traditionally considered the great fishermen of the Amazon (Rivas 2000).

Even though it is true that fish are still widely available as a food resource for most of the KK people, it is also true that, because of overfishing and habitat destruction, fish populations have substantially declined in the last decades. The KKs have been traditionally dependent on fishing for subsistence, and, later, on small-scale commercial fishing for income needs. Fish are used year round, and, to account for changes in fish density resulting from changes in water volume, the KK adjust their fishing techniques based on their profound knowledge of the environment. However,

due to the intensification of small and large-scale commercial fisheries by outsiders, community members are concerned about the decline of fish catches in the vicinities of the communities. To respond to this situation, several villages have started to implement community-based management systems, including attempts to close local lakes and exclude fishermen from outside the community. Beyond the resulting conflicts among community members, outsiders and guards, the impact of these efforts are still to be evaluated.

The second activity in importance is agriculture. The KKs practice two types of agriculture, depending on the type of ecosystem: varzea or interfluvial. The varzeas are especially appreciated because their soil is annually enriched with nutrients carried down from the Andes. In interfluvial ecosystems they work rotational horticulture of slash and burn, whereas in varzeas, they practice seasonal farming. In the banks of the rivers (*playas*), they cultivate seasonal crops, such as rice and kidney beans (*chiclayo*). In the *bajiales* —areas subject to annual flooding— they farm maize, peanuts, and yucca; and in the *restingas* —areas not subject to annual flodding— they cultivate plaintains, banana, yucca, wild potato (*sachapapa*), pineapple, sugarcane, papaya, etc. (FORMABIAP, 2003).

Other subsistence strategies are hunting and gathering, but they acquire more significance in those villages located closer to primary forest, which ultimately means higher along the tributaries. Nowadays, because of the general decline of animal species, the KK have to go two to three days away from the villages to pursue hunting.

In some areas, hunting is carried out mostly for special celebrations, such as the anniversary of a community, and eventually involves big crews of hunters.

1.3.6. Social and cultural features

Early chronicles characterize KK villages as very populous, with around 200 to 300 houses located at the riverbanks. In the past, the basic social unit was the extended family, and their marital residence was patrilocal (Stocks 1981:44) and exogamous (Aguero 1992:19). Nowadays, houses are relatively small and inhabited by one or two nuclear families. Villages are largely formed by related nuclear families, and within villages there is a tendency for adjacent areas to be occupied by close relatives; that is, with the same family name.

Despite the fact that the KK people have been interacting with non-indigenous groups for a long time, their cultural practices and their way of life are still traditional in many respects. The older generations, particularly, preserve vast knowledge of the forest and the aquatic environment, which allows them to survive in this area of the jungle that is flooded with water almost half of the year. However, younger generations have been gradually abandoning some traditional practices, such as certain agricultural and fishing techniques and traditional medicine, among other things.

A prominent aspect of the life in small KK villages is the bond of social reciprocity that had permitted this society to project itself until today. For instance, a common practice is the *minga,* 'cooperative work.' Community members work together in order to support one another in the construction of a house, in the preparation of a

new farm, during harvest, etc. Another instance of their cohesion is the reciprocal sharing of goods, specially fish, crops, meat, etc.

As for material culture, the KK women weave various types of baskets, fans, sieves, brooms, bags, etc. with vines (tamshi, *Heteropsis jenmanii*) and palm trees. With less frequency, some women work pottery from clay mixed with ashes of a tree called *apacharama* (*Licania* sp.); these are decorated with designs using natural colors made out of plants. Out of wood, and following traditional techniques, men make canoes, pestles for rice, etc.

Perhaps one of the most salient characteristics of the indigenous Amazonians is their view that nature is inclusive; that is, human beings are merely a part of the greater whole, along with plants, animals, and spiritual beings. This intimate relationship with their surrounding physical environment has become an integral part of their culture. The KKs share the belief that their well being —as individuals as well as a collective— depends on the maintenance of a harmonious relationship between the visible world and the invisible world. Within this view, each plant, animal, lake, etc. has its owner (mother or guardian spirit) from whom one must ask permission before anything can be taken. This worldview and lifestyle, evidently, clash with the predominant view in Western society, where nature is a resource that humans have an unquestioned right to exploit without regard for consequences; "wilderness" is seen as something to be conquered and transformed, rather than cherished and respected.

Shamanism is especially significant among the KKs. Shamans —*tsumi* 'wiser'—play a key role in the life of the community. They perform ritual ceremonies

for everything from preventing overconsumption of natural resources to intimate curative events. Shamans can "advise, prescribe, encourage, point out dangers and make clear norms that prevent a man from making mistakes…" (FORMABIAP 2003:295). In other words, people seek the shaman when they are not able to solve a difficult situation by their own means. The major area of concern to seek the shaman's help is health. Among the KK, illnesses could be the expression of social misbehavior —i.e., when a person has not satisfied all the norms he is obligated to— or might be the result of evil —i.e., the ill person has been harmed by an enemy with the help from another shaman (FORMABIAP 2003).

As part of the curative rituals, shamans use hallucinogenics, such as ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis caapi*), tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*), toe (*Brugmansia suaveolens*), chuchuhuasi (*Maytenus macrocarpa*), and sanango *(Brunfalsia hopeana*). They perform *ikaros* —ritual, sacred songs— to communicate with their ancestors, spirits, divinities and other external forces. According to Victor Yuyarima (p.c.), a respected Kokamilla shaman, specific *ikaros* exist for particular purposes, such as to "cure" a person bitten by a snake, to make a newborn baby become a good hunter, to relieve a child from fright, or to make a new house endure, etc. Further, *ikaros* are also executed to thank the protector spirits for the well being of the community. Shamans learn the *ikaros* from their masters, and some may be chanted openly, whereas some others must be kept secret and the shaman only whistles while the words go through his/her mind. Possibly, *ikaros* are the deepest trait of spiritual bond among the KKs. It should be noted, though,

that shamanism and *ikaros* are at the core of other indigenous Amazonian cultures as well.

Nowadays, the KKs are inextricably intertwined with Peruvian national society. The location of KK villages along navigable rivers has facilitated the migration of a significant number of community members, especially youth, to big cities such as Iquitos, Yurimaguas, Nauta or Lagunas. Despite their wish to integrate into the mainstream culture, they are generally confined to the poverty belt of the cities, where they are looked upon with disdain. As a result, usually they end up ashamed of any trace of their ethnicity and they reject any association with their communities of origin.

1.3.7. Political organization

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, indigenous Amazonians from different areas of Peru started a movement to protect their land and natural resources from colonizers and extractivists. They adopted a strategy of organizing associations of local communities to gain government recognition. In 1974, Peru granted legal recognition for land rights to its indigenous peoples through the Native Communities Law. However, subsequent changes to this Law, such as that of 1978, eliminated property rights over forest lands, even those within a recognized native community (Smith et al. 2003). This originated a growing concern among indigenous people for the control of their territories, which ultimately prompted the emergence of indigenous organizations through the Peruvian Amazon.

In 1980, the Kokama-Kokamilla organized for the first time under the *Federación Cocama-Cocamilla,* FEDECOCA. The same year, a number of local and regional associations, including FEDECOCA, developed into the national confederation

Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana (AIDESEP). At present, AIDESEP represents about 350,000 people living in 1350 communities and who speak languages that belong to 16 linguistic families (www.aidesep.org). This social movement has pressured the state for collectively-titled indigenous territories, among other things. As a result, in the past three decades, over 1400 such territories have been titled and approximately 1200 native communities are in the titling process (Smith et al 2003).

Today, the Kokama-Kokamillas are organized, regionally, into five organizations:

- *Federación Cocama-Cocamilla*, FEDECOCA, which comprises about 66 communities distributed along the lower Huallaga River.
- *Asociación Indigena de Desarrollo y Conservación del Samiria*, AIDECOS, founded in 1992, includes about 15 communities along the Samiria River.
- *Asociación de Desarrollo y Conservación del Puinahua*, ADECOP, created in 1992, consists of about 10 communities.
- *Asociación Cocama de Desarrollo y Conservación de San Pablo de Tipishca*, ACODECOSPAT, founded in 2000. At present, this is perhaps the most active organization representing more than 38 communities and 8000 peoples living along the lower Marañon and Amazon rivers.

- *Coordinadora Autónoma de Pueblos Indígenas de la Cuenca del Nanay,* CAPICUNA, founded in 2001, comprises 9 communities of Boras, Huitotos and Kokamas.
- *Federación Kukama del Bajo Nanay,* FEKUBANA, founded in 2009, comprises 13 communities.

All these associations, except CAPICUNA, are members of the national confederation AIDESEP.[2]

1.3.8. A history of migration and contact

In their search for the "land without evil," the Tupí people engaged in a series of migratory waves from Central Amazon of Brazil towards the North, Northeast, and East of South American (Metraux1927, Chaumeil 1996). These migratory movements occurred over several centuries, from about IX to XVI. Archaeological evidence suggests that around 1200 A.D. Tupis from the Tupi-Guarani branch reached the lower and middle Ucayali (Lathrap, Gebhart-Sayer and Mester 1985). Between 1539 and 1549, a subsequent wave brought another Tupi-Guarani group from Pernambuco, in the Northest of Brazil up to Moyobamba and Chachapoyas, in the Northest of Peru (Expedicion de Pedro de Ursúa).[3]

[2] There are also *Federación de Comunidades Nativas del Río Nanay* (FECONARINA), *Federación Nativa Cocama del Ucayali* (FENACU), and *Organización Regional Indígena Cocama-Cocamilla* (ORICOCA); however, beyond this, information regarding its formation and the communities they represent was impossible to find.

[3] Pedro de Ursúa mentions the arrival of 300 indigenous Tupi to the city of Moyobamba (Northeast of Peru) in 1549. According to their testimonies, they came from Brazil travelling during 10 years in their search for *la tierra sin mal*.

According to Stocks (1981), the Kokamas arrived in the upper Amazon around 200 or 300 years prior to the arrival of Europeans explorers. This group of Tupi-Guarani, says Stocks, came to the Western Amazon looking for better sources of food, to escape from wars among Indians, for religious purposes, and, later, to escape from slavery imposed by Europeans. The current location of the Kokama-Kokamilla people is considered one of the best examples of the migratory tendency characterizing the Tupí-Guarani ethnodynamism.

The Spanish conquerors entered the Peruvian Amazon looking for *El Dorado*, the land of gold. In 1539, Alonso de Alvarado explored the Mayo River and founded the city of Moyobamba; in1542 Gonzalo Pizarro travelled throught the Napo River, and Francisco de Orellana continued through the Napo and Amazon Rivers to the Atlantic Ocean; in 1557, Juan Salinas de Loyola explored the Ucayali River; in 1560, Pedro de Ursúa went down through the Mayo, Huallaga, and Amazon Rivers; and, in 1567, Juan Alvarez Maldonado explored the area of Madre de Dios. Records from these expeditions reveal the existence of Tupi-Guarani groups extending from the lower Napo and Ucayali Rivers to the upper and mid Amazon River (i.e., the Solimões River).

The first mention of the *Omaguas* dates from 1542 by the explorer Gaspar de Carvajal,[4] who was part of Francisco de Orellana's expedition. The following passages show this:

> *"Cumplidos doce días de Mayo llegamos a las provincias de Machiparo, que es muy gran señor y de mucha gente y confina con otro señor tan*

[4] Carvajal's account had been edited by a number of authors. The first versions were published by Oviedo in1855 and by Medina in1895. It was translated into English by Lea and Heaton in1934. For this document I consulted Raúl Reyes y Reyes' version from 1942.

> *grande llamado **Omaga**, y son amigos que se juntan para dar Guerra a otros señores que están la tierra adentro…"* [By May 12 we arrived to the province of Machiparo, who is great lord and has many people, neighbor of another great lord called **Omaga**; they are friends who get together to make war on other lords who live deep (in the forest)] (Carvajal 1942:25-26)
>
> *"… salimos de la provincial de Machiparo y llegamos a otro no menor, que era el comencio de **Omaguci**…"* [We left Machiparo and arrived to another area which was the dominion of **Omaguci**…] (Carvajal 1942:34).
>
> "*… y en estas juntas [de los dos ríos] de uno y de otro lado había muchas y muy grandes poblaciones y muy linda tierra y muy fructífera: esto era ya en el señorío y tierra de **Omagua**, y por ser los pueblos tantos y tan grandes y haber tanta gente no quiso el capitan tomar puerto*…" […where these two rivers meet, there were many groups and beautiful and productive land at both sides: this was under the authority of **Omagua**; and because there were many villages and so many people, the captain did not want to attack the port…] (Carvajal, 1942:35).

As for the Kokamas, the first written record about them goes back to 1557, when the Spanish explorer Juan Salinas de Loyola encountered them travelling up the Ucayali River (Jiménez de La Espada 1965).

> *"...y más a delante de la dicha provincia di en otra muy menor que se dice **Cocama**. Tienen las poblaciones sobre las barracas de los ríos, muy bien formadas; la gente es de mucha policía así en los vestidos, porque son de algodón y muy primos con plumaje y joyas de oro y plata de que adornan a sus personas;los caciques que hay en cada pueblo son muy respetados de los naturales; comida de todo género en abundancia y frutas; pescados, muchos y muy buenos y diferentes; montería y caza, loza mejor y más prima y galana que hay en el mundo;la lengua es diferente pero con intérpretes me entendía con ellos. Salieron de muy*

> *buena paz y ziendo (así) todo buen hospedaje y lo mismo lo que duro la dicha provincia y lengua, que será hasta sesenta leguas, en el cual distancia hay muchos pueblos y lagunas pobladas naturales..."* […and after that province, I got to other much small named Cocama. The people is at the edges of the rivers, very well organized; the people is careful of their clothes, because they are out of cotton and beautiful feathers and jewelry of silver and gold that decorate their attire; the chiefs/lords of each town are well respected by the naturals; there is all kinds of food and fruits; fish, a lot and of many species; hunting, fine ceramic from the best of the world; the language is different but with interpreters I could communicate with them. They came out in peace and were welcoming during the time the trip that took place in this province and [where] this language [was spoken], about sixty leagues, distance within which there were many towns and lakes inhabited by naturals…" (Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, T IV: 201-202)

De la Espada states that the Kokamas were located at the lower Ucayali and upper Amazon Rivers. The communities he found each had about 200 to 400 houses along 300 km. of the rivers. From the chronicles, one knows that the Kokamas and Omaguas lived surrounded by several groups, such as the Pawanas, Parianas, Machiparu, Yurimawas, Benorinas, Ibanomas, Ikitos, Mayorunas, Chiberos, Panoan, Arawakan, among others. The expeditionaries also described a regular trade network among these groups.

Between the XVI and XX centuries, the Tupi-Guarani groups continued to migrate until they reached the areas where they live now. Near the end of the XVII century, the *Yurimaguas,* a now-extinct subgroup*,* moved up the Huallaga to the city of Yurimaguas which was established in 1689. The *Omaguas* who inhabited the mouth of the Napo River moved towards the Ucayali River up to what is now known as San

Joaquín de Omagua. The *Cocamas* migrated to the area formed by the Marañon and Ucayali Rivers, which is now the Pacaya-Samiria National Reserve. Stocks (1981) maintains that from 1635 to 1680 the Kokama arrived in the area of Requena in the upper Ucayali River, and from 1680 to 1820, a small group of Kokama migrated towards the Marañon and Upper Huallaga River, creating, in 1670, a town called Lagunas. This migration marks the origin of the Kokamilla subgroup. Later, a group of Kokamas from the Ucayali continued to migrate as far as the confluence with the Marañon, and in 1830 established the town called Nauta (Stocks 1981: 53-67).[5]

During the time of Jesuit missionary presence in the Alto Amazonas (1637-1768), it is said that Quechua and Kokama were the lingua francas in the area known as the Province of Maynas (Loreto, Peru) which included villages along the Ucayali, Huallaga, Pastaza, and Napo Rivers. In that period, indigenous populations were forced either to join the large farms or haciendas and live in slavery, to accept the reductionist system administered by the missionaries, or to move away from their homelands to escape the subjugation of the whites. The missionary villages or *reducciones* brought together different ethnic groups. It is said that in the *reducciones* of that region, the dominant language was Kokama because, in part, the Spanish missionary work started with the Kokama people, and the Kokama *reducciones* were the first created in the area. In 1768, the Jesuit missionaries were expelled from the area. By then, there were more than 40 *reducciones* with about 18,000 Indians living in the missionary villages. Later, around 1853, there were additional campaigns and projects for colonization of the

[5] According to Rivas (2000), the Kokamilla split from the Kokamas around 1619.

forest. At that time, the system of haciendas was re-established and the Kokama people were the main laborers.

Thus, the Kokama-Kokamillas have then a long history of contact and migration, but above all of resistance to dominance and oppression.

1.4. The Kokama-Kokamilla language

Despite the fact that the KK population is estimated at 20,000, the KK language is severely endangered. The history they have gone through explains this situation. Nowadays, the language is no longer transmitted to children, and in many cases, the surviving speakers have no-one with whom they can use the language on a daily basis. In what follows I describe the main dialectal differences between Kokama and Kokamilla (§1.4.1), the sociolinguistic situation found in the KK communities (§1.4.2), as well as their recent efforts to maintain their language (§1.4.3). Previous works on the language (§1.4.4), the typological profile of KK (§1.4.5), and its genetic affiliation (§1.4.6) are also discussed in this chapter.

1.4.1. The Kokama and the Kokamilla dialects

Based on linguistic and geographic criteria, the people identify themselves with two dialects: Kokamilla, which is spoken basically in the upper Huallaga River, and Kokama along the Marañon, Samiria, Ucayali, and Amazon Rivers. However, from a linguistic perspective, only a few phonetic and lexical differences have been found between these two dialects. Some of the most salient features are the following. In the Kokamilla dialect, there is a general tendency to pronounce the phoneme /r/ as a liquid [l], especially among women. For instance, /arara/ ‘macaw’ becomes [alala]. This is an

optional process, though. Another salient feature is that the augmentative morpheme in Kokama is -*tua*, while in Kokamilla it is -*tu*. Metathesis, the reversal of nearby sounds, has been also attested. For instance, while in Kokama 'bone' is *kanuara*, in Kokamilla is produced as *kuanara*; while in Kokama 'behind' is *tsakapɨrɨ,* in Kokamilla is *tsapakɨrɨ*. Table 1.1 below illustrates some of the attested differences. I have attempted to organize the examples according to certain patterns, but for many of them (see last group) the changes seem random.

Table 1.1: Some dialectal differences

KOKAMA	KOKAMILLA	GLOSS
[r]	*[l]*	
arara	*alala*	macaw
kanuara	*kuanara*	bone
kakuara	*kuakara*	empty
tsakapɨrɨ	*tsapakɨrɨ*	behind
tutumachiru	*tuntachiru**	pants
[ui, u]	*[i]*	
amui	*ami*	grandfather
chiuki	*chiwiki*	dig
ikukume	*ikikume*	frequently
uchima	*ichima*	leave
kamuka/kamika	*kamika*	mix using hand (*chapear*)
ranu/rana	*rana*	3PL (male speech)
[ua]	*[a]*	
ramua	*rama*	other (male speech)
yamua	*yama*	other (female speech)
[u]	*[a]*	
tsumukana	*tsumakana*	waist
yapurachi	*yaparachi*	dance
yumuyari	*yumayari*	help
yumutsani	*yumatsani*	get ready
[e]	*[i, ɨ]*	
wepe	*wipi /wepe*	one
enu/inu	*inu*	3PL (female speech)
remutsuma	*rimutsuma*	*responso* (day of death)
ɨtse	*ɨtsɨ*	fright
ɨrɨkari	*ɨrakari*	mosquito net
kuashi	*kuarachi*	sun

amatsika	*amaska*	can, be able
aytsemenan	*ukuatsemenan*	a lot
aytsewanan	*achuwanan*	a little bit
ɨkara	*ɨrrara*	canoe
sesa	*tsetsa/sesa*	flower
iwa	*yɨwa*	arm
uy	*uwi*	tapioca
puaɨkati	*puataɨra*	finger
chɨkɨri	*yachirita*	anus
chitsa	*tsitsa/chitsa*	face
tsenepa	*tsenepia*	knee
tsana	*tsawa*	reflection, trace
ratsɨ	*yatsɨ*	moon (/y/ >[r] is optional)

* From [*tumutachiru*]

As we might expect, some terms differ in interpretation between the two dialects; and some others are reported as non-existent in one of the dialects. Table 1.2 shows some examples.

Table 1.2: Differences in semantic interpretation

	KOKAMA	KOKAMILLA
ikuata	notify	teach
yumita	teach	give + CAU
ima	brother	mate, community member mate
irua	mate, community member	brother
ɨpama	get up/be standing	stop/get up/be standing
yapɨtu	stop	-----
chiri	-----	mud-like
aɨmanta	-----	jaguar
yawara	dog, jaguar	dog
uwi	fly	tapioca
teyupa	nest (for all kinds of animals)	place for pigs
tsupiachiru	-----	nest for chickens

It should be noted that speakers seem aware of the dialectal differences, and they are ready to point out "how" a specific word is pronounced by the other group if a difference exists. However, there are no problems of intelligibility at any level.

1.4.2. Sociolinguistic situation

As mentioned earlier, although the total ethnic population is approximately 20000, which could be considered an encouraging number, the Kokama-Kokamilla language is highly endangered. UNESCO[6] provides the following criteria for the assessment of language vitality and endangerment: intergenerational language transmission, absolute numbers of speakers, proportion of speakers within the total population, loss of existing language domains, response to new domains and media, materials for language education and literacy, governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, community members' attitudes towards their own language, and amount and quality of documentation. Based on these parameters, UNESCO suggests the following scale for determining the degree of endangerment.

Table 1.3: Scale of language endangerment according to UNESCO

DEGREE OF ENDAGEREMENT	GRADE	SPEAKER POPULATION
Safe	5	used by all ages, from children up
Unsafe	4	used by some children in all domains; or used by all children in limited domains
Definitely endangered	3	used mostly by parent generation and up
Severely endangered	2	used mostly by grandparent generation and up
Critically endangered	1	used by a few speakers of great-grandparent generation
Extinct	0	there exist no speakers

By all of these criteria, the KK language is severely to critically endangered (grade 1-2). First, children are no longer learning the language, as natural processes of language transmission have been interrupted. Second, only about 5% (an estimated of

[6] UNESCO, A methodology for assessing language vitality and endangerment http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00142

1000) of the total population speaks the language; the majority has already shifted to Spanish. Third, the remaining speakers are elderly people spread accross small villages. Fourth, the speakers use the language to speak amongst themselves, but only in very restricted situations, such as traditional events and intimate meetings. Fifth, there seems to be no motivation among the youth to learn the language and there is no regular use of the language in new domains, such as the media, except for some sporadic initiatives, such as campaigns in the radio. So far, very few materials for language education have been produced. There is a reading book for children and a guide for teachers to teach KK as a second language (FORMABIAP 1999, 2002), and a collection of language lessons (Faust 1972).

Several historical reasons could explain the current sociolinguistic situation found in the communities. As explained in §1.3.8, the Kokama-Kokamillas have a long history of contact with various linguistic groups, mestizo Spanish speakers being perhaps the most significant. The introduction of schools in 1926, with instruction only in Spanish, was one of the key factors for shifting to Spanish. Additional causes are the arrival of colonizers during the eras of the haciendas by 1853, the rubber extraction by 1885, and, more recently, the oil exploitation that started by 1970. The location of KK communities along navigable rivers with regular ship connections, plus their geographic proximity to big cities where Spanish is the dominant language, had intensified their contact with the "national society" by the second half of the 20th century. Finally, the low social prestige of Kokama-Kokamilla provides little motivation for younger people

to learn the language, since the only communicative situation for using it is to talk to elders. All these factors have led KK people stop learning their language.

1.4.3. Efforts to maintain the language

Although it is common to meet tribal members who are ashamed of their indigenous background, at the same time, when given the opportunity to talk about their origins and personal history, they lament the disappearance of their language and the decline of their culture. They seem to be aware that when cultural practice ceases, a great deal of culturally specific knowledge is lost with each generation. Like any group, they want a connection to their roots and their history. Since the early 1980s, the Kokama-Kokamillas have promoted language revitalization efforts, including annual meetings with the sole purpose of speaking their heritage language and developing local radio programs produced in Kokama-Kokamilla. These two activities have been developed with support from the *Centro de Capacitación Campesina de la Amazonía* (CENNCA), Vicariato Catholic Church-Nauta, Loreto. Another important initiative has been the training of bilingual elementary school teachers to teach Kokama-Kokamilla as a second language. This initiative has arisen from the community members themselves organized within the national indigenous association AIDESEP. At present, there are approximately 55 officially recognized bilingual elementary schools in the Kokama-Kokamilla territory.

Because of all these initiatives, during the last decades important progress among the KKs has been noticeable. The movement initiated by the indigenous organizations has spread the discourse of indigenous rights among the Amazonian

groups, the KKs being one of them. In many communities, being indigenous is no longer considered so shameful, and so it is less of a taboo topic. As result, there have been signs of higher self-esteem and self recognition of their KK identity.

However, despite the efforts being made by indigenous organizations, community members and academic institutions to maintain and revitalize KK, there are no clear results in terms of language learning in formal-school contexts. Among the problems for the success of learning the language through formal instructional methodologies are lack of appropriate school materials for teaching Kokama-Kokamilla as a second language, lack of a basic description of the language to enable development of such materials, and the continuing low motivation to learn the language.

Beyond the technical difficulties, perhaps one of the main issues is that the elementary school teachers themselves are second language learners. Although they exhibit a range of proficiency levels, the majority of them cannot be considered fluent speakers of KK (See §4.5). On the one hand, given the social pressures around KK young adults, the fact that many of them have gained some command of the language cannot be underestimated. On the other hand, children are not acquiring communicative skills because the teachers are not proficient enough to instruct beyond words and phrases. In some cases, what teachers know is a pidgin-like version of the language. This is, of course, an issue that would need further research in light of theories of both language attrition in bilingual speakers and language obsolescence in native speakers who no longer use the language on a daily basis. Some trends of structural changes have

become evident already, the grammatical differences between female and male speech being one of them.

All in all, it has become clear that any effort to revitalize the language must seek to increase the community engagement —e.g., include elders more effectively into the process— in order to shift the focus from formal settings to real language use outside the classroom.

1.4.4. Previous work on Kokama-Kokamilla

Modern linguistic description covering different aspects of the language is sparse. The earliest work is *Los Tupi del Oriente Peruano: Estudio Lingüístico y Etnográfico*, by the missionary Lucas Espinosa (1935). Besides presenting information concerning ethnology, Espinosa describes quite a few phonetic, phonological and grammatical aspects of the language, and provides word-lists for several semantic fields. The description by this missionary is clearly guided by the categories found in classical languages such as Latin and Greek. The same author published *Breve Diccionario Analítico Castellano-Tupí del Perú*, Sección Cocama, (Espinoza 1989), the only early lexicon available. This is a Spanish-Kokama dictionary in that the entries are in Spanish. Most of the entries include a translation equivalent in Kokama, semantic-cultural information, and examples that could be either phrases or idiomatic expressions.

Missionary Norma Faust published a few articles about the variety of Kokama spoken in Peru. In *Brief Cocama Vocabulary* (Faust 1959), she presents a small list of words with their English glosses. Also in 1959, she and Evelyn Pike published *The*

Cocama Sound System, a first description of the phonology. In *El lenguaje de los hombres y de las mujeres en cocama*, Faust (1963) explores very briefly the differences between masculine and feminine speech. In Faust (1972), she published a pedagogical grammar, *Gramática cocama: lecciones para el aprendizaje del idioma cocama*, addressed to a non-linguistic, Spanish-speaking audience wishing to acquire basic conversational skills. The lessons are organized into dialogues followed by grammatical description and exercises.

The first modern work on Kokama came in a doctoral dissertation by Ana S. Cabral (1995), *Contact Induced Language Change in the Western Amazon: The Non Genetic Origin of the Kokama Language*. In this document, the author presents a sketch grammar of the language, and compares it with Tupinamba, a Tupian language from the XVI century. Based on evidence that includes phonology and some aspects of morphology, syntax, and lexicon, she argues that Kokama is a creole language, since it exhibits features from Tupian and Arawakan languages as well as from Spanish and Portuguese. Results of my preliminary work on diachrony show that, in various respects, the varieties spoken in Peru are different from the variety described by Cabral. For instance, these varieties display a number of additional elements that could be hypothesized to have Tupian origin.

In addition to my MA Thesis, Basic Clauses in Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos 2004), the products from my own research are the following: Morfemas Funcionales en Cocama-Cocamilla (1999), El sistema de casos en Cocama: Variedad Cocamilla (2000), Una propuesta fonológica para la variedad Kokamilla (2006), Conditioning selection of

pronominal forms in Kokama-Kokamilla (2005), Between inflection and derivation: An example from Kokama-Kokamilla morphology (2005), Tiempo, aspect y orden de constituyentes en Kokama-Kokamilla (2007). The focus functions of =*pura* in Kokama-Kokamilla discourse (2009), Is there a ditransitive construction in Kokama-Kokamilla (2010).

In conclusion, previous research has focused on the phonology and some morphosyntax of the language, but much of the work has been sketchy and preliminary, leaving much work to be done, especially in the areas of syntax, discourse analysis, and semantics.

1.4.5. Genetic affiliation

The genetic classification of this language is questionable. Kokama-Kokamilla had been traditionally classified as part of the Tupi-Guarani family (Adam 1896, Campbell 2000, Lemle 1971, Loukotka 1968, Rodrigues 1958, 1984). The Tupi family is one of the biggest families of the Americas, and the geographic distribution of the languages classified under this family extends to the South as far as Argentina, to the North as far as French Guiana, to the East as the way to the costs of Brazil, and to the West as far as the Andes of Bolivia. According to Rodrigues (1984), there are different degrees of similarity among the Tupi languages, so he proposes eight subgroups and also notices that the languages do not fit quite well at all levels of the grammar, mainly because of the influences from the languages they have been in contact with. Rodriguez classifies Kokama within Subgroup III, together with Kokamilla, Tupinamba, Nheengatu, and Omagua.

However, Cabral (1995) questions this affiliation. She compares Kokama with Tupinamba from the 16th century, and claims that Kokama cannot be genetically classified because the changes that this language has experienced cannot be explained following the comparative method, or any other internal reconstruction technique. Cabral claims that Kokama does not share grammatical characteristics with other Tupian languages, and it has many elements from other surrounding languages and families such as Arawakan, Quechuan, Panoan, Spanish and Portuguese. For instance, while typical Tupian languages are morphologically complex, she claims Kokama-Kokamilla is isolating. It should be mentioned that her hypotheses are based mostly on the variety of Kokama spoken in Brazil. As she mentions (pc), her research is based on data taken from only nine elderly speakers because, by the time of her fieldwork, Kokama was almost extinct in Brazil. For the Peruvian varieties, she relies on Faust's sparse descriptions of the language.

My own research shows that, in various respects, the varieties spoken in Peru seem more conservative than the variety described by Cabral. For instance, with respect to phonology, she argues that in most of Tupi-Guarani languages, allophonic variations are few, but "not as extremely simplified as in Kokama which has only two phonemes showing allophonic variation" (1995:56). In contrast, the phonology of Kokama-Kokamilla spoken in Peru exhibits morphophonological rules and ample distributional allophonic variation, including neutralization of nasals, sonorization of stops and affricates, aspiration of stops, fortition of approximants, lenition of affricates, elision of unstressed vowels, etc. (Vallejos 2005, see also Chapter III). On morphology, Cabral

says that Kokama lacks inflectional morphology. In the varieties of Peru, I have documented twelve suffixes, although only one could be characterized as inflectional, three are difficult to classify as either inflectional or derivational, while the others are clearly derivational (cf. Vallejos 2005). Cabral describes Kokama as lacking morphological reduplication; in contrast, I found that reduplication of parts of roots is quite productive in the Kokama-Kokamilla spoken in Peru. Regarding syntax, Cabral claims that Kokama does not exhibit some word order patterns (i.e., SOV) typical of Tupí-Guaraní languages; whereas in the varieties of Peru, I find all the Tupí-Guaraní patterns. (For a summary of the Proto Tupí-Guaraní features in today's KK grammar, please see Table 12.1).

It is obvious that Kokama-Kokamilla is quite divergent from other Tupí-Guaraní languages spoken in Brazil. Perhaps it can fall into a creole category. However, some of Cabral's arguments for an inability to establish a genetic affiliation between Kokama and the Tupí-Guaraní family may not hold true for the varieties spoken in Peru. As pointed out by Michael (pc), many of my observations about Kokama can also be extended to Omagua, Kokama's sister language still spoken by a few speakers in Loreto, Peru. Preliminary analyses show that Omagua is very similar to the Kokama spoken in Peru, and rather different from the variety described by Cabral.

This dissertation provides the first in-depth description of Kokama-Kokamilla, and it is necessary in order to further pursue comparative analysis and historical reconstruction. Such description will, in turn, permit us to better address questions regarding genetic classification in this area of the Amazon.

1.4.6. Language contact

An additional point that needs to be made concerns language contact. KK, like many other Amazonian languages, show traces of intense contact among different groups. A number of languages have had influence from Quechua, mainly because this was the language of Christianization during colonial times. As a result, it is common to find KKs who report that their ancestors were at least bilingual in Quechua and Kokama, if not trilingual, adding Spanish. One of the more salient Quechuan influences found in KK is in the numeral system. Numbers from one to four are Tupi, but numbers higher than four have been borrowed from Quechua. Additional Quechua loans include terms such as *atawari* 'chicken, hen' (from *atawal^{y}pa* or *wal^{y}pa*), *kuriki* (from *qullki* 'silver, money). An example of a borrowed function morpheme is the verbal derivative *-shka* that applies to Spanish loan terms. For instance: *leishka* 'read' consists of the Spanish *leer* 'read' plus the Quechua *-shka*.

KK/Omagua terms— terms of Tupi-Guaraní origin, to be more precise— have also made their way into Peruvian Amazonian Spanish, both formal and informal. Examples of names for animals include: aguti or añuje, from *akuti* (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa)*, capihuari or ronsoco, from *kapiwara* (*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris);* paca, picuro or majas, from *paka (Agouti paca);* tapira or sachavaca, from *tapir*. There are also many names for trees, such: huiririma, from *wiririma* (*Astrocaryun sp),* capinuri, from *kapinuri (Maquira coriacea);,* as well as for fish and other aquatic species such as: tucunare, from *tukunari (Cichla monoculus)*; maparate, from *maparati* (*Auchenipteridae);* acarahuasu, from *akarawatsu* [compound that consists of *akara*

"bujurqui (fish sp.)" and *watsu* ‘big’] (*Cichlidae);* taricaya, from *taricaya* (*Podocnemis unifilis),* cupiso, from *kupitsu* (*Podocnemis sextuberculata)*. Perhaps one of the most common terms in Amazonian Spanish is *icaro*, from the KK *ikara* ‘curative-sacred song.’

1.5. Typological profile of KK

KK has a few suffixes, but overall its morphology is less complex than that of many other Amazonian languages. The language has a considerable number of positionally fixed clitic morphemes and less-fixed particles. For instance, grammatical tense is expressed through enclitics on the verbal phrase. KK displays few meaning-changing morphemes and category-changing morphemes. Compounding and reduplication are some of the productive derivational strategies. There are also several specialized discursive morphemes such as focus markers, quotatives, reportatives, etc. Because morphology is light, syntax plays a central role in KK.

1.5.1. Male vs. female speech

One salient feature of KK is the existence of certain grammatical paradigms that differ depending on the speaker’s gender. This includes number particles, personal pronouns, demonstratives and connectors. The language distinguishes the gender of “who is speaking”, and not the gender of “who one is speaking to”, or “what one is talking about.” For instance, when asked to give a sentence such as ‘She heard the dogs in our farm’, a man would say (1a), whereas a woman would say (1b). The relevant pieces are in bold.

(1) a. ***uri*** *tsenu* ***ikian*** *yawara=**kana**=uy* ***tana*** *ku=kuara*
3SG.L.M hear DEM.M dos=PL.M=PAS1 1PL.M farm=INE

b. ***ay*** *tsenu* ***ajan*** *yawara=**nu**=uy* ***penu*** *ku=kuara*
3SG.L.F hear DEM.F dos=PL.F=PAS1 1PL.F farm=INE

The male/female distinction is a highly salient feature in KK discourse, and speakers are very aware of it. Because of their frequency in discourse, pronouns are perhaps one of the most salient aspects of the grammar that reflects this gender system. Table 1.4 summarizes the differences between male speech and female speech. Discussion of the function of each of the forms included in this table is found throughout this dissertation.

Table 1.4: Female speech versus male speech

GLOSS	**FS**	**MS**
1 singular	*tsa, etse*	*ta*
1 plural exclusive	*penu*	*tana*
3 singular short form	*ya [ja ~ za]*	*ra*
3 singular long form	*ay*	*uri*
3 singular object	*(=)ay*	*(=)ura*
3 plural	*inu*	*rana*
plural clitic	*=kana*	*=nu*
proximal demonstrative	*ajan*	*ikian*
distal demonstrative	*yukun*	*yukan*
indefinite demonstrative	*yama/yamua*	*rama/ramua*
like this	*ajaya*	*ikiara*
like that	*ya [ja]*	*ria*
also	*yay*	*riay*
but	*iyan*	*urian*
there, then	*yaepe*	*raepe*
after that	*yaepetsui*	*raepetsui*

As presented in Table 1.4, there are differences in form according to speaker's gender for first person singular, third person singular, first person plural exclusive, and third person plural. The use of the correct set of pronouns signals whether someone is a

good speaker or not; it also indicates whether someone is in the process of learning the language. Community members are ready to laugh at people —especially men— if he/she uses the incorrect set.

This doesn't mean, of course, that men never use the female speech forms. For instance, spontaneous speech is full of direct quotations, and if speakers are quoting someone from the opposite gender, they have to switch to the appropriate set of forms. The following fragment from a traditional story illustrates this. The speaker telling the narrative is a man, who at a certain point —the last utterance in this extract— quotes a woman. During the narrative the speaker consistently uses male speech forms, and for the quote he switches to female speech forms, including the demonstrative *ajan* (instead of *ikian*) and the first person pronoun *etse* (instead of *ta*). Immediately after the quote, the speaker goes back to the male form (*ra* 'third singular'). The relevant pieces are in bold.

(2) ***rana*** *chikari=**ura**,* ***ikian*** *m#ma=**kana*** […]
3PL.M look.for=3SG.M.OB this.M puppy=PL.M
'They look for her, these puppies [tigers]

temente ***rana*** *mama aytsemeka*
no.exist 3PL.M mother truth
'Their mother is not there, for real'

ooohhh, mamaaa
'(They call) mamaaa'

toooj, ***ajan****=ka* ***etse*** *ipia-ra-ri,*
[ideophone] this.F=LOC 1SG.L.F firewood-VZR-PROG

na ***ra*** *kumitsa*
QT 3SG.M say
"Here I am collecting firewood", she says'

The female/male distinction is then one of the most salient typological features of the language. Interestingly, this type of gender-based distinction is also found in other language considered Tupí-Guaraní outsider, such as Aweti (Drude, 2002). In Awetí, for instance, the distinctions show up in the paradigm of pronouns, prefixes, deictics and lexicon. This topic clearly deserves further, comparative research.

1.5.2. Constituent orderings

The language does not display case marking or verb agreement to express grammatical relations; instead, subject and object are defined by their position with respect to the verb. Verbal clauses display different orders of subject, object and verb depending on whether they are marked by tense or the progressive aspect (see Chapter XIX). Importantly, clauses not marked for tense-aspect pattern with clauses marked by tense, differently from constructions marked by the progressive. Table 1.5 presents a summary of constituent order patterns attested in the language, where, S, A, and O refer to subject of intransitive, subject of transitive, and object of transitive, respectively (Dixon 1979); subscript T stands for a tense clitic, and subscript P for the progressive verbal suffix.

Table 1.5: Constituent order patterns attested in KK

INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES MARKED BY		TRANSITIVE CLAUSES MARKED BY	
TENSE	PROGRESSIVE	TENSE	PROGRESSIVE
S V_T	S V_P	A V O_T	A O V_P
	V_P S	O A V_T	O V_P A
			A V_P O

Starting with Greenberg (1963), there has been an assumption in linguistics that for a majority of languages it is possible to identify a “basic” order of subject and object

with respect to the verb (Hawkins 1983, Dryer 1992, among others). This has constituted a way of categorizing languages in typology. However, what is basic in terms of order and how to identify it remains debatable. As a consequence, some scholars have suggested that the first typological division should be made between those languages in which word order primarily correlates with pragmatic factors, and those in which order primarily correlates with grammatical factors (Thompson 1978). Thus, in languages which display several order patterns, instead of asking "what is the basic order", it should be asked "what is the communicative function of one order, rather than another" (Payne 1990, 1992). In order to answer this question, explanatory factors beyond syntax, such as information structure and pragmatics, must be taken into consideration. The case of Kokama-Kokamilla is interesting because both grammatical relations and pragmatics play a prominent role in the distribution of the different order patterns.

1.5.3. The syntax-discourse interface

KK highlights points of theoretical interest regarding discourse-pragmatic issues. The language displays interesting patterns of interaction between information structure and syntax. Although word order is perhaps one of the main strategies for expressing discourse-pragmatic factors, there are several other components playing a role within specific constructions. For instance, tense-marked clauses, aspect-marked clauses, and clauses unmarked for tense and aspect have a skewed distribution in discourse, and the driving factor is the background/foreground narrative distinction (Vallejos 2007). Another issue concerns the distribution of pronominal forms. The language exhibits three sets of pronominal forms: free long form pronouns, short form free pronouns, and enclitics. The

choice between these forms is iconically motivated: short form pronouns occur by default, typically refering to information which is low in salience; clitics are the further reductions of short forms, used to refer to recurring participants in core grammatical relations; long forms are used for highlighting certain aspects of a complex experience, and to attract the hearer's attention to one part of a sentence (Vallejos 2005). Further, information-structural distinctions, such as argument focus, predicate focus and predication focus, are signaled by the interaction of word order, morphological markers, and prosody (Vallejos 2009). Topics dealing with the syntax-discourse interface are discussed in Chapter XI.

Now that the major features of the language have been highlighted, I turn the discussion to the theoretical orientation and descriptive notions employed to describe the language.

1.6. Theoretical framework

This section starts with an introduction to the Functional-Typological approach to language study, which is the theoretical perspective this dissertation follows (§0). I also present the basic notions of Construction Grammar, which prove relevant to the description of KK (§1.6.2). A literature review of grammatical relations is offered towards the end of this section (§1.6.3). Other theoretical notions necessary to describe specific aspects of KK are introduced at relevant points throughout the dissertation.

1.6.1. The functional-typological approach to language

The Functional-Typological approach treats language in terms of both its adaptive motivation —i.e., as a tool for conceptualization and communication between human beings— and its typological diversity —i.e., recurrent cross-linguistic patterns.

Functionalism starts with the fundamental assumption that languages are the way they are because they evolve so as to serve theirs users' communicative demands. In other words, language is an instrument that "does not exist in and by itself as an arbitrary structure of some kind," but "by virtue of being used for certain purposes" (Dik 1997:5).

A central claim in functionalism is that grammar is not an autonomous system. On the contrary, functionalists turn to grammar-external explanations to account for empirically attested cross-linguistic generalizations. Universal functional pressures, iconic principles, processing and learning constrains, diachronic changes, etc. constitute explanation for the shape of grammar. Thus, functionalists examine languages from a range of perspectives, which includes pragmatics, psycho-linguistics, socio-linguistics, ethnolinguistics, language contact studies, historical linguistics, among others.

Typological studies aim to characterize languages based on the types of patterns they employ to cover certain semantic/pragmatic functions. The fact that certain functions can be found in language after language shows that they are relevant and useful, hence general. Because grammatical structures are language-specific, typologists compare structures in genetically unrelated languages by departing from function to see how they are formally encoded in languages. Besides establishing the possible logical types with respect to a given parameter and placing languages into each type, typological studies arrive at absolute or implicational universals, which in turn have to be explainable in functional or cognitive grounds (Givón 2001). Consequently, within the Functional-Typological Approach, both in-depth studies of individual languages and

cross-linguistic studies are considered fundamental to inform and test our theories of language.

Currently, functionalism is not unified under a single theory but includes a wide range of theoretical perspectives, such as Role and Reference Grammar, Cognitive Grammar, Lexical Functional-Grammar, Construction Grammar, etc. However, what these theories have in common is a rejection of the syntactocentric view of Chomsky, which holds that structures should be studied independently from their semantics and discourse functions, and an acknowledgment of the importance of communicative factors and general cognitive constrains in grammatical theory and analysis (Van Valin & LaPolla 2002, Goldberg 1995).

Language description, typological studies, and language change studies generally follow what has been referred to as Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT). BLT emphasizes the need to describe each language in its own terms, rather than imposing concepts whose primary motivation comes from other languages. It is based on the cumulative experience obtained from the description of particular languages and has greatly benefited from cross-linguistic findings (Dixon 1997, 2009; Dryer 2006). Within this view, grammatical structures should be worked out inductively on the basis of evidence from observed utterances. BLT has incorporated structuralist analytic techniques, particularly in phonology and morphology. It has also been influenced, to a certain extent, by early generative grammar in syntax, and more recently by generative and autosegmental phonology.

1.6.2. Construction grammar

According to Constructionist approaches, *constructions* are "learned pairings of form with semantic or discourse function, including morphemes or words, idioms, partially lexically filled, and general phrasal patterns." (Goldberg 2006:5). That is, *constructions* are represented as symbolic units in their own right, just as lexical items such as verbs are. It follows that, within this view, lexicon and grammar are not distinct components, but form a continuum of constructions. Since evidence for categorization is also found beyond language, contrary to the nativist view, construction grammar posits that children learn constructions from the input; that is, they make generalizations from instances.

Further, constructions form an interrelated network. For instance, simple clause constructions reflect scenes basic to human experience, "such as that of someone causing something to move or change state, someone experiencing something, something moving, and so on" (Goldberg 1995:5). Goldberg (1995) emphasizes that a linguistic pattern must be recognized as a *construction* as long as some aspect of its form, meaning, or function is not predictable from its component parts or from other constructions that exist in a given language. She adds, however, that patterns are stored even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency. Given the following sentences:

(3)	*a. Joe bought a book*	Transitive construction
	b. Joe bought Tom a book	Ditransitive construction
	c. Joe gave Tom a book	Ditransitive construction

While (3a) entails getting an item, (3b) entails getting an item plus intended transfer of it. According to non-constructionist approaches, the form and general interpretation of basic sentence patterns of a language are determined by semantic and/or syntactic information specified by the main verb. Thus, *buy* in (3b) does not mean the same thing as *buy* in (3a), and so there must be a rule deriving *buy* in (3b) from *buy* in (3a), which allows it to be used with the appropriate meaning in the construction in (3b).

On the contrary, within the constructionist approach the meaning of (3a) and (3b) are determined by the constructions themselves. The additional component of meaning in (3b) is analyzed not as a part of the lexical content of the verb, but as a part of the meaning of the Ditransitive construction. That is, in English, the Ditransitive construction is an independently represented syntactic unit. As such, it possesses its own semantics —<X CAUSES Y to RECEIVE Z>, as well as its own form —[SUB V OBJ_1 OBJ_2]. However, note that, although (3b) and (3c) are both Ditransitive constructions, the contribution of the construction is slightly different for *buy* and for *give*. While (3c) entails actual transfer of possession, (3b) only implies transfer of possession. Goldberg (1995:31) resolves this problem by proposing that constructions can be polysemous. That is, a single construction can have two meanings that are semantically related. Typically, one meaning is a historical extension of the other meaning.

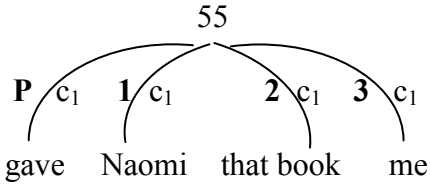
Within the constructional view, constructions are not derived from another construction, but can involve a combination of several others, or inherit features from

others. For instance, *What did Joe buy?* involves the ditransitive construction, the question construction, the Subject-Auxiliary inversion construction, etc. (Goldberg 2006:10). Importantly, to account for speakers' full knowledge of language, a usage-based model is required. Construction grammar aims to account not only for what has been called the "core" grammar, but also for those apparently idiosyncratic patterns that other theories have demoted to the periphery. As mentioned above, constructionists do not endorse the autonomous view of syntax. Reference to SUBJ, OBJ, V, etc. appeal to a relevant level of description; or, as Croft (2001) puts it, they are "metageneralizations over construction-specific categories."

1.6.3. Grammatical relations: an overview

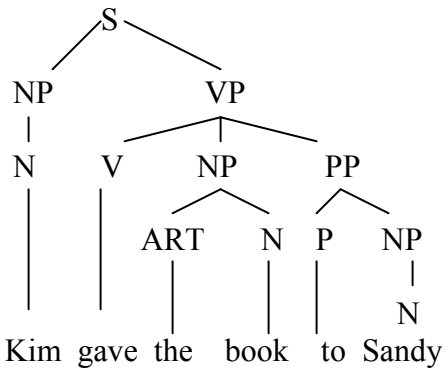
Although most syntactic descriptions have assumed that, in addition to semantic and pragmatic roles, there are also purely syntactic *grammatical relations*, we can find two different ways of understanding them: i) as syntactic primitives; and, ii) as derived notions. However, what are they derive from is a second point of divergence.

For the theory of Relational Grammar, grammatical relations are theoretical primitives (Perlmutter 1978, 1980, 1982). Accordingly, Relational Grammar makes the following universal assumption about the nature of clause structure: "A clause consists of a network of grammatical relations. Among these relations are 'subject of', 'direct object of', and 'indirect object of'" (Perlmutter & Postal 1986:9), which are named as 1, 2, and 3, respectively. Within this approach, a formal representation of *Naomi gave that book to me*, would be (Perlmutter & Postal 1986:12, ex. 22):



Following this approach, any given language must display grammatical relations. Further, any language must have clauses that contain one, two, and three grammatical relations. However, empirical evidence shows that grammatical relations or at least not all three of them, do not play a central role in every language.

A second way of understanding grammatical relations is as derived notions. For early Transformational theory (Chomsky 1965), grammatical relations derive from syntactic phrase structure. As such, subject and object have configurational definitions. While subject is the NP immediately dominated by S (later called the *external argument*), object was the NP immediately dominated by VP (later called the *internal argument*). Within this tradition, there was neither a definition nor structural notion of indirect object. In the figure below, from ([Aspects 1965] Van Valin 2002:244), *Kim* is the subject, and *the book* is the object.



The above definitions have the following implications: every language must have a VP, and the verb and the object must be adjacent. Neither is transparently true for free word order languages.

A third major conception, the Functional-Typological perspective, claims that grammatical relations derive from the interaction and grammaticalization of semantic or pragmatic relations. For Functional Grammar, different choices for subject and object represent different perspectives or vantage points (Dik 1989). In Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1990), subject and object reflect a more general trajector/landmark asymmetry, which is a linguistic instantiation of the even more general psychological contrast between figure and ground. Other positions functionally associate subject with mental starting point (DeLancey 1981, Chafe 1994, Mithun 1999), and subject with attention (Tomlin 1995, 1997). For Givón (1984, 1995, 2001), subject and object are grammaticalized pragmatic roles. Givón claims that subject is the "primary topic," object is the "secondary topic." In Lexical Functional Grammar (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989), the assignment of grammatical relations is based on Lexical Mapping Theory. Subject and object are constituted by two primitive semantic features (±r: restricted in terms of semantic roles; ±o: able to complement transitive predicators but not intransitive predicators). What these approaches have in common is that the assignment of subject and object is based upon a hierarchy of semantic roles. Among the proposed hierarchies are Dik's (1989) *Semantic Function Hierarchy*, Givón's (1984) *Topic Accession Hierarchy*, and Bresnan & Kanerva's (1989) *Thematic Role Hierarchy*. Such hierarchies are interpreted as determining preferred accessibility to grammatical

relations. For instance, in the *Topic Accession Hierarchy* (Givón 1984:139), given in (4), if there is an agent, then the agent is the subject, if not, then dative/benefactive is the subject, and so on.

(4) *Agent >Dative/Benefactive>Patient>Locative >Instrument/Associative>Manner adverbs*

One theoretical question, however, remains controversial: are grammatical relations universal? Some functionalists such as Dixon (1994) and Givón (1997) assume subject as a universal category, whereas Dryer (1997) and Mithun & Chafe (1999) take a more skeptical position. DeLancey notes that, "Givon claims that there is a universal *function*, while Dryer denies that there is a universal *structural category* of subject; both could quite possibly be correct" (2003b:152)

I assume that grammatical relations are neither primitive nor derived from syntactic phrase structure. Functional-typological theories insist that evidence for grammatical relations must be based upon language-particular morphosyntactic properties (Queixalós 1998, 2010). Comrie (1991) points out that "in order to say that a given grammatical relation exists in a given language this claim must be justified both language-internally and cross-linguistically". Based on Keenan's (1976) work on the properties of subjects, the formal features associated with grammatical relations are divided into two main types: i) coding properties (word order, verb agreement, and case marking), and ii) behavior & control properties (which define the role of the NP in given grammatical constructions). Behavior and control properties, as syntactic phenomena, are sometimes considered more relevant than coding properties and given prevalence when defining grammatical relations. This is explicit, for example, in Van

Valin (2002:274) who says "grammatical relations exist in a language only where the behavioral patterns of a language give evidence of a syntactic relation independent of semantic and pragmatic relations." Constructions often mentioned to show evidence for grammatical relations (e.g. passivization, relativization, reflexivization, cross-reference tracking, possessor raising, purposive constructions, coordinate constructions, etc.) must be identified language specifically.

However, the amount and kind of evidence needed to argue for the existence of grammatical relations seems controversial. For instance, for Comrie, "a number of logically independent criteria must be established that serve to identify the grammatical relation in question as being syntactically significant in the language in question" (Comrie 1991:66). However, Van Valin (2002:205) argues that "there are purely syntactic grammatical relations in a language if there is at least one construction with a restricted neutralization of semantic and pragmatic relations for syntactic purposes." While some authors want a set of multiple criteria, others find one construction is enough evidence to posit a grammatical relation.

Although there is some controversy around grammatical relations even within the Functional-Typological approaches, there seems to be a general sense that subject and (direct) object are the most central relations and display more grammatical consequences in most languages. In contrast, indirect object occupies an intermediate status (compared to subject/object and obliques) in terms of number of languages that have it as a clear category (Givón 2001:108). Cross-linguistic properties associated with indirect objects may not exist. In consequence, in some languages, the status of indirect

objects is dubious. Usually clause elements that are called indirect objects have the same formal properties as either direct objects or obliques (Comrie 1991:67-68, T. Payne 1997:379). This study adds to the literature on languages that show convincing evidence for subject and object, but not for indirect object, or for a grammatical "second object" of any kind.

CHAPTER II

THE KOKAMA-KOKAMILLA DOCUMENTATION PROJECT

Kokama-Kokamilla documentation project emerged from my ongoing linguistic research and pedagogical work with the Kokama-Kokamilla people since 1997. My long term relationship with them, combined with my political engagement in indigenous Amazonians issues, has led me to pursue various small-collaborative documentation and revitalization projects. The guiding principle of my research has been to document cultural and linguistic phenomena not only for the sake of advancing linguistic theory, but, above all, to create documentary resources that support the communities' self-determined goals. As mentioned in the previous chapter, KK is a deeply endangered language. At present, only about 5% of the Kokama-Kokamilla population speaks the language and then only in very restricted situations; that is, the majority of them have shifted to Spanish. Adults in their 40s and 50s show only passive knowledge: they are able to understand almost everything that is being said in the language, but are not able to produce even simple messages. Given the degree of endangerment of KK and the social context of this speech community, it was clear from my first involvement with

them that documenting the language was an urgent task. That is, the collection of primary data had to take precedence over descriptive work.

Over the years, the small documentation activities developed into the KK Documentation Project. This chapter describes this project in detail, starting with the antecedents (§2.1), the goals of the project (§2.2), the community members engaged in the project (§2.3) and the speakers from whom the data was collected (§2.4), multiple fieldtrips (§2.5), the equipment taken to the field (§2.6), the process to gather the data (§2.7), the analysis of the data (§2.8), and the products of the project (§2.9). The chapter closes with some general remarks on the implications of a team approach to language documentation (§2.10).

2.1. Antecedents

The data for this document are the outcomes of several projects I carried out with the KK over the last 13 years. My fieldwork can be roughly divided into three phases: 1997-2001, 2002-2004 and 2005-to the present.

I started to work with the Kokama-Kokamillas in February 1997, when I was hired to work in the *"Programa de Formación de Maestros Bilingues de la Amazonía Peruana"* (FORMABIAP, www.formabiap.org), a well-known and recognized institution co-directed by the Indigenous Confederation of the Peruvian Amazon (AIDESEP) and the Ministry of Education through the "*Instituto Pedagógico Público Loreto*." The project's main objective is to train indigenous people from different Amazonian ethnic groups as bilingual teachers. My work while in the project was mainly of a pedagogical nature. My primary contributions included:

- Training elementary school teachers in linguistic analysis of Amazonian languages, sociolinguistics, Spanish grammar, alphabet design, L1 and L2 teaching methodologies, and more. While some of these courses were already created, others had to be developed, implemented, tested, and very often redesigned.
- Monitoring the pedagogical practice of teachers in elementary schools in the KK territory. This task entailed annual visits to KK communities, and often included applying tests to children.
- Writing primary-school texts for indigenous children. I participated in the production of reading books in KK, as well as in Amazonian Spanish.
- Producing methodological guides for teachers. Working with KK language consultants, I participated in the design and creation of a guide to teach Kokama-Kokamilla as a second language. I was also a member of the team that created a guide to teach Spanish to speakers of several other Amazonian languages.

Perhaps one of the major achievements of projects like FORMABIAP has been at the attitudinal level. As explained in (§1.4.2), in Peru, as in many other countries, being indigenous is still a source of shame. The KK language not only has very low social prestige but also extremely limited functionality, hence there is very little motivation for younger people to learn the language. However, because of initiatives like FORMABIAP during the last two decades, signs of higher self-esteem and self recognition of their indigenous roots have been noticeable among young adults.

Indigenous organizations have spread the discourse of indigenous rights, the language being emphasized as one of the key elements of their identity. Thus, today in many KK communities being indigenous is no longer considered so shameful, and discussing issues related to their language has stopped being taboo.

Within the institutional frame of FORMABIAP, I had the opportunity to visit several Kokama and Kokamilla communities and work with eleven speakers, nine from the Kokamilla dialect and two from the Kokama dialect. This exposure to the KK world allowed me to acquire some competence in their language. Although I did not focus on language description while working in FORMABIAP, this was a great opportunity to get in contact with community members, and the resulting personal relationships created favorable conditions to carry out subsequent research.

When I left FORMABIAP in 2001 to pursue graduate studies in the US, I understood the importance of maintaining continuity in my work with the Kokama-Kokamilla people. In fact, there was a constant endeavour to look for more field research opportunities. In August 2002, I visited the Amazon for three weeks. Recall from §1.3.2 that about 20,000 KKs live spread in about 120 small villages located along four main navigable rivers, and their many tributaries. Thus, the main goals of the 2002 trip were to get in contact with community members interested in launching a documentation project, to identify villages with fluent speakers of the language, and eventually collect some primary data. During the summer of 2003, with the support of the FORD Foundation, I carried out eight weeks of fieldwork, which provided the basis for my MA thesis, *Basic Clauses in Kokama-Kokamilla* (Vallejos

2004). In August, 2004, I returned to FORMABIAP for four weeks; in exchange for working with Kokama-Kokamilla speakers, I offered a Kokama linguist a workshop on the linguistics of his language.

In addition to maintaining my connection to the people, the substance of the field research that I conducted until 2004 provided a solid empirical and methodological foundation for the documentation project. At that point, I had around twelve hours of sound recordings of narratives and folk stories, a portion of which was already transcribed and analyzed. However, due to the poor quality of equipment available earlier in my fieldwork, much of this material needed to be replaced by recordings of higher quality. Having learned by experience (and through coursework) the importance of organizing data to preserve it and make it accessible, I recognized the need for proper and on-going analysis. Since 2003, I have been using the Transcriber program to produce more accurate transcriptions, as well as to link the transcriptions of individual intonation units to a specific point in the digitized sound file. In addition, I have been building a database using the Toolbox program, to organize and annotate the text data I have transcribed and translated.

With that in mind, I pursued a documentation project that would allow me to collect new genres of data, with better quality recordings, and to process these recordings more efficiently using different software. These new data will expand the corpus of natural texts and elicited material that I had gathered so far, and which formed the basis for the preliminary analyses that motivated the documentation project.

2.2. Goals of the documentation project

The main goals of the documentation project are the following:

- Document the language and traditional knowledge through the collection of audio and video recordings.
- Contribute resources to those committed to the revitalization of the language.
- Identify additional projects of potential interest to the community.
- Motivate and engage community members in as many activities as possible.

This documentation project was conceived to contribute resources to those who are already committed to the revitalization and maintenance of KK. That is, it did not aim to implement revitalization activities per se, but to provide the basis for such activities. The goal was to document the language and traditional knowledge through the collection of audio and video recordings of people using the language in real communicative situations. The advantage of video data is that it allows the documentation of extra-linguistic information. Beyond preserving KK traditional knowledge, the recorded material can be later developed into classroom resources, so that the sounds and patterns of the language can be reproduced in formal instructional settings.

As for engaging community members, I did manage to motivate a few, however it is necessary to understand that for the majority of them, getting involved in some of the documentary tasks meant leaving their daily subsistence activities, which implies the need for financial compensation. So far, the project has had limited resources so we

have worked with a small number of community members (see §2.3), but we project that future tasks will engage more members playing different roles.

2.3. Team

To carry out this project, I teamed up with three community members: Victor Yuyarima Chota, Rosa Amías Murayari, and Pascual Aquituari Fachín. Each of them has played key roles at different stages of the project. All three were involved in the collection of the data (i.e., video and audio recordings) at different moments; two of them contributed to glossing, parsing, and annotating the texts; and two of them helped in the creation of resources for the community.

Victor Yuyarima Chota, who in 2005 was 64 years old, is a Kokamilla speaker. He is originally from the community Ocho de Octubre-Paucaryacu, along the Huallaga River. He is a respected *shaman* and very knowledgeable about KK traditional practices. But above all, Victor is a well known leader for the Kokamillas. He is one of the founders of FEDECOCA, the Kokamilla indigenous federation, and has represented his people in different venues, at national and international levels. He was selected by the Kokamilla Ferderation to participate in the FORMABIAP project from 1999 to 2001, acting as the language specialist. Victor has been collaborating with my research since 1999.

Rosa Amías Murayari is a Kokama speaker. She is originally from the community Dos de Mayo, San Pablo de Tipishca, along the Samiria river. In 2005, she was 62 years old. Rosa Amías is a great story teller and an excellent interviewer. She is highly fluent in Kokama, Quechua, and Spanish. She is one example of the many

people of her generation that were punished for speaking their language at school. As a result, she did not teach any of her ten children either Kokama or Quechua. That is, all her children are now monolingual in Spanish. She has been collaborating with my research since 2001.

Pascual Aquituari Fachín is a Kokama speaker. He is an elementary school teacher who in 2005 was 46 years old. He is from Lupuna, a Kokama community only 20 minutes by boat from Iquitos, the biggest city in the Peruvian Amazon. From 2001 to 2008, he worked as instructor and researcher in the FORMABIAP project. He was in charge of training future KK elementary school teachers, as well as developing instructional materials for teaching KK as a second language. At present, he acts as representative of the Ministry of Education in the Kokama-Kokamilla area.

As mentioned earlier, I started to work with Victor Yuyarima in 1999, when both of us were part of the FORMABIAP project. From 1999 to 2001, he was the Kokamilla specialist with whom I conducted basic linguistic description. Our duties included also carrying out workshops on the grammar of Kokama-Kokamilla, and teaching the language to young indigenous who were been trained as bilingual teachers. From 2002-2005 we worked together occasionally, during short summer visits.

In 2006, Victor, Rosa Amías, and I, together carried out a two-month fieldtrip and visited six communities along the Huallaga River. Victor, being the local, was in charge of making the connections with local authorities and setting up meetings for us. He also took the lead in identifying and contacting fluent speakers of the language. During the recordings, he carried out many interviews, especially with male speakers.

Later in 2006, in the city of Iquitos, Victor helped glossing and translating a portion of the texts. During this time, I collected from him many traditional stories, and recorded him performing several curative songs known as *ikaros*. The status of the *ikaros* within the Kokama-Kokamilla society is somehow sacred. They are only known and performed by shamans who are chosen at an early age by a master and trained for almost all their lives. Before recording the ikaros, Victor and I discussed the advantages and potential disadvantages of creating a permanent record of these songs. He understood the importance of leaving a legacy for the next generations, but he made it clear that access to specific pieces of data needs to be restricted from the public. At the end, he was willing to be recorded because he knew that we would follow a protocol to assign different levels of access to all the data we were recording, not only with him but with any speaker. Within the team, perhaps Victor was the one that contributed the most to the overall discussion about data protection and levels of access.

Rosa Amías has participated mainly in the collection of the data, processing the data, and in the creation of resources for the community. Rosa Amías and I have travelled together every year from 2005 to 2009. In 2005, we visited two Kokama communities along the Marañon River. During this trip she showed an extraordinary ability for engaging and motivating community members who are generally reluctant to have a discussion about their heritage language, let alone to talk in their language. From then on, she has conducted most of the interviews during the fieldtrips. In subsequent periods of fieldwork, Rosa Amías and I worked together in the transcription, glossing, and translation of the texts. She is the one who contributed most of the elicited data

collected during the analysis of the texts. Taking advantage of the technology, she supplied elicited data during the writing of this dissertation by phone. Despite her age, Rosa Amías has showed genuine interest in learning to use the computer for basic tasks, such as transcribing, but typing has been a challenge for her. Finally, I would like to highlight another crucial role Rosa Amías assumed quite spontaneously during the fieldtrips: she guaranteed that our basic subsistence needs were met. While travelling in the Amazon, money cannot solve all problems. Even where was not useful, in a matter of minutes, Rosa Amías would find a place to sleep and food for the duration of our stay. This aspect of fieldwork is often overlooked, but having that covered made a huge difference for the team.

Given the fact that Pascual Aquituari had a formal job by the time that most of the activities took place, his contributions are more specific. In 2008, Pascual suggested that we visit his community, Lupuna. Later we learned this was a personal mission for him because his father, who was a fluent speaker of KK, just passed away, and no one had done a recording of him. As mentioned earlier, Pascual has been engaged mainly in language revitalization and language maintenance efforts; he is a true Kokama activist. When his father died, it became clear for him that recording his mother (85 by then) was a task that cannot be delayed. During our visit to Lupuna, Pascual and Rosa Amías conducted several interviews. It was extremely moving to observe Pascual talking to his elderly mother about the life in the community, their ancestors, etc. and recalling many intimate stories. Later, Pascual also participated in the creation of a bilingual DVD. He recorded online translations to create bilingual clips.

My role so far has been that of directing logistical efforts for the project. I work with community members to identify potential activities, look for financial support, coordinate the fieldtrips, deal with the equipment and do the recordings, process the raw data into different formats, analyze the text data in collaboration with native speakers, create and distribute language resources, etc. I am also in charge of creating archival materials and depositing them into the appropriate archives, including the Endangered Language ARchive (ELAR, University of London) and in the near future with the *Instituto de Investigaciones de la Amazonía Peruana* (IIAP, Peru). In addition, I have contributed to the training of Pascual Aquituari in the grammar of KK, as well as in the development of the curricula to teach KK as a second language to elementary school teachers, and to children.

2.4. Fieldtrips and communities visited

With the financial support of several agencies, the team has conducted multiple research trips, visiting a total of twelve communities. In 2005, with a small grant from the Endagered Language Fund, Rosa Amías and I visited two communities along the Marañon River, Solterito and Dos de Mayo, San Pablo de Tipishca. During this trip, we confirmed our suspicion that, in communities located closed to main navigable rivers, fluent speakers of the language were extremely rare. We were only able to find one fluent speaker and one semi-speaker (levels of fluency are discussed in the next section). According to the semi-speaker, she was able to understand 100% of what Rosa Amías was saying in KK, but her production was very limited. Her speech was full of Spanish elements (lexicon and grammar), and at some points of the conversations she

would completely switch to Spanish. Her desire to respond in KK was obvious, as well as her frustration at her inability to do that. She attributed this fact to not having spoken the language for more than a decade, since no other speaker of KK lives nearby.

In 2006, with the financial support of the Hans Rousing Endangered Language Project, Victor Yuyarima, Rosa Amías and I visited five Kokamilla communities along the Huallaga River: Arahuante, Sananguillo, Ocho de Octubre-Paucaryacu, Tamarate, and Achual Tipishca. In addition, speakers from three neighboring villages came to see us when they knew we were documenting KK: San Joaquin de Omagua, Esperanza, and Corina. During this trip, we also found fluent speakers of KK in Yurimaguas, a culturally diverse port-town with a population estimated at 62,000 inhabitants. In sum, during this round of trips we collected data from eighteen speakers: sixteen of them would be categorized as fluent speakers, one as a semi-speaker (with limited production and code switching), and one as a heritage speaker (with apparent passive knowledge but very limited production). Our initial goal was to collect data from highly fluent speakers only, but there were a few occasions when we were requested to record a particular speaker. That was the case with the heritage-speaker who happened to be the grandson of one of the speakers we interviewed. The proud grandfather explained he put a lot of effort into teaching his grandson the language, and insisted in showing us how much he had learned so far. So, we recorded them talking to each other.

In 2007, with a grant from the U.S. National Science Foundation, Rosa Amías, Pascual Aquituari, and I visited Lupuna, along the Nanay River. During this visit we collected data from seven speakers, including Pascual's mother. All the interviewed

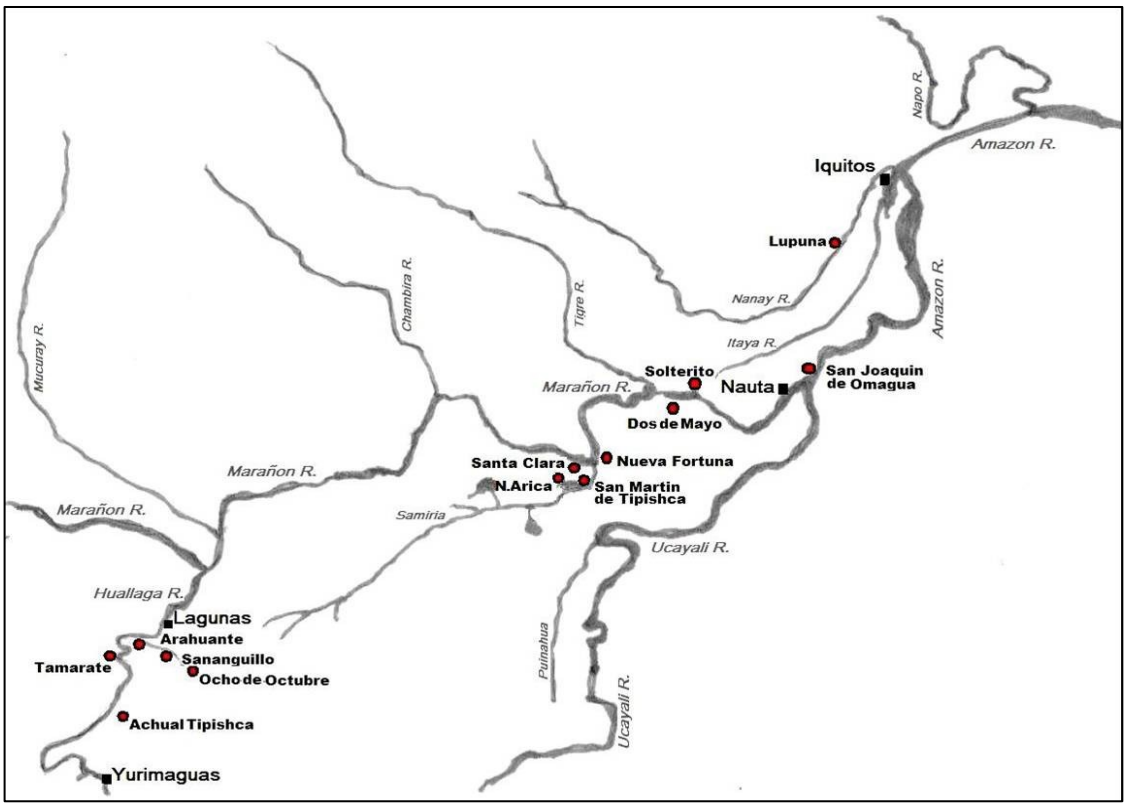
people would be classified as highly fluent. But in Lupuna we also met a number of semi-speakers, the majority in their fifties, who gathered around us while we were doing the recordings. They would laugh at the stories being told by the elders, and responded with isolated Kokama words, or just made comments in Spanish. All in all, it seemed that listening to the language was a moment of celebration of being Kokama.

Our most recent fieldtrip was in 2008. Rosa Amías and I visited two Kokama communities around the Samiria Lake, San Martin del Tipishca and Nuevo Arica. Here we interviewed four fluent speakers. The same year, back in Iquitos we contacted two speakers: an elderly speaker and his grandson. They were originally from the villages Santa Clara and Nueva Fortuna, in the Marañon River, and while the elder was a fluent speaker, the grandson was a heritage speaker who started to learn KK as a second language at the age of 16. Thus, by the end of 2008 we had collected samples from fifteen villages, three more than we have actually visited. The exact location of the communities visited as part of the documentation project is shown in Map 2.1.

2.5. Speakers interviewed

So far, the team has interviewed and gathered primary data from 32 speakers in total. For each person, we collected data about age, gender, origin, language(s)/dialect spoken, and level of fluency. This information was either video or audio recorded at the beginning of each interview, and later became part of the metadata. The range of age of the speakers varies from 26 to 86 years.

Map 2.1: KK communities of research



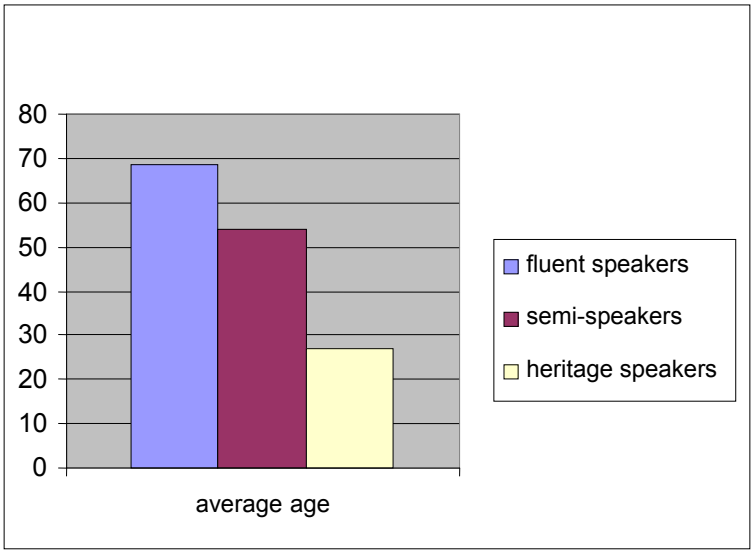
It should be noted though that collecting information about their age was not a straightforward task because a number of the elders did not remember the year they were born. Based on the observations provided by relatives, we were able to determine an approximate age for some of them (hence the question mark in Table 2.1).

The level of fluency of the speakers was determined by Victor Yuyarima and/or Rosa Amías at the end of each session. Their judgments were based solely on the speakers's ability to interact and engage in spontaneous conversations. Interestingly, the categories that emerged from Victor Yuyarima and Rosa Amías' judgments were basically three: i) *habla bien* 's/he speaks well, good speaker', ii) *sabe, pero necesita*

practicar 's/he knows but needs practice to remember,' iii) *todavía está aprendiendo* 's/he is still learning the language'. I translate these categories as: fluent speaker, semi-speaker, and heritage speaker. As mentioned above, *fluent speakers* are all those able to engage in spontaneous conversations and to provide narratives with minimal use of borrowings. *Semi-speakers,* on the other hand, are those with passive knowledge, able to understand almost everything but with limited production; their production is full of borrowings and code switching. Heritage speakers are those young adults that are learning KK as a second language, and are not yet able to master (understand and produce) the nuances of the language. It is obvious that these categories need refinement following more strict criteria but, for the purposes of the documentation project, I believe Victor Yuyarima and Rosa Amías judgments constitute extremely useful information. Importantly, if someone would like to pursue research on language contact, language learning, code switching, etc. the data collected so far would be a good start.

Thus, including Victor Yuyarima, Rosa Amías, and Pascual Aquituari, we have collected data from 35 speakers in total. Thirty of them would be classified as fluent speakers, three as semi-speakers, and two as heritage speakers. If we correlate fluency level with age, the age of the highly fluent speakers range from 50 to 86 with an average age of 68.5 years. In this group there were two blind persons, and a third with serious vision difficulties. The semi-speakers age range between 48 to 60 years old, with an average age of 54 years. The heritage speakers were 26 and 28 at the moment of the recordings. This is summarized in the Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Age and fluency of speakers



The language consultants interviewed did not choose anonymity; on the contrary, they expect to be recognized. So I introduce them in Table 2.1, and by doing so I acknowledge their key contribution to this documentary work.

Table 2.1: Speakers that contributed to the documentation project

	SPEAKER	GDR	AGE	COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN
1	Rosa Amías Murayari	F	61	San Pablo, Río Marañón
2	Victor Yuyarima Chota	M	64	8 de Octubre, Río Huallaga
3	Gregoria Tapullima	F	60?	Solterito, Río Marañon
4	José Yuyarima Murayari	M	76	Sananguillo, Río Huallaga
5	Virginia Tapullima Caritimari	F	70	Sananguillo, Río Huallaga
6	Julio Tapullima Caritimari	M	65	Arahuante, Río Huallaga
7	Oscar Caballero Caritimari	M	80	Corina, Río Huallaga
8	Mauricio Manihuari Tapullima	M	83	San Joaquín de Omagua
9	Wirlen Tapullima	M	26	Arahuante, río Huallaga
10	Manuela Tapayuri Curitima	F	86	Corina, Río Huallaga
11	Rosa Aurora Arirama Yuyarima	F	76	Arahuante, Río Huallaga
12	Alejandrina Canaquiri Tapayuri	F	75	Tamarate, Río Huallaga

Table 2.1. (continued).

	SPEAKER	GDR	AGE	COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN
13	Elías Tapullima	M	77	Tamarate, Río Huallaga
14	Luzmila Curitima Yahuarcani	F	75	Lagunas, Río Huallaga
15	Virginia Tapullima Curitima	F	73	Tamarate, Río Huallaga
16	Julia Murayari Huaycama	F	74	Tamarate, Río Huallaga
17	Pablo Caritimari Murayari	M	68	Achual Tipishca, Río Huallaga
18	Erlinda Murayari Caritimari	F	64	Achual Tipishca, Río Huallaga
19	Edita Murayari Huaycama	F	77	Achual Tipishca, Río Huallaga
20	Wilfredo Pereira Murayari	M	76	Achual Tipishca, Río Huallaga
21	Angel C. Curitima Murayari	M	54	Achual Tipishca, Río Huallaga
23	Balbina Pacaya Jaramillo	F	70	Lupuna, Río Nanay
24	Carmen Arimuya Tamani	F	50	Lupuna, Río Nanay
25	Luisa Guzmán Jaramillo	F	67	Lupuna, Río Nanay
26	Manual Huanaquiri Pacaya	M	72	Santa Clara, Río Nanay
27	Pascual Aquituari Fachín	M	48	Lupuna, Río Nanay
28	Reynaldo Pacaya Arimuya	M	65	Lupuna, Río Nanay
29	Rosa Fachin	F	82?	Lupuna, Río Nanay
30	Richard Ricopa	M	28	Nueva Fortuna, Río Marañón
31	Basilio Ricopa Canaquiri	M	82	Santa Clara, Río Marañón
32	Rosa Isabel Tapayuri Murayari	F	63	Nuevo Arica, Lago Samiria
33	Orlando Murayari Arirama	M	58	Nuevo Arica, Lago Samiria
34	Manuel Murayari Ricopa	M	60	Nuevo Arica, Lago Samiria
35	Elvira Yuyarima Yaycati	F	67?	San Martín, Río Marañon

2.6. Equipment

My approach to fieldwork emphasizes best-practice methodologies for data gathering. In addition to my training at the University of Oregon, via one of the agencies that funded my research — the Hans Rausing Endangered Langauge Project (SOAS)—, I received further training in the use of equipment and software to collect and process high quality recordings with comprehensive metadata. But most importantly, I had the opportunity to implement, test and adapt those techniques in my fieldwork.

In order to collect a corpus of high quality materials, we took to the field the following pieces of equipment:

- A digital camcorder: Sony DCR VX2100
- A digital sound recorder: Marantz PMD660
- Wide lens for camcorder
- Lavelier microphone: Audio-Technica 899
- Condenser microphone: Audio Technica Audio Technica 3300
- Headphones: Sony Dynamic Stereo Headphones
- Laptop: DELL Inspiron
- External Hard Drive: Western Digital
- Tripod, cables, MiniDV tapes, CompacFlash cards, bateries.

The primary method for gathering data was a MiniDV video camera. Because we wanted to document also extra-linguistic information, collecting video-recordings was imperative. The semi-professional Sony DCR VX2100 offers excellent video quality to amateurs, great low-light performance to record indoors, and good battery life. A crucial feature is that it includes an input for an external microphone and an input for headphones. External microphones are essential for increased audio quality, and headphones are important to set up the appropriate recording volume and to monitor the noise in the background during the recordings. Headphones are also necessary for the transcription of the data. In the first trips we noticed that capturing more than three people from a regular distance (about four feet) was somehow problematic. To get three people we had to move far away from our subjects to the

point that we could no longer capture their facial expressions. Thus, in subsequent trips we added a wide-angle lens to capture video with ample background and context. Almost all the recordings were done with the video camera mounted on a tripod. Given the fact that most of the KK villages did not have power, we always had extra batteries for the camcorder.

Due to severe weather conditions, on a few occasions we could not carry out video-recording. In those situations, we were able to record audio using a Marantz PMD660 Portable Compact Flash Digital Recorder and a condenser microphone. The Marantz uses CompactFlash Cards that can store high amounts of uncompressed PCM digital audio file format. Besides its relatively small size and light weight, the advantage of this compact unit is that it can be connected on any laptop computer supporting USB storage devices to upload the recordings at high-speed and with no loss of fidelity. The Marantz runs on power or batteries, which is very convenient for fieldwork in remote areas.

Two microphones were needed to accommodate a range of circumstances and speaker preferences. An omnidirectional lavelier microphone (Audio-Technica 899) was mounted as an external microphone into the video camera and then attached to one of the consultants in order to record multiple people. Since we were working with elders (who often no longer have full control of their movements), we soon learned that it was better to put a good microphone only on the person doing the interview (i.e., Victor Yuyarima, Rosa Amías, or Pascual Aquituari) than trying to hook up a microphone on the "main" speaker. A handheld microphone did not work well either because hand

gestures are crucial in spoken language among the KKs. Recall that the interviewers are also community members, so they could not get used to keeping the microphone still; it was either too far or too close to the speaker in turn, and controlling the volume level of the recordings was extremely difficult. A handheld condenser microphone (Audio-Technica 3300) was used to gather data from the members of the team, who were already more familiar with recording procedures. For instance, we hooked this microphone into the Marantz to record online translations of several clips for the bilingual DVD (explained below).

The basic features a laptop should have for fieldwork purposes would be: enough capacity to transfer and process audio and video data while in the field, the ability to burn CDs and DVDs to share with the community, a long battery life, and be shock resistant.

External hard drives are critical for two reasons. First, in the field, especially in a tropical environment, the security of the collected data and derived products is a serious consideration. Thus, backing up the data regularly to portable external hard-drives is crucial. Second, video data requires massive storage space. Keeping video data in the hard drive of a laptop proves challenging for running any software. So, it is highly recommended to store this material in external hard drives. We did not consider an external harddrive from the beginning of the fielwork, but soon we learned that uploading digital video in its original format (AVI) would crash almost any computer, or in the best case would make it run extremely slow. Thus, we saved all the video data in an external hard drive and only copied into the computer the clips to be edited.

2.7. Gathering the data

Our aim during our visits to the KK villages was to find as many speakers as we could, and to record natural speech in as many contexts and genres as possible. While the collection of primary data was done in the villages, the processing portion was executed back in Iquitos, the closest city to the KK territory. The main reason for this is that to process the data we needed to have access to power to use a computer and specific linguistic software.

As explained above, in the villages I made contact with community members, leaders and teachers. Rosa Amías and Victor Yuyarima were extremely successful not only at finding fluent speakers but also at persuading them to talk in their language. Although the majority of the elders themselves were thrilled to finally have interlocutors in the language, their relatives usually needed some explanation. So, we explained in detail the goals of the project as many times as needed.

We recorded texts such as traditional stories, stories from daily life, personal experiences, spontaneous conversations, songs, etc. Speakers were interviewed individually, in couples, and in groups. While one-on-one sessions created a stress-free environment to talk about personal experiences, sessions in groups ensured the language is used in real communicative situations with a true speaker-hearer relationship to ensure the most natural communicative speech. Also, since either Victor Yuyarima or Rosa Amías conducted the interviews, every recording includes at least one highly fluent speaker. Every speaker knew that if they wanted to stop the recording, they could do so at any point. Thus, when a speaker would say *aynatan* 'this will do it,' we knew

that it was the signal to pause the recording, or just stop it all together. At the end of each fieldtrip, we went back to Iquitos to process the data.

Mainly because of the age of the fluent speakers, while in the villages we did not pursue recordings using stimuli to elicit controlled data. However, in the city of Iquitos, I gathered some video material from Rosa Amías and Victor Yuyarima, with focus on the lexicon and grammar associated with space. For this task, I selected a set of pictures with different elements in them. I explained them that one speaker will describe a scene while the other tries to reproduce it on a separate sheet of paper; next they would compare the original picture and the drawing, and discuss the results. They found it interesting at first, but very soon they thought it was a childish task and suggested moving on to document "more serious" aspects of the Kokama life.

Although for the analyses of this dissertation preference is given to textual material, some elicited data was collected when looking for answers to specific phenomena previously identified in spontaneous speech. Most of the elicited discussed in this dissertation was gathered during the transcription and translation of texts. In addition to elicitation grounded in the need to understand the transcribed texts, I also gathered elicited data through direct interviews, asking native speakers to complete paradigms and translate sentences given in Spanish. Most of the material collected following this strategy was reviewed with a second consultant. Also, on a few occasions, I was able to work with both Victor Yuyarima and Rosa Amías at the same time. During these sessions, both consultants were presented with the same data at the same time looking for their reactions, interaction, and discussion about the patterns in

question. This maximized the reliability of speakers' judgments about the acceptability of specific constructions.

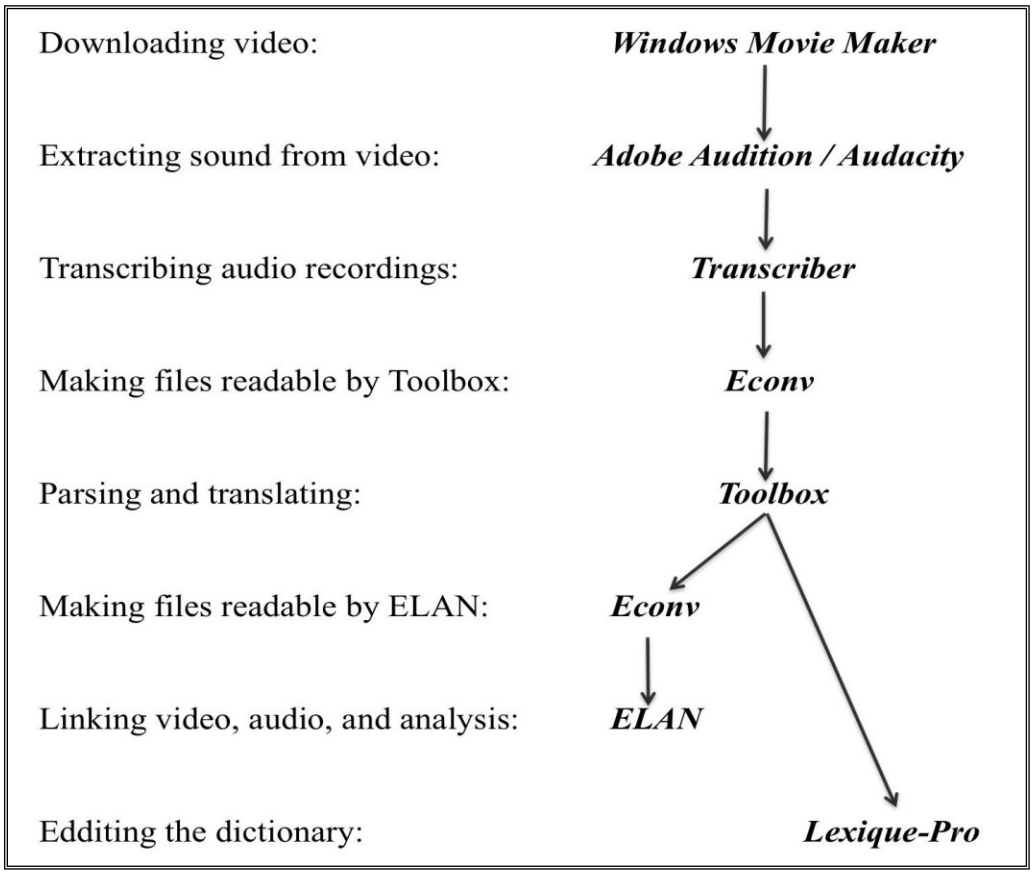
2.8. Processing the data

As mentioned earlier, the transcription, translation, and annotation of texts were developed in collaboration with either Victor Yuyarima or Rosa Amías. The goal in processing the raw data was to end up with versatile outcomes that can be of multiple uses. One of the objectives was the creation of a searchable database of transcribed texts for descriptive purposes, but we also wanted to create some resources for the community. In order to achieve such outcomes, the data was processed using and adapting different software. Figure 2.2 below synthesized the multiple steps we took to handle the raw data.

In the following paragraphs I explained why we have chosen these specific programs and how we used them. At the time we carried out these tasks (i.e., 2006-2008), there were not many alternative techniques available.

First, the videos were downloaded into an external hard drive using *Windows Movie Maker*. Once the videos were downloaded, they were then trimmed and edited to create short videoclips. Every clip corresponds to a different interview. The duration of the clips varies from two minutes to twenty-nine minutes. For instance, a song or a joke could be two minutes long, while a personal narrative could be 20 minutes long.

Figure 2.2: Workflow to process the data



After the basic video editing, audio tracks were extracted from the video clips for subsequent transcription and translation. The audio was extracted from the video using either *Adobe Audition* and *Audacity*. We created WAV files and saved them with the exact same name as their corresponding video clips.

For transcribing the audio files, we used the *Transcriber* 1.4.2.[1] Transcriber is a tool for assisting the manual annotation of audio recordings and linking those

[1] In a workshop given by Connie Dickinson at the University of Oregon, we learned that newer versions of *Transcriber* do not work with *Econv*.

transcriptions to the correct place in the audio file. It is especially helpful for segmenting long duration recordings. Besides transcription, it also allows labeling speech turns, overlapping speech, topic changes, language in use, etc. The negative side of Transcriber is that it cannot use special symbols; however, if there is a need for special symbols, one can use capital letters, a combination of small letters, etc. which can be easily replaced by the corresponding special symbol later in the process. For instance, the KK alphabet includes the letter 'ɨ' to represent the high-central vowel. In *Transcriber*, I use a capital 'I' for this vowel, and later replace it with its corresponding Unicode symbol.

To preserve the timing of each transcription with the audio of intonation unit, before I processed the transcribed files in Toolbox, I ran them through the *Econv* application. *Econv* converts files created with Transcriber (TRS files) into plain text files (TXT files). As mentioned above, this process retains the connections between the analyzed texts and the original audio and video recording. It is also possible to import TRS files directly into ELAN; however the timing information would be lost, and the time-alignment must then be done by hand.

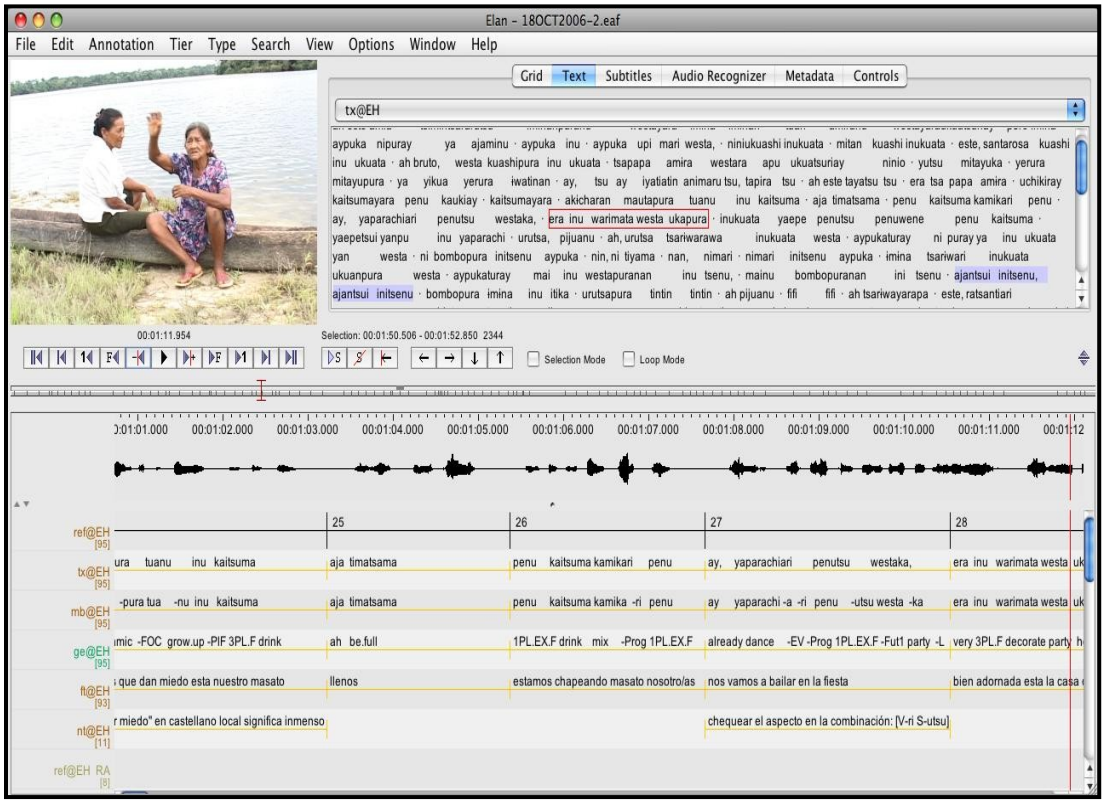
For translating (into Spanish), glossing and annotating the texts we used *Toolbox*, a freely available linguistic program. In addition to facilitating a faster and more reliable segmentation of morphology, it provides a filtering feature and search options to make it possible to explore how grammatical forms are used in specific contexts in large bodies of data. These features are extremely useful to the researcher seeking to base an investigation and description of the grammar of a language on the

largest, most representative sample possible. For instance, the Toolbox database has been key during the writing of this dissertation. To this point, each analyzed text includes five lines or fields: the first line is the transcription of the text using the orthography of the language. The second line contains the parsed morphemes. The third line gives Spanish glosses. The fourth line shows the English glosses. The fifth line presents the free translation in Spanish. So far, a sixth line that offers the free translation in English has been included for only some texts (See Appendix C).

Next, the analyzed data generated by Toolbox (TXT files) are run once again through *Econv* to convert the TXT files into EUDICO files. This process allows the association of each video with their correspondent audio, transcription, and analysis using the ELAN program. That is, *ELAN* integrates the video, audio and annotations in the main document window. It allows waveform visualization of sound files and interactive navigation through the associated files in a single window. Figure 2.3 illustrates how the integrated files look.

As might be obvious at this point, processing the data is a long process; as one might expect, working with video is extremely time-consuming. At this point in the project, we have processed about 15% of the clips; that is, a significant amount of the extant data remains to be processed and transcribed.

Figure 2.3: Integrated video, audio, and annotations in *ELAN*.

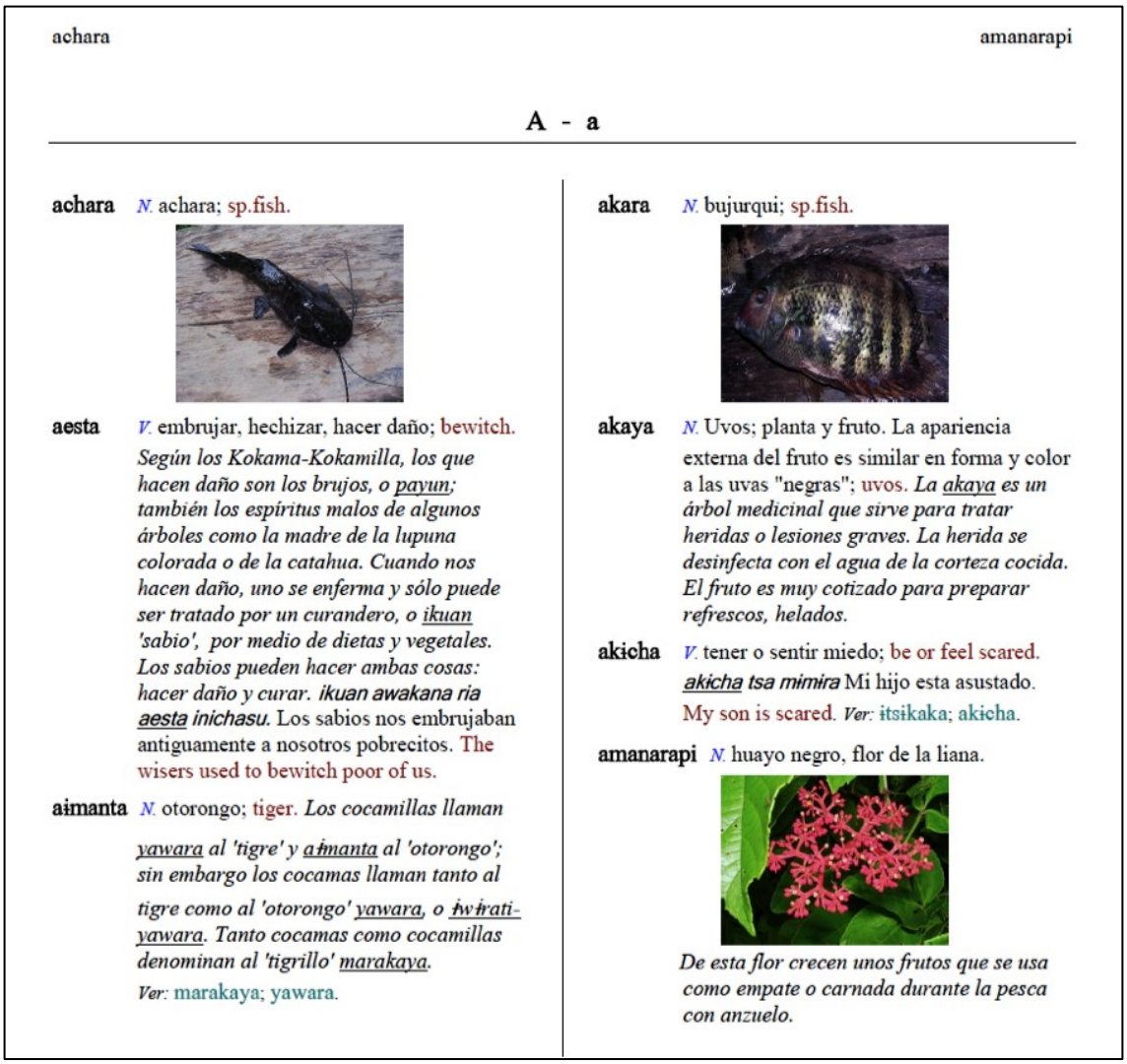


With the community in mind, we wanted to present the lexicon generated when glossing the texts in Toolbox in a user-friendly format. With *Lexique Pro* we can edit the lexical database in a way that they can use. This program allowed us to make a multilingual-interactive lexical database, with hyperlinks between entries, category views, dictionary reversal, and search function. Figure 2.4 is a sample page of the dictionary in page format for printing:

The electronic-based dictionary can be enhanced with sound, pictures, videos etc., and shared in CDs. Lexique Pro also includes tools to export the data in several

formats (including RTF, XML) and print the dictionary in alphabetical order or organized by semantic fields.

Figure 2.4: Sample of the KK dictionary generated with *Lexique Pro*



To make this document useful to Peruvian scholars and educators, as well as to a wider audience, the entries include: part of speech; gloss in Spanish; gloss in English; and an example with free translations to Spanish and English. When relevant, a picture, ethnographic information, and cross-references with other entries are also provided. We

made some progress with a fraction of the entries; however much of this task remains to be done (See Appendix C).

2.9. Outcomes of the project

Up to now, the main product of the documentation project is a corpus of digital recordings which includes about 11 hours of video, four hours of audio, and photographs**.** The video and audio material is of different genres, such as traditional stories, curative songs (*Ikaros*), personal narratives, spontaneous conversations, descriptions, and procedural texts. It has not been a trivial undertaking to make these recordings, as they were collected in communities where the heritage language is no longer used for daily communication. A portion of the raw material has been already processed, which has resulted in:

- A collection of video clips
- A collection of sound tracks
- A collection of analyzed texts
- A collection of photos
- Metadata for all of the above
- A preliminary trilingual diccionary
- A bilingual DVD
- Elicited data
- A reference grammar (this dissertation)

From the raw video, we have created 75 video clips which range from two minutes to 29 minutes in duration. There are copies of all the video clips in AVI format from which only a few MPG files have been generated. Of the total 75 clips, eleven

have been fully processed following the process explained above (see Figure 2.2); that is, each item is associated with two video files (MPG/WVM), an audio track (WAV), a transcription (TRS), analysis and translation (TXT, EUDICO), and files that associate them all (EAF). Twelve additional clips were processed following a different path in order to create a bilingual DVD (explained below).

The four hours of audio recordings have been converted into 14 independent audio tracks in WAV format. Twelve of those tracks have been already processed; that is, each item is associated with the following files: a sound file (WAV), a transcription (TRS file), and its grammatical analysis (TXT file). The metadata for all 89 files (75 video clips and 14 audio tracks) has been recorded in several associated XLS documents.

The grammatical analysis provided in this dissertation, as well as mentions to frequency with which a given construction occurs, are grounded essentially in the text data collected within the project. To this point, the processed database all together consists of 36 texts that contain 4851 intonation units (about 660 pages). As mentioned earlier, the texts include plenty of annotations, and have been complemented with elicited examples. Additional elicited data was collected through direct interview, and saved in several DOC files. At this point, most of the elicited data includes free translation and comments in Spanish.

As explained in the previous section, while processing the texts, a preliminary glossary was generated by Toolbox. At this point, this glossary contains about 1800 lexical entries. On the basis of this glossary, we are working on a tree-language

Dictionary (KK, Spanish, and English). As part of this project we have also collected photos of cultural items; a significant fraction of these pictures is being included in the dictionary.

During the fieldtrips, many people expressed their desire to have copies of the videos. In order to respond to this wish, the team has created a bilingual DVD with a set of selected clips. In the past, while working in FORMABIAP with a group of elementary school teachers, I had the opportunity to record traditional music and lyrics and produce a CD. This CD, which was distributed to some community members, mostly FORMABIAP alumni, made a major impact in the villages. I personally witnessed people celebrating their first (and still only) collection of Kokama-Kokamilla songs. They would play the CD over and over until all of them —especially children — could sing the songs. That is, audio materials have proven to be powerful to connect people with their linguistic roots. Inspired by this experience, we thought that a DVD would be a fine resource for language preservation initiatives. So, we decided to create a DVD in the hope of having a similar, or even greater, impact.

Besides motivating the people to continue to speak the language, such a DVD can be also used as a language resource to reproduce the sounds of Kokama-Kokamilla in formal instructional settings. As mentioned earlier, at present it is difficult to find fluent speakers of the language in many areas within the Kokama-Kokamilla territory. Thus, this DVD can serve to recreate within the classrooms the sounds and patterns of the language as they used in natural contexts.

Once the team selected the clips, with the collaboration of Pascual Aquituari, we created online translations into Spanish for all the folk stories and personal narratives. The translations were created as independent audio tracks using the Marantz recorder. For songs, however, we added Spanish subtitles only at relevant points. For instance, if the speaker introduced the song, only the introductory portion was translated into Spanish. Later, we compiled all the clips using the Roxio program. The DVD includes five traditional songs (with subtitles in Spanish), four folk-stories (in two versions: Kokama-Kokamilla and Spanish) and three personal narratives (in two versions: Kokama-Kokamilla and Spanish). So far this DVD has been distributed to the community members that have participated in the project, and to some KK teachers.

With the approval of the language consultants, these materials are in the process of being archived with the Endangered Language Archive (ELAR) of the Hans Rausing Endangered Language Program, one of the agencies that supported our fieldwork. People interested in accessing those materials will have different types of accessibility as specified by the consultants themselves and the members of the team. To make them available to KK communities, copies of some materials have been provided to FORMABIAP, the project executed by the Peruvian Indigenous Federation AIDESEP. Specifically, a portion of videoclips with their corresponding transcription and analysis have been allocated to FORMABIAP because this institution is putting together a database with samples of Amazonian languages that will soon be available online.

In addition to such concrete resources, it is our hope that the existence of written and audio-visual documentary materials will communicate to the KKs that the outside

world considers their language worthy of study, a fact that should give the language some of the prestige and dignity typically afforded to dominant languages, and which may help create motivation for younger people to learn it. We also anticipate that the products of this project will contribute to the development of literacy in KK, which ultimately is having an impact in strengthening the cultural identity of this indigenous community.

2.10. Final remarks

Here I elaborate on the implications of a teamwork approach to language documentation. One of the lessons learned from this project is that accomplishing goals of both linguists and community members is feasible. If we take a collaborative approach to fieldwork, where community members participate actively from the beginning in identification and design of the projects, the results will meet multiple goals.

Teaming up with community members is the key for the success of preservation and maintenance initiatives. In this project, the community members were not only extremely important and productive in the collection and processing of the data, but most importantly in engaging other people, and generating excitement about their language, ultimately connecting to their roots and stimulating self-recognition of their identity.

Before the community members took a hand in selecting the speakers, and carrying out the actual collection of the data, the collected material was a little different in nature. The data collected by them was more vivid language, rich in figures and

prosody. In sum, when native speakers did the interviews, and ran elicitation session themselves, we collected the most "natural" data.

With limited funding we have direct and indirect results. One outcome of this project was the training of community members in documentary linguistics. For instance, Pascual Aquituari is now learning how to incorporate audio-visual technology into his work. That is, he has started to integrate audio and video materials into teaching Kokama-Kokamilla to young community members who are being trained to become bilingual teachers. Of course, using audio/video material in elementary schools will depend on many other aspects — such as providing the village schools with the necessary equipment — that are far beyond this project.

However, documentary linguistics has its caveats. Engaging oneself in this type of research for graduate work presupposes assuming that a graduate program may take longer to complete than if one carries out purely descriptive work. For instance, processing video to create archival resources is extremely time consuming; working in teams usually entails allocating time to train the team members, committing to produce language resources and archiving materials. This means that our work in the community does not finish after the data has been collected. This is especially true when working with highly endangered languages such as Kokama-Kokamilla.

Another difficulty we encounter is related to the content of the texts. The favorite topics are by far traditional, folk-stories, and anecdotes about events in the community. The resulting data can be skewed and potentially not contain the widest range of grammatical constructions that the language has to cover a variety of discourse

functions. We attempted to correct this "problem" with relative success by making specific suggestions of topics for the interviews. A related issue with the data collected initially is that one of the interviewers would introduce herself at length in almost every recording and with every new language consultant. However, suggesting to her what to say and how much to talk did not seem ethical. This was corrected after the speaker in question and I worked in the transcription of these first pieces of data. The speaker herself very soon noted that not only did we have to transcribe almost the same thing over and over, but also that in most of the tracks she had the tendency to monopolize the conversation. So, in subsequent interviews she introduced herself briefly, giving the interviewed more room to talk.

Technical issues force one to be creative. We faced several setbacks when processing the data, from software that didn't run properly, to frequent crashes of the computer, the presence of fungus in the video-camera while in the middle of the jungle, etc.

Also, working in teams doesn't always go smoothly. This can be an issue when the members of the team have different approaches to basic topics, such as time management. During our visits to the villages, one of the members of the team had the tendency to engage in activities that were well beyond the ones that were planned. He thought that following an itinerary could not be as crucial as helping relatives to cultivate their farms, or build their houses, or as participating in community celebrations. Thus, we had to negotiate constantly around these issues, which forced us to re-schedule our trips multiple times.

Overall, working together with community members has shaped my view and approach to fieldwork. The goals accomplished in this project derive from their enthusiasm and eagerness to save their language. At a more personal level, during the time spent with these particular speakers I have learned much more than linguistics. I have experienced a different way of living which has forced me to open my mind and genuinely value diversity.

CHAPTER III

PHONOLOGY

This chapter is mainly based on the analysis provided in Vallejos (2007), which focuses on the Kokamilla dialect. However, here I include information regarding the Kokama dialect when it deviates from the Kokamilla data. Where modifications to my previous analysis have been made, they will be appropriately indicated. This chapter is organized in five sections: §3.1 is dedicated to consonantal and vocalic segments, including their phonetic realization and the phonological rules that predict their distribution; §3.2 describes the syllable; §3.3 deals with prosody; §3.4 discusses some morphophonological facts; §3.5 introduces an acoustic examination of KK vowels; and §3.6 presents the transcription and orthography that will be used in this dissertation.

3.1. Segments

KK has 11 consonants and five vowels. In what follows, the inventory, phonetic realizations, oppositions and phonological processes associated with both consonants and vowels are offered.

3.1.1. Consonants

Consonantal segments will be described in terms of their articulatory properties. The relevant parameters for KK are place and manner of articulation. Voicing does not distinguish contrastive sounds, but only takes place under specific conditions.

3.1.1.1. Phonemic inventory

The phonemic consonants are given in Table 3.1.[1] The segments are organized into four points of articulation —labial, alveolar, palatal, velar— and six manners of articulation —occlusive, fricative, affricate, nasal, tap and approximant. It is worth pointing out that /ts/ and /ʧ/ constitute units. It is known that in other languages these sequences can be interpreted as a sequence of two segments; however, in KK they function as phonological units. The sounds [s] and [ʃ] do not exist by themselves as phonemes but only as allophones, the result of weakening of affricates under specific conditions. The velar fricative /x/ has a limited distribution, only appearing intervocalically, and it is not very productive in that it only occurs in a few words in female speech. However, these words are highly frequent in natural discourse. This segment can be also produced as a glottal fricative [h], especially in fast speech after non-front vowels.

[1] The results presented here differ significantly from those reported by Faust and Pike (1959). They claim that Kokama has 17 consonantal phonemes, which are: /p, b, t, d, s, š, c, č, k, g, m, n, ñ, r, y, w, h/. In a later work, Faust posits 13 phonemes for Kokama: /p, t, k, c, č, s, š, y, w, m, n, h, r/ (as reported in Lemle 1972). Cabral (1995:312) identifies 12 consonantal phonemes in Kokama: /p, t, c, č, k, [h], m, n, ñ, r, w, y/. The differences between the results reported here and those reported by Faust have to do with the fricatives /s, š/; the difference with the results reported by Cabral is the status of the palatal nasal /ñ/. In the data for this study, these three segments show up in only a few words, mostly borrowings, and under certain conditions. For this reason, the fricative series is discussed in its own section (§3.1.1.4).

Table 3.1: Consonants of KK

POINT MANNER	*Labial*	*Alveolar*	*Palatal*	*Velar*
Occlusive	p	t		k
Fricative				x
Affricate		ts	ʧ	
Nasal	m	n		
Tap		r		
Approximant	w		j	

3.1.1.2. Oppositions

The examples below illustrate only the relevant oppositions. We start by presenting some minimal pairs where the contrasting units share the same point of articulation and appear in onset position, word initially and word internally (i.e., intervocalically). Very few segments occur in coda position, as discussed in §3.2.2. Onset position word initially is indicated by #_, whereas word internally by . _.

(1) Labial segments:

p/m

#CV	/pɨta/ 'foot'	/mɨta/ 'lie'
.CV	/upi/ 'all'	/umi/ 'see'

p/w

#CV	/parana/ 'river'	/waruna/ 'tipiti (manioc press)'
.CV	/ɨpɨra/ 'fish'	/ɨwɨra/ 'tree'

m/w

#CV	/mɨra/ 'navel'	/wɨra/ 'dove'
.CV	/kama/ 'breast'	/kawa/ 'wasp'

(2) Alveolar segments:

t/ ts				
#CV	/tapaka/	‘fish (*palometa*) sp.’	/tsapaka/	‘sharpen’
.CV	/tseta/	‘want’	/tsetsa/	‘flower’
t/n				
#CV	/tana/	‘we’[2]	/nana/	‘pineapple’
.CV	/uti/	‘shy’	/uni/	‘water’
t/r				
#CV	/tuku/	‘liana (*tamshi*) sp.’	/ruku/	‘annato’
CV	/tʃita/	‘a lot’	/tʃira/	‘name’
n/r				
#CV	/nami/	‘ear’	/rama/	‘other’
.CV	/uni/	‘water’	/uri/	‘come’

(3) Palatal segments:

tʃ/j				
#CV	/tʃakata/	‘grate’	/jakari/	‘alligator’
.CV	/jatʃuka/	‘neck’	/ajuka/	‘hit’

(4) Velar segments:

k/x				
.CVC	/takaka/	‘get.married’	/axan/	‘this (FS)’
.CV	/paka/	‘agouti paca’	/axaminu/	‘these (FS)’

The minimal pairs below show contrast between segments with the same mode of articulation.

(5) Stop segments:

p/t				
#CV[3]	/pua/	‘hand’	/tua/	‘big’
.CV	/tɨpa/	‘mermar’	/pɨta/	‘foot’

[2] /tana/ is the pronoun for 1st person plural exclusive male speech.

[3] It seems that in KK there are no tautosyllabic vowels; consequently, there is a syllable boundary between any two vowels that appear in sequence: /pú.a/ ‘hand,’ /tú.a/ ‘big.’ We will come back to this discussion in §2.2.

t/k

#CV	/tawa/	‘color’	/kawa/	‘wasp’
.CV	/uti/	‘get shy’	/uki/	‘burn’

p/k

.#CV	/purara/	‘find’	/kurari/	‘fish sp.’
.CV	/tsapu/	‘blow’	/tsaku/	‘heat’

(6) Affricate segments:

ts/ʧ

#CV	/tsuri/	‘fish (*doncella*) sp.’	/ʧuri/	‘parrot (*pihuicho*) sp.’
#CV	/tsaparu/	‘basket’	/ʧaparu/	‘fish sp.’
.CV	/jatsuka/	‘wash’	/jaʧuka/	‘neck’

(7) Nasal segments:

m/n

#CVC	/maj/	‘spirit’	/naj/	‘grandmother’
.CV	/kamata/	‘work’	/kanata/	‘light’

(8) Approximant segments:

w/j

#CV	/wara/	‘fish (zungaro) sp.’	/jawara/	‘dog’
.CV	/awa/	‘people’	/aja/	‘hunt’

3.1.1.3. Phonological processes

The consonants presented above have several phonetic realizations, most of which appear to have a predictable distribution. The most frequent realizations are the following:

/p/ → [p], [b]
/t / → [t], [d]
/k/ → [k], [g], [k^h]
/ts/ → [ts], [s], [ʧ]
/ʧ/ → [ʧ], [ʃ]
/x/→ [x]
/m/→ [m]

/n/ → [n], [ɲ], [ŋ]
/r/ → [r], [l]
/w/ → [w], [β]
/j/ → [j], [z]

In what follows some realization rules are presented, starting with the most general ones —i.e., those whose scope of application is a natural class. Specific processes that have implications in the phonetic system of the language, i.e., [ʃ], will be discussed in detail towards the end of this section.

3.1.1.3.1. Voicing of stop consonants

The class of voiceless stop segments shows regressive assimilation; they become voiced when following a nasal consonant.

(9) $/C/_{[voiceless]} \rightarrow [C]_{[voiced]} \; / \; C_{[nasal]} \_$

/p/ → [b] / N _
/kunpetsa/ → [kumbetsa] ‘turtle (taricaya) sp.’

/t/ → [d] / N _
/ratsanti] → [rasandi] ‘type of dance’

/k/ → [g] / N _
/jankata/ → [jaŋgata] ‘put’

This process also extends to the alveolar affricate as we can see in the following example:

(10) /ts/ → [dz] / N _
/ɨmɨntsara/ → [ɨmɨndzara] ‘narrate’

However, voicing does not apply to the palatal affricate /ʧ/, neither to the velar fricative /x/ which prevents us from making the generalization that voicing/sonorization affects all obstruent consonants.

3.1.1.3.2. Aspiration of velar stop

The voiceless velar stop becomes aspirated when it precedes the high central vowel. This process is optional, but highly frequent.[4]

(11) /k/ → [k^h] / _ ɨ

/ɨkɨra/	→ [ɨk^hɨra] ~ [ɨkɨra]	'green'
/jakɨ/	→ [jak^{h}ɨ] ~ [jakɨ]	'head'

3.1.1.3.3. Reinforcement of approximants

The approximants show a tendency to get reinforced; that is, they go from a lesser to a higher degree of obstruction. Different approximants show different degrees of reinforcement. In intervocalic position, the labiovelar approximant /w/ is realized as voiced labial fricative [β]; however, the palatal approximant /j/ is realized as a voiced alveolar fricative [z], both word initially and intervocalically.[5] This process is optional.

(12) /w/ → [β] / V_V

/tewe/ →	[tewe] ~ [teβe]	'salt'
/tsawiti/→	[tsawiti] ~ [tsaβiti]	'answer'

[4] In my earlier fieldwork, carried out in 1997, I found that aspiration affected all voiceless stop consonants under the same condition. However, in more recent data (from different speakers), aspiration is only registered on the velar stop. This could mean that the process is optional, limited to certain dialects, or is disappearing.

[5] Cabral (1995:311) reports for Brazilian Kokama that the phoneme /j/ "is optionally realized as [ż] at the beginning of a word."

(13) /j/ → [z] / V_V

/pijaki/ →	[pijaki]~ [pizaki]	‘toucan’
/tujuka/→	[tujuka]~ [tuzuka]	‘earth’

(14) /j/ → [z] / #_V

/juru/ →	[juru] ~ [zuru]	‘mouth’
/jatʃu/ →	[jatʃu] ~ [zatʃu]	‘cry’

3.1.1.3.4. Weakening of the alveolar affricate

The alveolar affricate undergoes weakening. It is optionally realized as a voiceless alveolar sibilant when it precedes non-high vowels. Although this is an optional process, it is frequent in fast natural speech and appears to be more common in the Kokama dialect.

(15) /ts/ → [s] / _$V_{[non\text{-}high]}$

/tsetsa/ →	[tsetsa]~[səsa]	‘flower’
/itsa/ →	[itsa]~[isa]	‘monkey (pichico) sp.’

It needs to be pointed out that the alveolar sibilant [s] also shows up in a few other words in KK. These words can be clearly identified as borrowings from Quechua or Spanish. Here are some examples:

(16)

[sokta]	‘six’	← Quechua	*suqta*	‘six’
[isku]	‘nine’	← Quechua	*isqun*	‘nine’
[saya]	‘skirt’	← Quechua	*saya*	‘manta’
[sandja]	‘watermelon’	← Spanish	*sandía*	‘watermelon’

Some of the words in (16), such as numbers, are highly frequent, although the use of Spanish numbers has also been attested.

3.1.1.3.5. Palatalization of alveolars

Both the affricate and nasal alveolars get palatalized under different conditions, although these conditions are articulatorily similar. In each case we can see different degrees of this process. The alveolar affricate is produced as palatal in front of the front-high vowel. This process is optional but very frequent in spontaneous speech.

(17) /ts/ → [ʧ] / _i
/tsitsa/→ [tsitsa] ~ [ʧitsa] 'face'

The nasal undergoes palatalization when it precedes the palatal approximant. This process is optional in the Kokama dialect, but seems to be obligatory in the Kokamilla dialect.

(18) /n/ → [ɲ] / _j
/tsanjuri/ → [tsaɲuri] 'come on in'
/inja/ → [iɲa] 'fish (carachaza) sp.'
/amanju/ → [amaɲo] 'cotton'
/kinju/ → [kiɲo] 'banana (guineo) sp.'

Faust and Pike (1959) give [ɲ] a phonemic status. That is, to account for the four words in (18), they posit a palatal nasal phoneme. However, there is enough evidence to postulate a patalization process that would account for all the examples presented above without adding a new phoneme to the system. In what follows, I present a possible explanation for each of the terms that in today's KK include a palatal nasal. In the case of /tsanjuri/, this is a lexicalization resulting from two words: *tsani* 'test, try' + *uri* 'come'. Because in KK there are no sequences of vowels, /i/ becomes [j] to avoid the sequence i-u. With respect to the words /inja/ 'fish sp.' and /amanju/ 'cotton', they are

both realized as [inja] and [amanju] in the Kokama dialect of Nauta, which constitutes evidence for the sequence [nj].[6] As for the word /kinju/, this is a borrowing from Spanish [gineo] *guineo* 'banana sp.' Since in KK voiced stops do not occur word initially, [gineo] became [kineo]. Next, because KK doesn't allow two vocalic segments within a syllable, it became [kinju]. In sum, the four words that have been registered as containing [ɲ] can be explained in terms of palatalization.

3.1.1.3.6. Lateralization of the tap

One of the salient features of KK is that there is a single phoneme that varies between rhotic and lateral pronunciation. In other words, the liquid segments [r] and [l] are in free variation, alternating without any conditioning factor, especially in the Kokamilla dialect. Within that dialect, the tendency to produce laterals instead of taps is higher in women than in men. This phenomenon may be interpreted as a residue of what once was a salient feature of the Kokamilla dialect.[7]

(19) /r/ → [l] / everywhere
/rinupi/ → [rinupi] ~ [linupi] 'lime'
/ɨrara/ → [ɨrara] ~ [ɨlala] 'canoe'

[6] Also, *amanyu* [amanju] is the word for 'cotton' reported by Cabral (1995:64) for the Kokama dialect of Brasil.

[7] It is possible that, at some point in the past, the Kokamilla dialect had a lateral [l] instead of a tap, represented here by [r], as part of its inventory. According to some speakers, this has been one of the salient features that differentiated Kokamilla from Kokama where the phoneme was realized as a tap [r]. They explain that, because of the high mobility of the Kokamas towards the Kokamilla territory during the *haciendas* and the rubber era, Kokamilla speech has been "contaminated".

3.1.1.3.7. Velarization of nasal alveolar

The alveolar nasal in coda position word finally is realized as a velar. Evidence for this process are stems with the root 'small'. For instance /miʃananin/ 'the small one.'

(20) /n/ → [ŋ] / _#

/miʃan/	→ [miʃaŋ]	'small'
/ikun/	→ [ikuŋ]	'this' (MS)
/axan/	→ [axaŋ]	'this' (FS)

In general, there is neutralization of nasal phonemes in coda position in that labial and alveolar nasals assimilate the point of articulation of a stop that follows them.

(21) /N/ → [m] / _ p

/puNpuna/	→ [pumbuna]	'bird (*tahuampa*) sp.'
/eyuNpu/	→ [eyumbu]	'with food'

(22) /N/ → [n] / _ t, _ts

/kaNtuni/	→ [kanduni]	'see you tomorrow'
/ɨmɨNtsara/	→ [ɨmɨndzara]	'narrate'
/tseNtsene/	→ [tsendzene]	'flash of lightning'

(23) /N/ → [ŋ] / _ k

/axaNka/	→ [axaŋga]	'here (FS)'
/ʧaNkuna/	→ [ʧanguna]	'fish (*añashúa*) sp.'

3.1.1.4. The series of fricatives

As mentioned earlier, the status of the fricative segments [x] and [ʃ] requires its own discussion. They both have a very restricted distribution in terms of the number of words in which they show up. For instance, so far we have registered only one word with that contains [x]. This word is the demonstrative pronoun /axan/ 'this' from female

speech.[8] This word functions as a noun, taking the plural marker and the locative postposition *-ka* (24).

(24) a. *axan-nu* [axaminu][9] ‘these’
this-PL

b. *axaminu* *tsajpura* ‘these drunk ones’
these drunk

c. *axan-ka* [axaŋka] ‘here’
this-LOC

Although this is the only word that has [x] as part of its form, in natural discourse the use of this word is highly frequent. Furthermore, this word is very salient in KK because it is among the features that distinguishes female speech from male speech. At one point, I explored the hypothesis that [axan] is a borrowing from a language with which KK had long contact, but so far I have not been able to identify its origin. As for the segment [ʃ], only four words containing this sound have been registered: [kwaʃi] ‘sun’, [tipiʃka] ‘lake’, [miʃa] ‘small’, and [tanʃarina] ‘mandarin’. We postulate that [ʃ] is an allophone of /ʧ/. That is, this is a case of lenition. Although we know that phonological descriptions privilege synchronic arguments, as follows we present a diachronic explanation for this process.

We hypothesize that /kwaʃi/ ‘sun’ is the result of simplifying the form /kuaraʧi/ ‘sky, day (portion with sun-light).’ Recall that in some KK dialects the liquid segments

[8] In male speech the same demonstrative is /ikja/**.**

[9] The explanation for why the sequence ***axan-nu*** is produced as [axaminu] could be in the origins of the morpheme –***nu***. One hypothesis is that this plural marker comes from the third person plural pronoun: ***inu***.

[r] and [l] occur in free variation, such that we find both [kwaratʃi] and [kwalatʃi]. First, the lateral segment from [kwalatʃi] disappears, so the form becomes [kwaatʃi].[10] This elision brought two vowels with the same articulatory quality into contact and, since in KK this type of sequence does not exist, they got reduced to one vowel, giving [kwatʃi]. Finally, the affricate consonant in intervocalic position becomes a fricative but maintains its point of articulation, which results in a palatal fricative. The process is summarized below:

/kwalatʃi/ → [kwaratʃi]~[kwalatʃi] > [kwaatʃi] > [kwatʃi] > [kuaʃi]

An additional argument for this analysis is that in the Kokamilla variety some speakers can use both words /kwaratʃi/ and /kuaʃi/ for the same referent 'sun'. However, there is a tendency towards semantic specialization; while the first word is mostly used for referring to the 'sun,' the latter is used for 'day.'

As for the other three words that contain [ʃ], they are certainly borrowings: [tipiʃka][11] and [miʃa] have Quechua origins, and [tanʃarina] was borrowed from Spanish. Taking all these facts into consideration, we conclude that there are not enough arguments to say that [ʃ] is a phoneme.

[10] The elision of segments in intervocalic position is not a strange phenomenon, and the units with more tendency towards to elision are the non-obstruents (Langacker, 1972).

[11] In San Martín Quechua (Peru), *tipi* means 'cut, chopped,' *tipishka* 'bedroom', *tipishka kucha* 'lake that appears when a river change its bed/goes out of its banks'. (Diccionario Quechua de San Martín, ILV 1976:96-97). Notice also that new verbs borrowed from either Quechua or Spanish get incorporated into KK by means of the Quechuan derivational morpheme -iʃka. For instance: [*serbiʃka*] 'serve' from Sp. *servir*.

3.1.2. Vowels

There are three basic parameters to characterize most vowel systems: height, backness, and roundness, whose end points are high and low, front and back, rounded and unrounded, respectively. Originally, these labels were proposed "as descriptions of actually articulatory characteristics of vowels, and taken to specify the highest point of the tongue" (Ladefoget & Maddieson 1996:282). There are, however, discrepancies as to what extent these terms indicate the shape of the vocal tract, especially after comparing articulatory observations with acoustic observations in specific languages. Even though these labels are no longer uncontroversial in their application, we use them here in their traditional sense.

3.1.2.1. Phonemic inventory

KK has five vocalic phonemes, as presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Vocalic phonemes

	Front	*Central*	*Back*
High	i	ɨ	u
Middle	e		
Low		a	

In terms of backness, two vowels are produced towards the frontal area, two vowels close to the center, and one vowel at the back. In the high-low parameter, there are three high vowels /i, ɨ, u/, one mid vowel /e/, and one low vowel /a/. Only the vowel /u/ is rounded.

It needs to be pointed out that the articulatory properties of the vowel /e/ are somehow peculiar. In careful speech, it seems to be produced higher and more centralized than a Spanish /e/. Previous works on the language have also noticed the peculiarity of this phoneme. For instance, Faust and Pike (1959) propose /ü/ instead of /e/. They describe /ü/ as front-rounded, or more specifically "a vowel produced between the Spanish /i/ and /e/, but with a rounded tongue similar to when one produces /s/" (Faust 1972:145, translation mine). Overall, they posit four high vowels, /i, ɨ, u, ü/ and one low vowel, /a/.

In my previous analysis (Vallejos 2007), it was proposed that the vowel in question might be better described as a mid-central /ə/, rather than a mid-front vowel /e/. That is, it was hypothesized that [e] is an allophone of /ə /. Such an analysis would fit better with the notion of symmetry in phonological systems. However, in Vallejos (2007) it was also noted that the allophonic realizations of the front and central vowels show considerable overlap. In order to account for the overlap, a preliminary acoustic examination of front vowels was conducted. The results of this study reveal that a better analysis would be to posit a mid-front vowel /e/ instead of /ə/. The acoustic study is further discussed in §3.5.

3.1.2.2. Oppositions

The following minimal pairs illustrate vowel contrast.

(25) High vowels:

i / ɨ

/wira/ ‘penis’ /wɨra/ ‘bird sp.’

/tsuwi/ ‘tail’ /tsuwɨ / ‘blood’

i / u

/ipu/ ‘sound’ /upi/ ‘all’

/ini/ ‘we (INC)’ /inu/ ‘they (FS)’

ɨ / u

/ ɨra/ ‘lie’ /ura/ ‘3rd.OBJ (MS)’

/ ɨpɨ/ ‘soft’ /ipu/ ‘sound’

(26) High vowels versus mid vowel:

i / e

/uwi/ ‘mandioca’ /uwe/ ‘fly’

/tsitsa/ ‘face’ /tsetsa/ ‘flower’

ɨ / e

/ ɨra/ ‘lie’ / era/ ‘good’

/mɨra/ ‘navel’ /mera/ ‘snake sp.’

u / e

/muna/ ‘steal’ /mena/ ‘husband’

(27) High vowels versus low vowel:

ɨ / a

/kɨwa/ ‘louse’ /kawa/ ‘wasp’

i / a

/uki/ ‘burn’ /uka/ ‘house’

u / a

/kurata/ ‘drink’ /karuta/ ‘bite’

/tatu/ ‘armadillo’ /tata/ ‘fire’

(28) Mid vowel versus low vowel:

e / a

/eju/ ‘eat’ /aja/ ‘hunt’

/uwe/ ‘fly’ /uwa/ ‘arrow’

3.1.2.3. Phonological processes

The vocalic phonemes have the following phonetic realizations:

/i/ → [i], [ɪ], [e]
/e/→ [e], [ə], [I]
/ɨ/ → [ɨ], [ɪ]
/u/→ [u], [ʊ], [o]
/a/→ [a]

As mentioned earlier, it is interesting to note the overlap that occurs among three phonemes. The segments /i/, /e/, /ɨ/, have [ɪ] and [e] among their allophones. The context conditioning these realizations is not always transparent, but an attempt to describe them is made below.

3.1.2.3.1. From high vowels to mid vowels

The high vowels are produced slightly open word finally. In spontaneous speech, they can be produced even further down, as mid vowels. However, the conditioning for this to happen is different for each vowel. While the vowel /u/ is produced as [o] at the end of the word, the vowel /i/ is produced as [e] in final position only when it follows an approximant segment. In careful, slow speech, it is possible to hear high vowels in all contexts.

(29) $/V/_{[high]} \rightarrow [V]_{[mid\text{-}high]} \ / \ \_\#$

/nami/ → [nami] ~ [namɪ] ‘ear’
/umanu/ → [umanu] ~ [umanʊ] ‘die’

(30) $/V/_{[back\text{-}high]} \rightarrow [V]_{[mid\text{-}back]} \ / \ \_\#$
$/V/_{[front\text{-}high]} \rightarrow [V]_{[mid\text{-}front]} \ / \ C_{[approximant]} \_\#$

/itimu/ → [itimu] ~ [itimʊ] ~ [itimo] ‘liana (*tamshi*) sp.’
/tsuwi/ → [tsuwi] ~ [tsuwɪ] ~ [tsuwe] ‘tail’

The mid vowel /e/ is slightly centralized word-medially. This is especially true in fast pronunciation.

(31) /e / → [ə] / C_C

/kuweru/ → [kuwərʊ] ‘pumpkin’
/tewe/ → [tewə] ‘salt’
/atere/ → [atəre] ‘sapodilla (*zapote*) sp.’

3.1.2.3.2. Deletion of unstressed vowels

In KK several cases of vowel deletion have been attested. The cases that occur word internally are described in this section, the ones that take place when two morphemes come into contact are discussed under Morphophonology (§2.4). At the word level, depending on the position of the vowel in question, two types of vowel deletion have been attested.

The first type of deletion occurs word medially. The vocalic nucleus of the antepenultimate (third to the last) syllable undergoes elision. This process occurs under structural and prosodic conditions. First, the word needs to have more than three syllables; and, second, the syllable where the elision happens needs to precede the stressed syllable.

(32) Vowel deletion word-medially

/japu`kɨta/	→	[japkɨta]	‘paddle’
/mara`kaja/	→	[markaja]	‘tiger cat (*tigrillo*)’
/jatu`kupe/	→	[jatkupe]	‘back’

/japɨ`ʧika/ → [japʧita] ‘grab’
/ɨtsɨ`watsu/ → [ɨtswatsu] ‘deer’
/mutsapɨ`rɨka/→ [mutsaprɨka] ‘three’

As a consequence of this process, syllabic restructuring occurs: after the vowel is deleted, the onset consonant becomes the coda of the previous syllable. In other words, whenever a sequence of two consonants occurs word-medially, each consonant is assigned to a different syllable. In this way we end up with consonants in coda position that are strange in careful speech. For instance, one can find voiceless stops in coda position (see below), where only approximants, nasals and the tap have been registered in slow speech.

(33) /ja.pu.`kɨ.ta/→ [jap.`kɨ.ta] ‘remo’
/ma.ra.`ka.ja/→ [mar.`ka.ja] ‘tigrillo’
/ja.tu.`ku.pe/→ [jat.`ku.pe] ‘espalda’

However, when speakers repeat the words slowly, they produce all the vowels. The speakers also recover these vowels when are asked to do syllabification tasks. In consequence, it is possible to say that all these sequences are heterosyllabic consonants. We will come back to this discussion in the section dedicated to the syllable.

A second type of vocalic deletion takes place word initially, where unstressed high vowels /i, u/ disappear preceding the homorganic approximant segments /j, w/ when the following syllable is stressed.

(34) Vowel deletion word-initially

/V/ → Ø /_ .`$C_{[approximant]}$
/u`wata/ → [wata] ‘walk’
/u`wari/ → [wari] ‘fall’

/i`jaka/ → [jaka] ‘get down’
/i`jati/ → [jati] ‘in vain’

As in the previous case, in careful speech all the words in (34) contain three syllables; that is, the speakers recover the vowels in initial position when they are asked to repeat the words slowly.

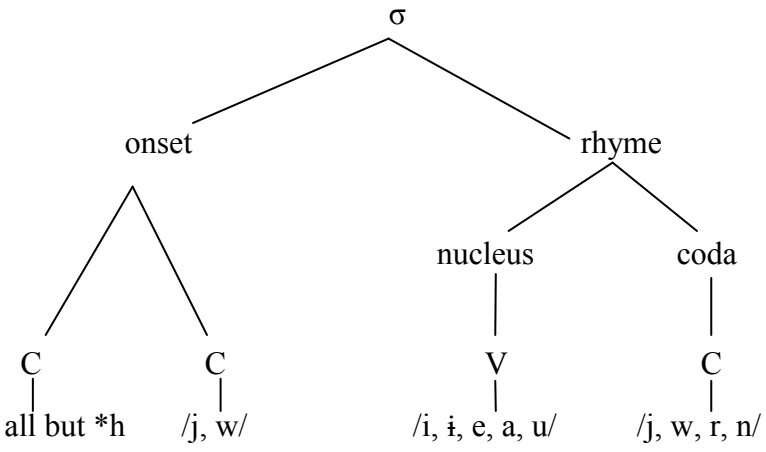
3.2. Phonotactics

In this section we discuss the syllabic pattern found in KK. Syllables constitute the minimal structure where sequences of phonemes are organized into units. They allow us to determine the major categories, that is, to differentiate vocalic segments from consonantal segments. The rhythmic patterns and sequential constraints of a language are identified over syllables.

3.2.1. Syllable structure

KK exhibits the syllable canon (C)(C)V(C). That is, the KK syllable includes an obligatory nucleus and optional initial and final margins. In KK, only vowels can be the nuclei of syllables. The prenuclear margin can contain two consonants and the postnuclear margin one consonant. However, the distribution of consonants within the syllable is highly asymmetrical. The most frequent syllable structure is CV, and the least frequent is VC. The KK syllable is summarized in Figure 3.1. The examples in (35) illustrate all the possible syllable structures that can be generated from the canon presented in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Syllable structure and distribution of phonemes in KK



(35)

V	/u.ni/	'water'
CV	/pa.ra.na/	'river
VC	/aj.ʧe/	'bad'
CVC	/tun.tu/	'drum'
CCV	/kwa.ra.ʧi/	'sun'
CCVC	/i.kjan/	'this'

3.2.2. Distribution of segments

As mentioned above, the distribution of consonants within the syllable is highly asymmetrical. Given the cannon C_1 C_2 V C_3, there are a number of restrictions in the distribution of consonants in the positions C_2 and C_3. All consonants occur as onsets (C_1), but only the approximants /w/ and /j/, and /n/ are codas phonologically (C_3). In the C_2 slot only /w/ and /y/ are possible. That is, whenever a sequence of two consonants occurs word-medially, each consonant is assigned to a different syllable except when the second consonant of the sequence is /w, y/. It should be pointed that "unexpected" clusters may show up as a result of elision of vocalic segments under morphophonological conditions (see §3.4.1.1).

3.2.2.1. Consonant clusters

In CV syllables, all the consonantal phonemes are possible. The examples below illustrate this:

(36)	[tu.ju.ka]	'land'
	[pa.ka]	'agouti paca'
	[mɨ.ra]	'navel'
	[ɨ.wɨ.ti.ni]	'cloudy'
	[ʧa.ka.ta]	'grate'
	[tsu.mi]	'shaman'
	[ja.kɨ]	'head'
	[wɨ.wɨ.ta]	'rock, swing'

In CCV syllables, in C_1 position the segments that can appear are the stops /p, t, k/, the tap /r/, and the nasal alveolar /n/. In C_2 position only the approximants /w, j/ can occur. Within this syllable type, the sequence /tw/ has not been attested.

(37)	[tse.ne.pja]	'knee'
	[tsa.pwa]	'crouch' (Sp. cuclillas)
	[pu.tja]	'chest'
	[ja.tju]	'mosquito'
	[kwe.ma]	'sunrise'
	[i.kja]	'here' (MS)
	[i.rwa.ta.ka]	'mix'
	[rja]	'like this'
	[a.ma.nju]	'cotton'
	[ka.nwa.ra]	'bone'

In coda position in CVC syllables, it is possible to find the approximants /w, j/, the tap /r/, and the nasal /n/. Recall that the alveolar nasal is the only nasal that shows up as a coda as a result of the neutralization process of nasals in this position (See 3.1.1.3).

(38)	[a.kaj.wa]	'tree (*cedro*) sp.'
	[tsɨj]	'earthworm'
	[kaw.pu.ri]	'tree sp.'
	[mew]	'tortilla made out of yucca'

[tsur.ku.ru] ‘my basket’
[aj.pa] ‘grow up’
[ɨn.ta] ‘be annoyed’
[wɨj.ra.ka] ‘early in the morning’
[kan.tun] ‘tomorrow’

3.2.2.2. Vowel clusters

In general, whenever a sequence of two vowels occurs word-medially, each vowel is assigned to a different syllable. The attested sequences involve high vowels and low vowels only; that is, the mid-front vowel /e/ has not been attested either preceding or following any other vowel. When stress is associated with the high vowel, speakers consistently syllabify the words as shown below:

(39) [taj.ri.a] ‘niece’
[pu.a] ‘hand’
[tu.a] ‘big’
[ta.na.u.ka] ‘our house’
[tɨ.a] ‘juice’ (body or plant)
[pɨ.a] ‘liver’
[ta.pɨ.a] ‘savage’
[kɨ.u] ‘garlic’

It seems that to guarantee this heterosyllabic interpretation, the speakers tend to insert approximants between the vowels; /j/ after /i/ and /w/ after /u/. In the case of sequences involving /ɨ/, there is variation as to which segment is inserted: if the following vowel is /a/, either a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] or a voiced alveolar fricative [z] is inserted; if the following vowel is /u/, either a bilabial approximant [w] or a voiced bilabial fricative [β] is inserted. Both are shown in (40).

(40) [taj.ri.ja] ‘niece’
[pu.wa] ‘hand’
[tu.wa] ‘big’
[ta.pɨ.ɣa] ‘savage’
[tɨ.ɣa] ~ [tɨ.za] ‘juice’
[pɨ.ɣa] ~ [pɨ.za] ‘liver’
[kɨ.wu] ~ [kɨ.βu] ‘garlic’

In KK, there is no need to posit diphthongs as phonemic units. A better analysis of vocalic-like sequences that occur within a syllable would be that they are constituted by an approximant, /j/ or /w/, and a vowel.

(41) [aj] ‘already’
[tsaj] ‘tooth’
[tsaw] ‘stink’
[rja] ‘like that’ (MS)
[pwa] ‘rotten’

However, some words containing the sequence /aɨ/ do not have a consistent interpretation. Some speakers break this sequence into two syllables; some keep them together; others have mixed intuitions about a word. These words are the following:

(42) [aɨ] ‘sloth’
[aɨ.man.ta] ‘otorongo’
[kaɨ] ~ [ka.ɨ] ‘shin’
[taɨ.ra] ~ [ta.ɨ.ra] ‘male’s son’

If we analyse these words with respect to stress assignment, one of them turns out to be problematic. Going against some speakers’ intuitions, for ‘sloth,’ ‘otorongo,’ and ‘shin’ we could hypothesize that the vowels /a/ and /ɨ/ belong to two different syllables without major structural consequences. However, there is a problem in the case of ‘male’s son.’ As will be explained in more detail in the next section, in general,

stress occurs in the penultimate syllable, and under certain conditions in the last syllable. But no word has been attested with stress in the antepenultimate syllable. From now on (`) indicates stress.

(43) [`a.ɨ] ‘sloth’
[a.ɨ.`man.ta] ‘otorongo’
[`ka.ɨ] ‘shin’
*ta.`ɨ.ra ‘male’s son’

As shown in (43), if the vocalic sequence in /taɨra/ is broken into two syllables, stress would have to occur on the penultimate syllable ***ɨ***, which produces a word that no speakers consulted were willing to accept. If stress is assigned to the syllable ***ta***, then this word would be the only exception to the stress pattern. For this reason, the sequence /aɨ/ could be hypothesized as the only phonemic diphthong in this language.

3.2.3. Phonological word

A word minimally has one syllable; however, even though a V can constitute a syllable, a single-vowel word is not attested in KK. The most common pattern among monosilabic words is CV, although all the other possible structures are also attested.

(44) CV : ta ‘I’ (MS)
tsa[12] ‘I’ (FS)
pe ‘path, road’
ku ‘farm’
ti ‘nose’

[12] As mentioned earlier, [ts] and [ʧ] in some languages can be interpreted as a sequence of two segments; however, in KK they function as phonologic units. The sounds [s] and [ʃ] no do not exist by themselves as phonemes but only as the result of weakening of affricates under specific conditions.

(45) VC : aj ‘already’
uj ‘mandioca’ (Kokama dialect)

(46) CVC : tsaj ‘tooth’
naj ‘grandmother’
kaj ‘monkey’
tsaw ‘stink’
tsen ‘sweet’

(47) CCV : rja ‘like that’ (MS)
pwa ‘rotten’

(48) CCVC: rjaj ‘also’ (MS)

In terms of the number of syllables per word, disyllabic and trisyllabic words are the most frequent (49). Four syllable words are also quite common (50). Words with more than four syllables are possible in natural discourse as a result of inflexion, derivation, and cliticization processes (51).

(49) ɨ.pɨ ‘soft’
ki.wi ‘brother’[13]
ta.ta ‘fire’
i.cha.ri ‘leave’
cha.pu.ni ‘delicious’
ma.pɨ.rɨ ‘lazy’

(50) a.ma.nɨ.wa ‘tree (*capirona*) sp.’
ti.ma.tsa.ma ‘be full’
ta.ni.mu.ka ‘ash’

(51) ta.ta.wa.chi.ru ‘bag’
ta-tawa-chiru
RED-pick.up-container

i.ri.wa.ta.ka ‘turn over’
iriwa-ta-ka
come.back-CAU-REI

[13] This term is used for females to refer to any male member of the community.

ni.rwa.pu.ra.nu ‘our brothers’
ini=irua-pura-nu
1PL.EX-brother-FOC-PL

ni.ra.pu.ra.ra.ta.na ‘he doesn’t find us’
ni=ra=purara=tana
NEG=3=find=1PL.IN

3.3. Prosody

3.3.1. Stress patterns

Word stress can have distinctive (i.e., change in meaning) and/or delimitative (i.e., word boundary) functions (Ladefoged 2001, Fudge 1984). In KK, word stress has delimitative functions. In general, stress is fixed and occurs on the penultimate syllable of a word. Therefore, stress constitutes the basic criterion to identify word boundaries in KK. Speakers seem to have clear intuitions in this respect when asked to break chunks of sound material. For instance, consider the pair of examples in (52):

(52) a. wɨ.ra.kɨ.`ra.tsu ‘to the little bird’
wɨra=kɨra=tsu
bird=DIM=DAT

b. wɨ.ra`kɨ.ra `tsu ‘the meat of the little bird’
wɨra=kɨra tsu
bird=DIM meat

Example (52a) constitutes a single word, and stress occurs in the penultimate syllable /*ra*/. In contrast, (52b) contains two words, /*wɨrakɨra*/ and /*tsu*/. Note that, in the first word, stress is on the penultimate syllable, /*kɨ*/. Monosyllabic words usually do not carry strong stress, unless there is a chance that the hearer might misinterpret a given

sequence of sounds. In (52b), for instance, speakers tend to put stress on /*tsu*/ to make it clear that this sequence is different than (52a).

The stress pattern changes in a few cases, under specific morphophonological conditions. In the remainder of this section, these conditioning factors are discussed. To fully account for stress, we need to discuss stress on words that contain only one morpheme (§3.3.2) as opposed to stress on words that contain more than one (§3.3.3).

3.3.2. Stress in monomorphemic words

In polysyllabic words that contain one morpheme, stress follows the pattern described above: it always goes on the penultimate syllable, as illustrated in (53).

(53)

`a.mi	‘grandfather’
`tse.nu	‘hear’
ja.`ka.ri	‘alligator’
ʧi.`kwa.ra	‘buttock’
ta.ma.`kɨ.ʧi	‘fish (*gamitana*) sp.’
ɨ.tsɨ.`wa.tsu	‘deer’

3.3.3. Stress in polymorphemic words

As was mentioned above, in KK, words with more than four syllables are less common and usually are the result of inflection, derivation or cliticization processes. In this type of word it is possible to find a primary stress (`), in the penultimate syllable, and a secondary stress (``), that goes two syllables before the syllable with primary stress. Following this strategy, the basic stress pattern does not change.

(54)

ja.`wa.ra	‘dog’
ja.``wa.ra.`pa.na	‘black tiger’
ɨ.mɨn.`tsa.ra	‘narrate’
ɨ.``mɨn.tsa.`ra.ka	‘chat’

`ka.ri	‘drag’
ka.ri.`ta.ka	‘limp dragging a foot’
ka.ri.``ka.ri.`ta.ka	‘limp jumping on a foot’

However, there are cases in which the stress pattern changes when a radical morpheme gets attached to another morpheme. In the examples below, stress occurs on the final syllable.

(55)

`e.ju	‘eat’
e.`jun	‘food’
pa.`na.ra	‘banana’
pa.na.ra.`pan	‘banana farm’
i.`ra.ra	‘canoe’
i.ra.ra.`tu	‘big canoe’
`a.wa	‘person’
a.wa.`ja	‘like a person’
ya.`kɨ.tsa	‘hair’
ya.kɨ.tsa.`nan	‘only hair’
`tɨ.ma	‘no’
tɨ.ma.pu.`ra	‘no + FOC’

In previous works on KK, it was suggested that stress falls on the penultimate syllable when a word ends with a vowel, but on the final syllable when the word ends with a consonant. (Cabral 1995:315). Looking at the examples in (55), this doesn’t seem to be the case. Such an analysis would account for only a portion of the data. An alternative analysis is to posit that in KK some morphemes have stress as part of their forms. That is, this group of morphemes would have to be learned as stressed. Notice, however, that the morphemes triggering stress shift do not conform any special

functional set. There are derivational morphemes, postpositions, the focus morpheme, temporal morphemes, etc. The following paradigm shows this even more clearly:

(56)	u.`wa.ri	'born'	
	u.wa.`rjuj[14]	'just born'	*uwari=uj*
	u.wa.ri.`kwa	'born days ago'	*uwari=ikwa*
	u.wa.ri.tsu.`rjaj	'born long ago'	*uwari=tsurjaj*[15]

Except for the base word *uwari,* all the resulting stems in (56) have stress on the final syllable. Interestingly, though, there is an additional condition for the shift of stress to apply. The stressed morpheme has to close the word; that is, it needs to occur at the end of the word in order for stress to appear in the last syllable. This is shown in (57).

(57)	a. `**mu**.na			'steal'
	b. mu.`**na**.ri	-ri	PROGRESSIVE	'stealing'
	c. mu.na.`**rin**	-n	RELATIVIZER	'who is stealing'
	d. mu.na.rin.`**ja**	=ja	COMPARATIVE	'like the one stealing'
	e. mu.na.`**rin**.ka	=ka	LOCATIVE	'where the one stealing (is)'

In (57a) we have a verbal base *ikwa* 'to know', with stress on the penultimate syllable ***i***. In (57b), the unstressed progressive morpheme *-ri* is attached to ikwa, and the basic stress pattern still applies, i.e. stress occurs on the new penultimate syllable ***kwa***. In (57c) the stressed relativizer *-n* gets attached, and stress shows up on the last syllable ***rin***, which contains the nominalizer. However, if an additional stressed morpheme, i.e. *=já* 'comparative' is attached (57d), stress no longer occurs on the syllable ***rin***, but it moves on the last syllable, ***ja***. However, if an unstressed morpheme is attached, the

[14] Here, additional changes because morphophonolical reasons. This is explained in the next section (§2.4)

[15] In the kokama dialect, the remote past is *tsúri*, in the Kokamilla dialect *tsuri* tend to be attached bt the particle already *áj*.

basic stress pattern is recovered. In (57e) the locative *=ka* occurs at the end of the word, and stress goes on the penultimate syllable ***rin***.

The pairs of examples below, which only differ in the position of stress, are further evidence for the claim that some morphemes are stressed:

(58) a. a.xa.`**ja** 'Like this one'
axa=já
DEM=CMP

b. a.`**xa**.ja ‘It is said that this one…’
axa=ja
DEM=EVI

(59) a. nya.u.ki.`**kwa** ‘You made…’
n=yauki=ikwá
2=make=PST

b. nya.u.`**ki**.kwa ‘Because you make…’
n=yauki=ikwa
2=make=RSN

(60) a. chi.kwa.ra.ta.`**ra** ‘will follow him/her’
chikwara-ta=r=á
follow-CAU-3=FUT

b. chi.kwa.ra.`**ta**.ra ‘If (someone) follow(s)…’
chikwara-ta=ra
follow-CAU-CND

In (58a), the example includes the demonstrative *axa* ‘this’ (female discourse) and the comparative postposition *=já*. However, in (58b) the demonstrative *axa* occurs followed by the evidential/modal particle *=ja* ‘it is said.’ In (59a), the stressed temporal clitic *=ikwá* is attached to the verb ‘make’, whereas in (59b) the subordinator *=ikwa* ‘reason’ occurs appended to the verb. Likewise, in (60a) future marker *=á* is attached to the verb and stress shows up on the last syllable, but in (60b) the conditional *=ra* is

attached, allowing stress to occur on the penultimate syllable. In sum, in (58a), (59a), and (60a) the basic stress pattern is broken, whereas in their (b) counterparts it is not. To account for this data we need to posit that the comparative *=já*, the past tense *=ikwá*, and the future marker *=á* are stressed; in contrast, the evidential/modal particle *=ja*, the subordinator *=ikwa* and the conditional *=ra* are not, so that words that contain these morphemes follow the basic stress pattern.

Table 3.3 presents a list of morphemes that have stress as part of their forms. Interestingly, except for the 'nominalizer' and the 'recent past', all the others include the vowel /a/ as their syllabic nucleus.

Table 3.3: Stressed morphemes

MORPHEME	GLOSS
-'n	nominalizer
-tú	augmentative
-pán	derivative
=já	comparative
=új	recent past
=ikwá	mediate past
=tsurj-áj	remote past (Kokamilla)
=á	uncertaint future
=nán	restrictive focus
(=)áj	already (discourse particle)

3.4. Morphophonemics

The main morphological scenario that motivates a number of phonological processes is the morpheme boundary. In addition, partial reduplication (initial and internal) is employed to convey aspectual meanings §3.4.2.

3.4.1. Morpheme boundary

Because in KK there are no vocalic sequences, when a morpheme ends in a vowel and the following morpheme starts with a vowel, one of three morphophonological processes must take place, conditioned by quality of the vowels within the sequence.

3.4.1.1. Elision of final vowel

There is a regular elision process when two morphemes come into contact. If the preceding morpheme ends in one of the central vowels, /a/ or /ɨ/, the final vowel gets deleted. Although in careful speech the vowel /ɨ/ tends to be retained word finally, in spontaneous speech it also gets deleted. This type of elision is extremely productive in natural speech, and could be summarized as:

/a, ɨ/ → Ø /_ + V

In the following examples, the first element is a root and the second element is a bound morpheme:

(61) *kurata=uj* → [kuratuj] 'drunk'
drink=PAS1

wakupa=inu → [wakupinu] 'corvinas'
corvina- PL.DF

ukɨrɨ-pa=uj → [ukɨrɨpuj] 'slept completely'
sleep-CMP-PAS1

pɨpɨchɨ=uj → [pɨpɨchuj][16] 'fruit of palm (in object slot)'

[16] In KK tense is a verb phrase clitic. Thus, when *pɨpɨchɨ* functions as the object of a sentence, tense would show up attached to it. More details in Chapter XIX.

palm.fruit=PAS1

uchima-ka=uri → [uchimakuri] ‘end up getting out again’
go.out-REI-AUX

Elision of vowels is also frequent in auxiliary-like constructions, that is, with less phonologicaly bounded elements:

(62) *tseta + eju* → [tseteju] ‘want to eat’
want+eat

chikari=na + uri → chikarinuri] ‘come to look for you’
look.for=2 + come

jawatʃima+ ukwa → [jawatʃimukwa] ‘usually arrive’
arrive + use.to

jawatʃima + ikwa → [jawatʃimikwa] ‘because of arriving’
arrive + RZN

uwaka-pa + era → [uwakapera] ‘totally transformed’
become-CMP + be.good

This process is also common with pronouns. Pronouns occur preceding a verb (subject), preceding a noun (possessor), or following a verb (object). The examples in (63) demonstrate this.

(63) *tana=umi* → [tanumi] ‘we see’
1PL=see

tsa=urkuru → [tsurukuru] ‘my basket’
1=basket
ajuka=ura → [ajukura] ‘hit him/her’
hit=3O

If the condition is satisfied, the deletion process can apply multiple times within a word.[17] This is illustrated in (64). Again, the speakers have no problem recovering the vowels when asked to repeat slowly.

(64) *na=erura=ura=utsu* → [nerurutsu] 'You will bring it'
2=bring=3O=FUT

The elision process, as explained above, applies to /a/ and /ɨ/. However, the vowels /i/, /e/ and /u/ can also be deleted but under more restricted conditions: the following morpheme must start with /i/, /ɨ/ or /e/ —that is, non-back vowels. Schematically:

/i, e, u/ → Ø /_ +V [non-back]

(65) *ep**e**=ɨrara* → [epɨrara] 'your canoe'
2PL=canoe

*ichar**i**=ene* → [icharene] 'leave you'
leave=2

*ep**e**=ikak**u**=ɨkɨ=pu* → [epikakɨkɨpu] 'You diet with spice pepper'
2PL=diet=pepper=INS

*in**u**=ɨpɨtsa* → [inɨpɨtsa] 'they stay until night'
3PL=night

[17] The deletion of final segments can go further. It has been attested that the sequence of approximant and vowel /wa/ can be deleted when it comes into contact with a morpheme that starts with a vowel (b). Under the same conditions, the deletion can potentially involve the final syllable (b).
a. *ja=uk**wa**=ikwa* → [zukikwa] 'because he goes around'
3=go.around=RSN
b. tsewe**ka**=kwara → [tsewekwara] 'within the stomach'
stomach=INE

3.4.1.2. Merging of vowels

When two vowels with the same articulatory quality come into contact, they become one. This phenomenon can also be analyzed as a subtype of elision of final vowel, described in §3.4.1.1.

$V_iV_i \rightarrow V \quad / V_i+V_i$

(66) *tsumi* + *ikaku* → [tsumikaku] 'the shaman puts himself on a diet'
shaman diet

erutsu=uj → [erutsuj] 'brought'
bring=PAS1

tsenu=ura → [tsenura] 'hear it'
hear=3O

jawachima-ari → [jawachimari] 'arriving'
arrive-PROG

uk~~i~~r~~i~~-pa=aj → [uk~~i~~r~~i~~paj] 'already sleep completely'
sleep-CMP-already

etse=era → [etsera] 'I am good'
1 = be.good

3.4.1.3. Final vowel becomes an approximant

In addition to the elision and merging rules, there is another strategy to deal with vocalic sequences. When two vowels come into contact, the final vowel of the preceding morpheme — the first vowel within the sequence — becomes an approximant. Depending on the quality of the first vowel, the approximant will be either /j/ or /w/. When a morpheme ends in the vowels /i/ or /e/ and the following

morpheme starts with either /a/ or /u/ — that is, back vowels — the vowel becomes a palatal approximant /j/.[18]

/i, e/ → j / _+V [back]

(67) *katupe-ari* → [katupjari] 'appearing'
appear-PROG

itini=ari → [itinjari] 'around the shore'
shore=DIF

uwari=uj → [uwarjuj] 'fell'
fall=PAS1

ami + apuka → [amjapuka] 'grandfather laughs'
g.father laugh

wepe + arara → [wepjarara] 'one macaw'
one + macaw

If a words ends with the vowel /u/, it becomes a labial approximant /w/.

/u/ → w / _& V [back]

(68) *jatʃu-ari* → [jatʃwari] 'crying'
cry-PROG

ɨaku=ari → [ɨɣakwari] 'around the creek'
creek=DIF

There is a set of words for which the rules described above can be applied optionally. That is to say, in a few examples the speaker can either delete the first vowel within the vocalic sequence, or turn it into an approximant. Interestingly, though, this is only possible for a small set of words. The examples in (69) show that when two low

[18] One example is attested in which /e/ becomes /w/.
r-ipe=aj → [ripwaj] 's/he got warm already'
3-get.warm=already

vowels /a/ come into contact, the first vowel within the sequence can either be deleted or can become an approximant /j/.

(69) *ikara-ari* → [ikarari] ~ [ikarjari] 'singing'
sing-PROG

tsakama=ari → [tsakamari] ~ [tsakamjari] 'around the branches'
branch=DIF

In example (70a), the conditions for the final vowel of the first morpheme to be deleted are satisfied; however, the speaker can either delete it or turn into an approximant. However, notice that under the same conditions, deletion is not allowed (70b).

(70) a. *ichar**i**=ene* → [icharene] ~ [icharjene] 'leave you'
leave=2

b. *um**i**=ene* → *[umene], [umjene] 'see you'
see=2

3.4.1.4. Palatalization of affricate

The alveolar affricate /ts/ becomes the palatal affricate [ʧ] when the following morpheme starts with the vowel /i/ or the palatal approximant /j/. The most common element that undergoes this process is the first person proclitic {ts=} (female speech).

/ts/ → ʧ / + i, j

(71) *ts=iriwa* → [tsiriwa] ~ [ʧiriwa] 'I come back'
1=come.back

ts=japana → [ʧapana] 'I run'
1=run

ts=yamimi → [ʧamimi] 'I hide'
1=hide

3.4.1.5. Palatalization of alveolar nasal

The alveolar nasal /n/ becomes palatal nasal [ñ] when the following word starts with the palatal approximant. This process is very common with the second person singular proclitic {n=} (72a). Interestingly, this process has also been extended to the first person plural inclusive {ini} which in fast speech can get reduced to [ɲ]; that is, *ini* becomes /ɲ/ (72b)

/n/ → ɲ / + j

(72) a. n=jauki →[ɲauki] ‘you make’
2=make

b. ini=ikara →[ɲikara] ‘we sing’
1PL=sing

3.4.1.6. Labialization of alveolar nasal

The alveolvar nasal /n/ becomes /m/ when it is the nominalizer morpheme *-n* and it is followed by the pluralizer/-inu/ (female speech):

(73) *kakɨrɨ-n-inu* → [kakɨrɨminu] ‘the living one’
live-NZR-PL
ɨmɨna-n-inu → [ɨmɨnaminu] ‘the old ones’
long.ago-NZR-PL

ikua-n-inu → [ikuaminu] ‘the wizers’
know-NZR-PL

timi-n-inu → [timiminu] ‘the isolated ones’
separate-NZR-PL
tsu-jara-n-inu → [tsuyaraminu] ‘body’(lit. possessor of meat)
meat-possess-NZR-PL

tua-n-inu → [tuaminu] ‘elders’
grow-NZR-PL

ɨkɨra-tsen-inu → [ɨkɨratseminu] ‘kids’
unripened-NZR-PL

3.4.1.7. Pronoun reduction and cliticization

KK has three sets of pronominal forms —long forms, short forms, and clitics— whose distribution is driven by information structure factors. Clitics are the phonological reduction of short form pronouns. For instance, from *tsa* ‘first person short pronoun (female speech)’, we have the clitic *ts*= . As a result, in natural connected speech, many “unexpected” consonant clusters are attested. By unexpected I mean clusters that a speaker would resolve in a different way if he were asked to repeat an utterance. As described in §3.2.2, sequences of stops or stops plus affricates are not likely to occur within a syllable in careful speech. However, they do occur in spontaneous speech. In (74), I present examples involving personal clitics:

(74)	*t=kumitsa*	‘I say’	[tk]
	ts=kakɨrɨ	‘I live’	[tsk]
	ts=katupe	‘I show up’	[tsk]
	ts=*purara*	‘I find’	[tsp]
	ts=*chikuara*	‘I follow’	[tsch]
	r=*chikari*	‘s/he look for’	[rch]
	r=*tsenu*	‘s/he hears’	[rts]

3.4.2. Reduplication

Partial reduplication of roots is relatively productive in the language for conveying aspectual meanings (Chapter VII). KK has two types of reduplication: initial (or prefixal) reduplication and internal (or infixal) reduplication.

3.4.2.1. Initial reduplication

In verbs containing three CV syllables, the first two syllables are repeated. In the structures below, the syllables that are repeated are indicated in bold.

(75) **CV.CV**.CV → **CV.CV**.CV.CV.CV

chikari	'look for'	→	*chika-chikari*	'keep on looking for, continuously'
tsapuki	'call'	→	*tsapu-tsapuki*	'keep on calling'
kupetaka	'limp'	→	*kupe-kupetaka*	'hobble, be lame'
tsakamɨka	'cross'	→	*tsaka-tsakamɨka*	'intertwine, interweave'
michiku	'wrinkle'	→	*michi-michiku(-ka)*	'wrinkle, fold'

Syllable weight becomes relevant to explain a few examples that do not follow the rule in (75). As can be seen in (76a), below, if the first syllable is light (i.e. monomoraic, CV) and the second heavy (i.e. bimoraic, /Cja/) the same rule of "repeat the first two syllables" applies (i.e., *parjatsu* > *parja-parjatsu*). However, as shown in (76b), if the first syllable is heavy (Caj), and the second light, only this first syllable is repeated. This is the least common pattern, though.

(76) a. **CV.CjV**.CV → **CV.CjV. CV.CjV**.CV.CV

parjatsu 'suffer' → *parja-parjiatsu* 'constant suffering/suffer a while'

b. **CVj**.CV.CV → **CVC.CVC**.CV.CV

majnani 'take care' → *maj-majnani* 'protect constantly'

In three-syllable words whose first syllable contains only a vowel, the reduplicated portion is the first vowel and the onset of the second syllable.

(77) **V.C**V.CV → **V.C**.**V.C**V.CV

arɨwa	'be on top'	→	*ar-arɨwa*	'be in a pile, one on top of the other'
itika	'throw/leave'	→	*it-itika*	'get separated, divorce'
ɨyɨ	'to grill'	→	*ɨy-ɨyɨ*	'grill something for a while'

3.4.2.2. Internal reduplication

There is a set of verbs that shows infixal reduplication, in which only the second syllable is repeated. Examples in (78) are three syllable words, and in (79) four syllable words.

(78) V.**CV**.CV → V.**CV-CV.**CV

ipama	'stand up'	→ *ipa-pa-ma*	'stand up for a while'
erura	'bring'	→ *eru-ru-ra*	'carry'

(79) CV.**CV**.CV.CV → CV.**CV-CV**-CVCV

kakirika	'move'	→ *kaki -ki- rika*	'move repeatedly, like earthquake'
yaparari	'sink'	→ *yapa-pa-rari*	'keep sinking, disappearing from surface'

In two syllable words, the nucleus of the first syllable and the onset consonant of the second syllable are repeated.

(80) CV.CV → CV.C-**V.C**-V

yuti	'stay'	→ *yut-ut-i*	'stay for a long time, remain'
umi	'see'	→ *umi-mi(-ka)*	'observe'

It should be pointed out that particular verbs are associated with particular types of reduplication. That is, any given verb root cannot take both types of reduplication. All the examples discussed here were found in natural discourse and explored via elicitation. Note that some tokens, in addition to the reduplicated portion, also include the reiterative morpheme *-ka* at the end of the verbal word. It could be argued that *-ka* is the element contributing the aspectual information. Upon elicitation, however, the reiterative marker is optional.

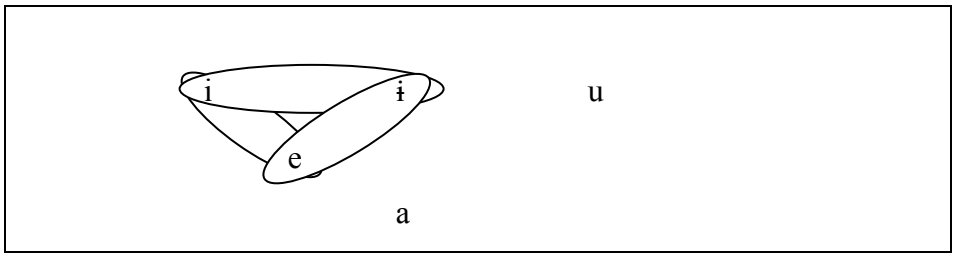
3.5. An acoustic examination of front vowels

This section presents the results of a preliminary acoustic investigation of the KK vowel system, focusing on the front vowels. First I introduce the vowels under discussion (§3.5.1) followed by the data and methodology employed in this study (§3.5.2). I close this section with the main findings (§3.5.3) and some conclusions (§3.5.4).

3.5.1. KK front vowels

As presented above (§3.1.2), an articulatory and structural analysis reveals that KK has five vocalic phonemes: /i, ɨ, e, u, a/. However, a considerable amount of overlap has been noticed among the phonetic realizations of front vowels. This is shown in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Overlap among KK front vowels



In both Kokama and Kokamilla dialects, all three of the phonemes /i, ɨ, e/ can be produced as a lax-front vowel [ɪ], especially word finally. In addition, in Kokamilla, /i/ and /e/ are mutually interchangeable in many contexts without any apparent phonetic conditioning. Interestingly, in some words this free variation is not possible, at least not in careful speech. In addition, there are some clear minimal pairs involving these vowels. For the opposition /e/ vs. /ɨ/ there are no minimal pairs, but in a few words,

where the front vowel [e] occurs at the end (and so in free variation with [i]), this alternating vowel is in opposition to the invariant /ɨ/ (75c). In sum, there are minimal pairs (75), words where free variation of front vowels is possible (76), and words where free variation is not possible (77).

(75) Minimal Pairs:

a. [i] vs. [ɨ] :	wira	vs.	wɨra	'bird' / 'penis'
b. [e] vs. [i] :	tsetsa	vs.	tsitsa[19]	'flower' / 'face'
	eju	vs.	iju[20]	'eat' / 'yellow'
	uwe	vs.	uwi[21]	'fly' / 'manioc'
	ene[22]	vs.	ini	'you' / 'we'

c. [e]~[i] vs. [ɨ] :	tsuwi ~tsuwe	vs.	tsuwɨ	'tail' / 'blood'
	jatsi~jatse	vs.	jatsɨ	'cover' / 'moon'

(76) Words where free variation of front vowels is possible:

wepe~wɪpɪ~wipi	'one'	*wɨpɨ
kupe~kupi	'grew plants'	*kupɨ
era~ira	'good'	ɨra 'lie'

(77) Words where free variation of front vowels is not possible:

titi	'alone'	*tite, *teti, *tete, *tɨtɨ
ipu	'sound'	*epu, *ɨpu

[19] Speakers have several ways to make explicit the difference between minimal pairs. For instance, when a Kokamilla speaker was asked to produce 'flower' and 'face' in sequence, he gave me [tsetsa] / [ʧitsa]. Recall that the alveolar affricate can get palatalized in front of the high-front vowel (see (17)).

[20] To emphasize the difference between 'eat' and 'yellow,' a speaker gave me [eju] / [jiju]. In other words, he inserted an approximant in front of the high front vowel in the word for 'yellow'.

[21] In the Kokama dialect, 'manioc' is the monosyllabic form [uj], and 'tail' is [tsuj].

[22] The pronouns /ene/ '2nd person singular' and /ini/ '1st person plural' would never be confused. The reason is that in natural discourse, the pronoun /ini/ gets reduced to [ni] when the following word starts with a consonant, and to a palatal nasal [ɲ] when the following word starts with a vowel. As for the second person pronoun, the short-form /na/ and the clitic /n=/ appear more frequently. (See §3.4 for more on morfophonemics).

ikara	‘sing’	*ekara, *ɨkara
tsɨki	‘breath’	*tseki, *tsiki

The existence of three distinct phonemes in a small perceptual space goes against some basic assumptions about phonological systems. It is assumed that the main objective of the speakers is to be understood by the listener; thus, most aspects of phonological systems that are universal or widely attested could be explained in terms of two constraints. On the one hand, they derive from the requirement of sufficient distinctiveness or enough perceptual contrast; and, on the other hand, from the principle of least effort — speakers spend no more energy than necessary in production (Diehl et al. 2001). In addition, the Adaptive Dispersion Theory predicts that vowels will be dispersed in the perceptual space to the extent needed to provide sufficient discrimination among vowels (Lindblom 1986). After comparing 209 languages, Crothers (1978), as reported by Lindblom (1986), argues that the vowels of a system can be predicted by the size of the inventory. He says that the smallest system has three vowels: [i, u, a]. In four-vowel systems there are two possibilities, either [ɛ] or [ɨ] is added, the first option being the most common. In five-vowel systems, both [ɛ,] and [ɔ] are added. He adds that the pattern of five vowel qualities seems to be the norm cross-linguistically.

KK has five vowels, but the apparent fact that three out of the five vowels are located in the front area deviates from the above predictions. Then, the question is, would an acoustic study confirm that three phonemes are in fact placed in a small area of the vowel space? If this is the case, why would a language exhibit such overlap? The

preliminary study described in the next section answers the first question, and begins to explore the second.

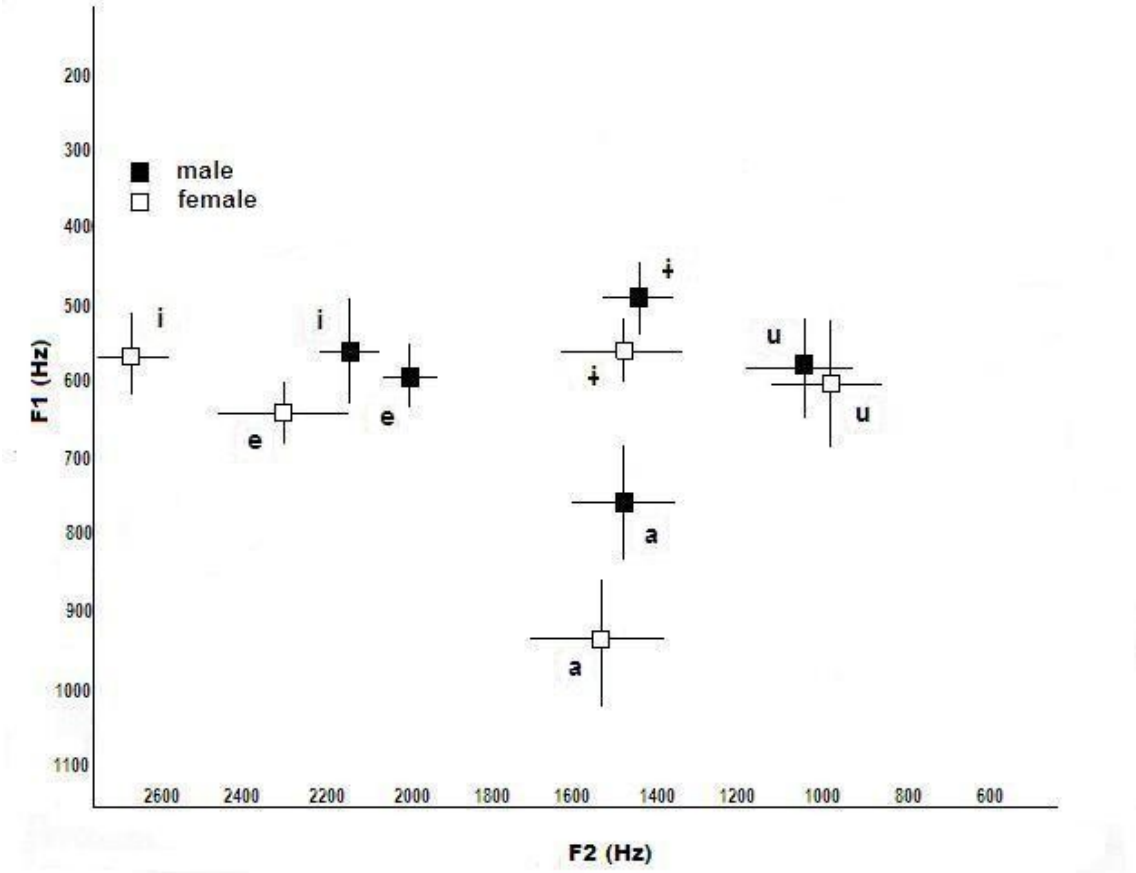
3.5.2. Data and methodology

The results presented in this section include the analysis of two types of data: minimal pairs and words both in isolation and in a sentence frame. As for the first type of data, six minimal pairs and three quasi-minimal pairs were recorded from one female and one male speaker. The speakers said each word twice. The rationale for doing this was that we expected that the speakers would pay special attention to their production and try to consciously produce the minimal pairs in a contrastive way. As for the second type of data, 58 words were selected and produced in isolation and in a sentence frame, again by the same male and female speaker (see Appendix B). The selected tokens represent the vowels within all the syllable types. The carrier phrase was: *ikian* _____ *ta kumitsay*, for the male speaker, and *ajan*_____ *tsa kumitsay*, for the female speaker, both meaning "this _____ I said." Next, I meassured the F1 and F2 values for all the vowels. Possible correlations with stress, length, position within the syllable or the word, surrounding consonants, etc. were examined, but none of them seemed to have any effect on the values of the formants.

3.5.3. Results

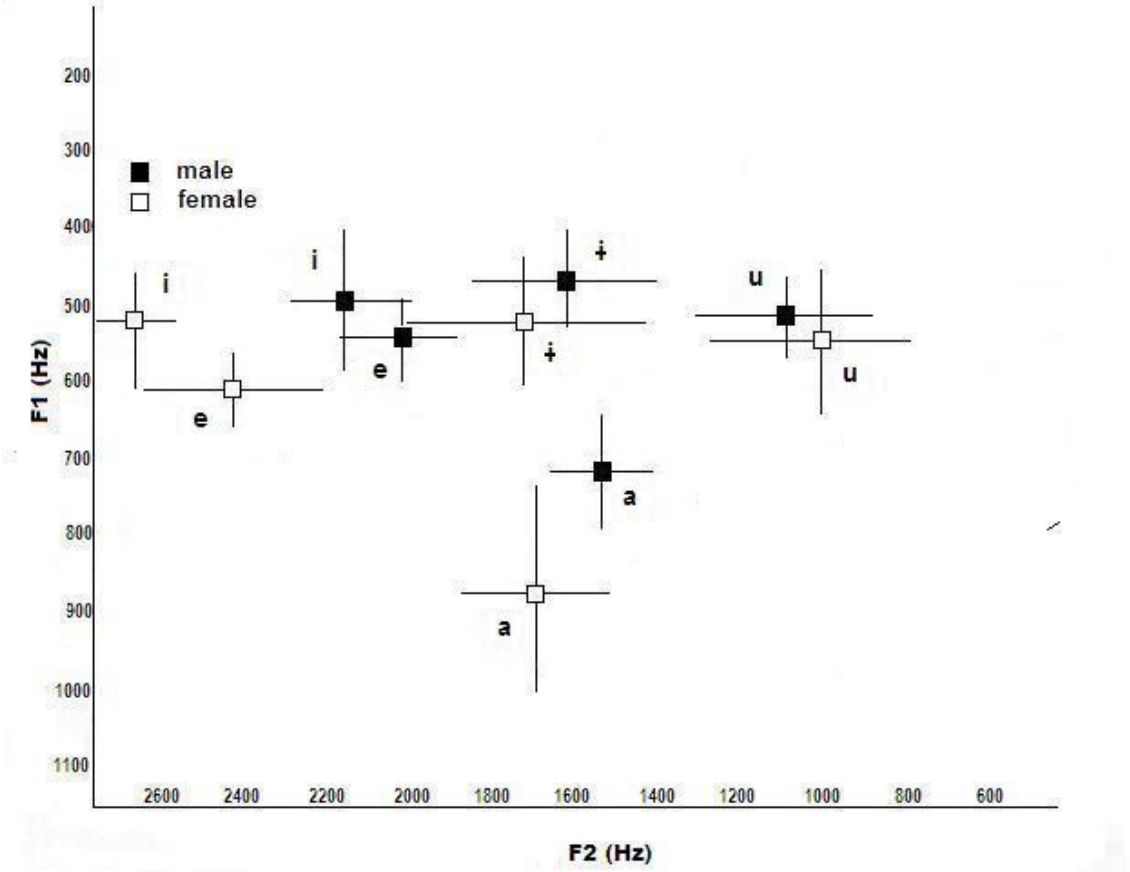
The results for minimal pairs are presented in Figure 3.3, and the results for the words in isolation and in the sentence frame in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.3: F1 and F2 mean values and their standard deviation in minimal pairs



The main result that we can extract from Figure 3.3 is that the distribution of the vowels in the acoustic space is not regular: specifically, the vowels [ɨ], [u], and [a] occupy distinct spaces with a relatively broad distance between them, whereas, even though there is no overlap between them, [i] and [e] share quite a small acoustic space, differing mainly in F2 (which translates to relative backness of the tongue).

Figure 3.4: F1 and F2 mean values and their standard deviation in words in isolation and in frame



In comparison, Figure 3.4 shows similar results, except in that the range of variation for each vowel is (as expected) larger than when they are pronouncing minimal pairs, and this expanded range of variation makes it still more clear how close [i] and [e] are to each other (although the overlap is more evident for the male speaker than for the female).

3.5.4. Conclusions

It is clear that it is impossible to make any solid claim on the basis of such a small number of tokens and from only two speakers. The observations presented here aim to be only the first step for a more extensive examination of this issue.

Coming back to the main question for this acoustic study, it is possible to say that the fronted vowels /i/ and /e/ do share a small acoustic space, but that /ɨ/ appears to be more independent. As for the reasons for this distribution, we may need to consider that the two consultants are bilingual in KK and Spanish. Both Spanish and KK have five vowels, but their inventory is different, and this may be relevant to the ensuing discussion. It is well known that a speaker's first language influences the second in many ways. However, some findings also indicate the inverse process. In terms of production, two types of effects have been reported. First, segments of the native system are produced more similar to second-language segments, and second, segments of the native system are produced in a manner to dissimilate them from the second-language segments (Williams 1979, Fledge 1987). A separate experimental study on the vowels of Quichua-Spanish bilinguals from Ecuador showed that the phonetic systems of bilinguals can influence each other; thus, this is not a unidirectional process (Guion 2003). In the case of Spanish-KK bilinguals, perhaps the distribution of their Spanish [i, e] is someway similar to their KK [i, e]. Of course, at this point, a comparative study of Spanish vowels and KK vowels with data taken from more Spanish-KK bilingual speakers becomes crucial to make any generalization.

3.6. Transcription and orthography

In writing the examples in Chapters 4-11, I follow the practical transcription that the KK people have been using since about 1990. This orthography has been implemented by the *Programa de Formación de Maestros Bilingües de la Amazonía Peruana* (FORMABIAP) for teacher training. It has been also used in a few published school materials. The orthography matches quite closely with the phonological inventory of the language, with all the letters following the IPA symbols, except for the following changes:

/x/ = 'j'
/ʧ/ = 'ch'
/j/ = 'y', 'i'
/w/ = 'w', 'u'

When the semiconsonants /j, w/ are the second element in onset position (CCV), they are written as 'i, u', respectively (78). If they occur in either onset or coda in the CV, or CVC structure, they are mostly written as 'y, w' (79).

(78)	/tsenepja/	*tsenepia*	'knee'
	/ikjan/	*ikian*	'this'
	/kwema/	*kuema*	'sunrise'
	/irwa/	*irua*	'brother'

(79)	/tsaj/	*tsay*	'tooth'
	/jatju/	*yatiu*	'mosquito'
	/akajwa/	*akaywa*	'cedar'
	/wayna/	*wayna*	'woman'
	/jawara/	yawara	'dog'

CHAPTER IV

INTRODUCTION TO MORPHOLOGY

This chapter provides an overview of the morphological units and processes available in KK. It provides the necessary operational definitions and background for the discussion presented in the upcoming chapters. The grammatical categories expressed through the mechanisms outlined in this chapter are treated in more detail in subsequent chapters.

From a typological perspective, KK can be characterized as an isolating language because words tend to be comprised of one morpheme, and morphemes can be identified with particular meanings. As such, bare nominals and nominal modifiers are common. Because of reanalysis and grammaticalization processes, there are also a few instances were morpheme boundaries are not clear. On the other hand, considering that KK uses order of constituents, specific grammatical words, and particles, rather than inflection to express syntactic relations within sentences, it can also be characterized as analytical.

Bybee (1985) categorizes the morphological strategies for combining semantic units into five categories: lexical (e.g., *drop* = *fall* plus *cause*), derivational (e.g., *dropp-er*), inflectional (e.g., *dropp-ed*), free grammatical (e.g., *may*), and syntactic/periphrastic (*come to know* = *know* plus inchoative). The above five strategies are characterized by different morphosyntactic cohesion.

The lexical strategy is characterized by the highest degree of fusion. Both semantic elements (*fall* and *cause*) are expressed within one single unanalysable morpheme. The lowest degree of fusion is found in the syntactic strategy (juxtaposition of two words). The other three strategies are situated between these two poles within the following continuum:

Figure 4.1: Morphological strategies and degrees of fusion (Bybee 1985:12)

lexical derivational inflectional free-grammatical syntactic

<———————————————————————————————

The strategies to combine morphemes in KK show different degrees of morphosyntactic cohesion. They range from inflectional and derivational affixes (highest cohesion) to clitics and free particles (lowest cohesion). However, the language has a few suffixes, but none of them obligatorily accompanies roots or stems when they occur in a finite clause. One of the salient features of the language is the existence of a considerable number of both proclitics and enclitics, as well as particles. Multiple clitics can appear attached to others to form complex structures. Overall, KK does not exhibit a rich morphology compared to other Amazonian languages; in contrast, it does have an intricate syntax.

4.1. Roots, stems and words

In this study, roots are defined as the portion of a word that is not further analyzable into meaningful elements, being morphologically simple, and which contains the main portion of meaning of the words in which it appears (Haspelmath 2002, T. Payne 1997). Examples of roots are presented in (1).

(1) *anaru* 'to be wrapped'
chira 'name'
irua 'brother, relative, community member'

A stem is the root of a word, together with any derivational affixes —or any other roots or stems in compounds— to which other inflectional affixes can be added. Building on the roots presented in (1), examples in (2) illustrate stems.

(2)	*anaru-ka*	to.be.wraped-REI	'to wrap something'
	chira-ra	name-VZR	'to have a name'
	irua-ta	brother-CAU	'to make friends with someone'

A word is the unit that may consist of a single morpheme or of a combination of morphemes. That is, a word can be equated to a root, a stem, or a stem plus inflectional affixes or clitics. In KK, however, the main criterion for identifying words is primary stress (see §2.2.3). In addition to examples in (1) and (2), words are further illustrated in (3).

(3) *anaru-ka-n* 'something wrapped'
to.be.wrapped-REI-NZR

*yawati**=pura**=tua=nu* 'the huge turtles'
turtle=FOC=AUG=PL.F

*panara-pan=**pura**=kana* 'the banana farms'
banana-DER=FOC=PL.M

Roots in KK can be classified into three main classes: nouns, verbs and adverbs. Given the lack of obligatory morphology associated with particular classes, these sets are defined on syntactic grounds. The structural criteria associated with prototypical members of each set are summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Properties of nouns, verbs and adverbs

FEATURES	NOUNS	VERBS	ADVERBS
Positionally fixed	yes	yes	no
Can be adverbialized	yes	yes	no
Head of NP	yes	no	no
Replaced by pro-forms	yes	no	no
Take evaluatives, plural, postpositions	yes	no	no
Can be verbalized	yes	no	no
Can be nominalized	no	yes	no
Predicate of verbal clause	no	yes	no
Take aspectual morphology	no	yes	no
Focalized by =*pura*	yes	some	no
Take restrictive focus =*nan*	yes	no	yes
Can carry second position clitics	yes	no	yes

Extensive account of nouns is offered in Chapter V, of adverbs in Chapter VI, and of verbs in Chapter VII.

4.2. Affixes

As stated above, KK is a relatively isolating language in comparison with many (though not all) other Amazonian languages in that it exhibits few bound morphemes. In addition, some of the few morphemes that it has are somehow difficult to classify as either inflectional or derivational. Generally, inflection is understood as the process of creating "new forms of a same lexical item", while derivation refers to the process of creating "new lexical items for new concepts" (Gleason 1961, Hockett 1960, Haspelmath 2002). Usually, inflection is described as paradigms of mutually

exclusively morphemes, and derivation of individual morphemes and their correspondent meanings. There are two major theoretical positions explaining inflection and derivation. One of them argues for a dichotomy between the two categories (Perlmutter 1988, Anderson 1992). A second theoretical approach argues for a continuum between inflection and derivation with boundaries drawn at relevant and convenient points (Bybee 1985, T. Payne 1997). Following this line of analysis, it is said that while some morphemes assume prototypical derivational functions, others assume prototypical inflectional functions (T. Payne 1987). Furthermore, some morphemes could assume both functions (D. Payne, 1986). The second approach proves more helpful to describe the grammar of KK.

In terms of meaning, the semantics of inflectional morphemes is typically predictable and often abstract and bleached. Derivational morphemes, however, tend to carry more concrete and irregular meanings. It is also assumed that inflectional morphemes only create new forms of a word while derivational morphemes create new concepts. Thus, inflectional morphemes are less relevant to the root, whereas derivational morphemes make more semantic contribution to the root. This could be why derivational morphemes tend to occur close to the root, while inflection occurs in the periphery of the word (Bybee 1985, Haspelmath 2002). Regarding productivity and distribution, inflectional morphemes can more typically be applied to their potential domain without arbitrary limitations; in contrast, derivational morphemes may be less productive and limited in arbitrary ways. Inflectional morphemes may participate in paradigms of oppositions; that is, they cannot co-occur. Derivational morphemes, on the

other hand, do not always participate in such paradigms of oppositions and some can even be iteratable, occurring twice or more in a word. Also, several inflectional categories may be expressed by a single morpheme but such cumulative or portmanteau expression is rare in derivational morphemes. The table below, adapted from D. Payne (1986) and Haspelmath (2002), summarizes typically-claimed properties of inflection and derivation.

Table 4.2: Properties of inflection and derivation

INFLECTION	DERIVATION
Relevant to the syntax	Not relevant to the syntax
Obligatory	Optional
Same concept as base	New concept
Relatively abstract meaning	Relatively concrete meaning
Semantically regular	Possibly semantically irregular
Less relevant to base meaning	Very relevant to base meaning
Unlimited applicability	Limited applicability
Participate in a paradigm	Do not participate in a paradigm
Less base allomorphy	More base allomorphy
Expression at word periphery	Expression close to the root
Not iteratable	Iteratable

4.2.1. Inflections vs. derivation in Kokama

Traditionally, the most important function of inflectional morphemes is at the syntactic level, for example, the function of case marking. In KK, however, subject and objects do not exhibit morphological case marking. Oblique functions are expressed by a paradigm of enclitics rather than affixes. At the same time, tense and modality are expressed through enclitics and particles. However, a detailed examination of the few bound morphemes KK has —i.e. their distribution within the word and their range of meanings and functions— reveal that there is not a sharp boundary between inflection

and derivation. Only about twelve suffixes are attested in KK, the majority of which are rather prototypically derivational. However, some borderline or ambiguous cases can be found. That is, after applying the set of criteria introduced above, some morphemes are better characterized by placing them along a continuum with inflection and derivation at either extreme, rather than by trying to include them in one of two mutually exclusive categories.

KK has morphemes a set of suffixes that add aspectual information to the verb. The addition of these morphemes to a root does not trigger a change in word class. This set includes: *-ri* 'progressive (PROG)', *-pa* 'completive (CPL)', *-ka* 'reiterative (REI)', *-kaka* 'reciprocal (REC)/ iterative (ITE)'. Below are some examples.

(4) a. yapana-*ri* 'be running'
run-PROG

b. *eyu-pa* 'to eat up'
eat-CPL

c. *wakaya-ka* 'to share'
invite.something-REI

d. *inupa-kaka* 'to fight'
hit-REC

Note, though, that the aspectual morphemes above behave differently. While the completive, reiterative, and reciprocal occur close to the root, the progressive marker follows them and closes the verbal word.

(5) a. *rana* *mitta-ka-ri* *ikian=pura*
3PL.M take.out-REI-PROG this=FOC
'They are taking out this one' (ED)

b. *tsa* *uchima-ta-ri* *mirutsu*
1SG.F go.out-CAU-PROG pot
'I'm taking out the pot (tinaja)' (ED)

In addition the language has the suffix *-ta* 'causative' whose primary function is to increase the valence of verbs (6a-b), but it also creates verbs from nouns (6c-d).

(6) a. *uchima-ta* 'to get something out'
go.out-CAU

b. *umanu-ta* 'to kill'
die-CAU

c. *puatsa-ta* 'to tie up with a rope'
rope-CAU

d. *tsawa-ta* 'to salt something down'
salt-CAU

Other category-changing morphemes that derive verbs from nominal roots are the verbalizers *-ra* and *-yara*.

(7) a. *chira-ra* 'to name oneself'
name-VZR

ipia-ra 'to cut and collect firewood'
firewood-VZR

b. *ipira-yara* 'to fish'
fish-MAKE

uka-yara 'to build-house'
house-MAKE

c. *ɨmɨntsara-ka* 'to engage in a conversation'
story-REI

yatɨrɨ-ka 'to get together'
pile-REI

The suffix *-wa* 'gerund' attaches to both nouns and verbs, and has gerund and participle functions (8a-b). (For more discussion on *-wa*, see Chapter V, §5.5 and Chapter VI, §6.6.1.)

(8) a. *tini-**wa*** *ra=tsai*
white-GER 3SG.M=tooth
'White-looking is his teeth'

b. *ra* *purara* *tsukuri=tua* *yaparari-**wa***
3SG.M find snake.esp=AUG lie-GER
'He finds a big snake liying down.'

In addition, there are two meaning-changing suffixes that derive new nouns from nominal roots. The suffix *-pan* derives nouns that have a completely different referent than the base to which it attaches. That is, the change of the referent is radical, as we can see in the examples below. In terms of distribution, *-pan* attaches to the root, after which several others clitics can occur, including the evaluative morphemes (diminutive, augmentative or affective), and the plural markers (9a-b). Other category-changing suffixes that create nouns from verbs include the nominalizers *-wara* and *-tsurin* (9c-d).

(9) a. *panara-pan* 'banana farm'
banana-place.with=AFF

b. *panara-pan=chasu=kana* 'poor banana farms'
banana-place.full.of=AFF=PL.M

c. *maynani-wara=kɨra=kana* 'watchmen'
look.after-NZR=DIM=PL.M

d. *aya-tsurin* 'accurate shooter'
shoot-NZR

To sum up, applying the criteria introduced in Table 2.1, it is possible to say that aspectual morphemes such as progressive *-ri,* completive *-pa,* and reiterative *-ka* (in (4))

are towards the inflectional end of the continuum. The meaning-changing morphemes such as *-ta* causative (5-6) and the transitivizer *-ra* (7) occupy an intermediate position. The category-changing morphemes, (8) to (9), are towards the derivational end. For more discussion on the distribution, semantics, and function of these morphemes see Chapter V and Chapter VII.

4.2.2. Zero derivation

The language has a set of words that show zero derivation, which is understood as the extension of an existing word to take on a new syntactic function without any change in form. Specifically, a few verbs can be created from an existing noun. The examples below illustrate this:

(10) *yatukupe*: from 'back' (N) to 'carry on the back' (V)

a. Ta *yatukupe* *tsachi*
1SG.M back pain
'My back hurts'

b. Ta *yatukupe-ari* *urkuru*
1SG.M carry.on.back-PROG basket
'I'm carrying the basket (on my back)'

(11) *#ts#ma* : from 'slime' (N) to 'be.slimy' (V)

a. *tsa* *tsukuta* *ipira* *#ts#m=uy*
1SG.F throw fish slime-PAS1
'I threw away the slime of the fish'

b. pe *#ts#m=uy*
port be.slimy-PAS1
'The port is slimy'

(12) *amana* : from 'rain' to 'be raining'

a. *epe eruratsen karamina epe amana tsakari-tara-n*
2PL bring corrugated.iron 2PL rain break-PUR1-REL
'You bring the corrugated iron to protect yourselves from the rain' (lit. to break the rain)

b. *ini yapana amana-puka*
1PL.IN run raining-when
'We run when it rains'

Zero derivation is distinct from the derivation of verbs via suffixation of nominal roots with the causative or reiterative morphemes. For instance, the set of words that shows zero derivation can take the progressive marker (e.g., *yatukupe-ari* 'carrying on the back' (10b)), while the words in (6), above, cannot (e.g., **tsawa-ri*); they can only take the progressive after being derived by the causative (e.g., *tsawa-ta-ri* 'salting something down'). In (11a), *itsima* is the possessed noun in a genitive relationship with fish (note that the phrase *ipira itsima* is the object, hence the tense marker attaches to *itsima*). In contrast, in (11b) it is an intransitive verb, hence the tense marker attaches to it. In (12a) the word *amana* 'rain' occupies a preverbal position, a syntactic slot reserves for nouns, while in (12b), it takes *-puka* which attaches to the subordinated verb in an adverbial clause.

4.3. Reduplication

Partial reduplication of verbal roots is a relatively productive strategy in KK. The meanings associated with reduplication are reiterative, iterative, intensification, and emphasis. In some cases, however, reduplication can be also interpreted as lexical derivation to create new words, the resulting stems remaining in the same syntactic

category. See, for instance, from *itika* ‘leave’ to *itikaka* ‘get separated, divorce’. KK has two types of reduplication: initial or prefixal reduplication and internal or infixal reduplication. The use of these strategies depends on the structure and weight of the syllables within the verbal root (see Chapter III, §3.4.2, for a phonological account of reduplication).

(13) *maynani* ‘take care’ → *may-maynani* ‘protect constantly, guard’
chikari ‘look for’ → *chika-chikari* ‘keep looking for, continuously’
arɨwa ‘be on top’ → *ar-arɨwa* ‘be piled up, one on top of the other’

Compare to partial reduplication, total reduplication is rather rare. Examples in (15) show total reduplication of roots. Reduplication of grammatical morphemes is unattested.

(14) *ta* *yatɨrɨta* *ikian* *kuchi* *tsu* *erapaka*
1SG.M put.together this pig meat very.good

***ɲyi-ɲyi**-ka-n*
grill-grill-REI-REL
‘I pick up this pork meat which has been grilled over and over (very well done)’

b. *enteru-ra-pa-n* *puka=tua=nu* *y=erura*
whole-VZR-CPL-NZR turtle.es=AUG=PL.F 3SG.F=bring

***arɨwa-arɨwa**-ka*
up-up-REI
‘He brings whole turtles one on top of the other’
(without disemboweling the turtles or cutting them up)

The meanings and functions associated with reduplication are discussed at length in Chapter VII, §7.2.1.5.

4.4. Compounds

A compound is a lexeme that consists of more than one stem. From a phonological perspective, the combination of stems constitutes a single word with one stress. Compounding is an important strategy in KK for creating new lexical items. Compound stems can consist of a combination of noun and verb roots. The resulting patterns are: N+N, N+V (§4.4.1). Much less frequent is the pattern V+V (§4.4.2). There are also compound interrogative words which consist of nouns plus adpositions: N+AD (§4.4.3).

4.4.1. Compound nouns

Compound nouns can consist of two nouns (16a-b), or a noun plus a verb (16c-d). Each noun can stand on its own —i.e., have its own stress. However, combined they operate as a single lexical unit. They exhibit a single stress which follows the pattern of the language and occurs in the penultimate syllable, except when the word ends in a nasal consonant (16c). In the following examples the underline portions carry stress.

(15) a. *yaki + tsa* → *yakitsa* 'hair'
head leaf

b. *pua + taira* → *puataira* 'fingers'
hand son

c. *iki + tsen* → *ikitsen* 'pepper'
chili + be.sweet

d. *ina + pewa* → *inapewa* 'shimbillo (Inga sp.)'
guava + be.flat

4.4.2. Compound verbs

In KK, compound verbs are not as common as compound nouns. In the few examples with V+V pattern, it is difficult to identify which verb determines the primary semantics and also the argument structure. The meaning of the compounds in (20) is the sum of both elements.

(16) V + V:

ukiri + *aytse* sleep + be.bad	'dream, have nightmares'
yaparari + *chari* sink + leave	'put down something to sink'
warika + *chari* go.up + leave	'go leaving some traces behind'
aypa + *chari* grow + leave	'grow up faster than someone else'

4.4.3. Compound interrogatives

There are a number of interrogative words that consist of interrogative pronouns plus adpositions: N+AD.

(17)

awa+*rupe* who+ALL	'where, in which person's place'
awa+*muki* who+COM	'with whom'
maka+*tsui* where+ABL	'from where'
maka+*rupe* where+ALL	'to where'
mari+*ra* what+PUR	'what for'

Additional interrogative words are composed of an interrogative pronoun plus a subordinating morpheme.

(18) *mari+ikua* 'why'
what+SUB.RSN

mari+tara 'what for'
what+PUR1

mania+puka 'when'
how+SUB.TIME

Finally, adpositions also show up in some adverbial words.

(19) *ikia+rupe* 'through here, this way'
DEM+ALL

ikia+kati 'right here'
DEM+until

4.5. Clitics

A clitic is a grammatically independent but phonologically dependent morpheme. In descriptive works, the term "clitic" is often used to refer to any element whose grammatical status is somewhere in between a typical word and a typical affix; thus, further criteria are needed to establish a dividing line between the two. Prototypical affixes morpho-syntactically and phonologically attach to a stem of a limited part of speech. In contrast, clitics are categorically unrestricted morphemes. In this study, clitics are characterized as lacking prosodic independence as opposed to particles, which can occur on their own.

Perhaps one of the most salient features of KK is the use of clitics to express an important number of grammatical categories. For instance, the language exhibits three

sets of pronominal forms: long form free pronouns, short form free pronouns and clitics. The distribution of these forms in natural discourse is driven by pragmatic factors (for a discussion on the distribution of pronominal forms in discourse, see Chapter XI). The paradigm of clitic pronouns for female speech (FS) and male speech (MS) is presented in Table 4.3, below. (For the complete paradigm of pronouns and a detailed discussion on their functions see Chapter V, §5.3)

Table 4.3: Clitics of person

	FS	**MS**
1sg	*ts=*	*t=*
2sg	*n=*	*n=*
3sg	*y=*	*r=*
1pl incl.	*ni(a)=*	*ni(a)=*
1pl excl.	*pen=*	*tan=*
2pl	*ep(i)=*	*ep(i)=*
3pl	*in=*	*ran(u)=*

Examples in (20) illustrate enclitic pronouns in subject function; they appear attached to the predicate.

(20) a. ***t***=*ikiratse=tsui=ka* ***t***=*umi* *rana=tsuri ,*
1SG.M=be.small=ABL=LOC 1SG.M= see 3plM=PAS3

hasta ***t***=*aypa*
until 1SG.M-grow.up
'Since I was a kid, I saw them, until I grew up'

b. ***y***=*utsu=tsuri* *tsuntaru-tara* *ikitu=ka*
3SG.F=go=PAS3 soldier-PUR1 Iquitos -LOC
'He went to become a soldier in Iquitos'

c. *tima* *kukama=pu* ***nia***=*kumitsa-k-ikua*
NEG kokama=INS 1pl.IN=speak-REI-RSN
'Because we no longer speak in Kokama…'

Bound pronominals also function as possessive pronouns, they cliticize to the first element of the possessed phrase: a nominalized verb in (21a), a noun in (21b-c). Note, in (21c), that long forms do not assume this function.

(21) a. *aytsemeka na* ***ni****=tua-n=nu=tsuriay*
truth like.this 1PL.IN-be.big-NZR=PL.F-PAS3
'For real, our elders were like this'

b. *ikia=ka=taka* ***t****=irua=kana* *kakiri*
here=LOC-MOD 1SG.M=brother-PL.M live
'Maybe here live my brothers'

c. *maka-tipa ene purara wayna-mia* ***na****/*ene mirikua=ra*
where -Q 2 find woman-MOD 2 wife-PUR
'Where could you find a woman for (making her) your wife'

As pointed out earlier, in KK several grammatical categories are expressed via clitics. Some of them are tense, modality, interrogation, and plurality. In terms of distribution, clitics can be divided into three different types: phrasal clitics, second position clitics, and less-fixed clitics. Particles —morphologically and phonologically independent— are discussed in their own section (§4.6).

4.5.1. Phrasal clitics

Clitics that fall under this category are affixed to phrases rather than to words. That is, they syntactically function above the word level, but attach phonetically to the first, last, or only word in the phrase, regardless of the part of speech the word belongs to. The grammatical categories expressed through phrasal clitics include plural, tense, modality, oblique postpositions. In what follows I give examples of each category. Note that plural is introduced only in this chapter. As for the other categories, here I give

some examples but describe them more extensively in other places of this dissertation. Tense and modality are discussed in Chapter IX, §9.1.2 and §9.1.3, respectively; postpositional phrases are the topic of Chapter VI.

4.5.1.1. Plural

As introduced above, KK grammar displays some female speech vs. male speech distinctions, one of them being differential number marking. Singular is the unmarked category, whereas plural is marked differently depending on whether the speaker is a man or a woman. While men use the enclitic *=kana* (22), women use the form *=nu* (23). In terms of distribution, plural is conveyed via noun phrase particles that appear appended to the last word of an NP, which is a noun or a nominalized verb. Within their host, the plural marker closes the word occupying a slot position after the transcategorial and the evaluative morphemes.

(22) a. *ikia=ka-nan* *puka-chasu**=kana*** *uki~~ri~~*
here-LOC-only turtle-AFF=PL.M sleep
'The poor turtles have to sleep only here'

b. *ay* *uchima=ri* *tsaipura-pa-n**=kana***
already go.out=ri drink-CPL-NZR=PL.M
'And then the drunks are coming out'

In (22) we see examples of male speech. In (22a) the plural marker follows the evaluative suffix *-chasu*. In (22b), *=kana* cliticizes to a nominalization of the verb *tsaipura* 'drink' which is marked by the completive aspect *-pa* and then nominalized by *-n*.

The examples below come from female speakers. In (23a) the plural marker *=nu* appears appended to 'woman's son', following the focus marker and the evaluative marker. (23b) illustrate the phrasal scope of the plural morpheme

(23) a. *tsatsatsɨma-ri tsa mɨmɨra-pura-chasu**=nu***
scream-PROG 1SG.F woman's.son-FOC-AFFC=PL.F
'My poor children were screaming'

b. *yaepe ts=umi chita uka-kɨra**=nu***
there 1SG.F=see many house-DIM=PL.F
'Then I see many small houses'

4.5.1.2. Tense

There are three markers of past which report different degrees of temporal distance taking the utterance moment as point of referent. There is immediate past, *=uy*, mediate past, *=ikua*, and remote past, *=tsuri*. As for the future, there are two markers which differ in terms of modality; the immediate future, *=utsu*, is used for certain events, and mediate future, *=a.* Tense clitics occur to the right edge of the verbal phrase (24).

(24) a. *maka=taka ra uts=**uy**, ikia=ka ra yamimi=**uy***
where=MOD 3M go=PAS1 here=LOC 3M hide=PAS1
'Wherever he went, there he hid'

b. *raepe ra=tu umanu-ta ra=mama=pur=**utsu***
then 3SG.M=AUG die-CAU 3M=mother=FOC=FUT1
'And then he will kill his mother'

c. *na ray penu [ɨmɨntsara=ka ukua]=**tsuri***
QT like.this 1PL.EX.F story-REI AUX=PAS3
'Like this we used to talk'

The syntactic distribution of tense markers, as well as their semantic nuances are discussed in Chapter IX, §9.1.2. For the distribution of tense-marked clauses in discourse, see Chapter XI, §11.5.

4.5.1.3. Modality markers

The hypothetical *=mia* and the apprehensive modality *=era* have the same distribution as the tense markers described above; they occur appended to the last element of the verbal phrase. Tense and modality Note that *=mia* attaches to the object in a transitive clause with SVO configuration (25a), or to the predicate in a transitive clause when the object is fronted (i.e., OSV configuration) (25e).

(25) a. *maka=tipa ta purara waina=**mia** ta=mirikua=ra*
where-Q 1SG.M find woman=HYP 1SG.M=wife=PUR
'Where would I find a woman to be my wife?'

b. *ay=pura tsa=eyu=**mia***
3SG.F.LF=FOC 1SG.F=eat=HYP
'This I should have eaten'

The morpheme *=era* appears mainly in rhetorical questions. The examples below illustrate this:

(26) a. *awa=ray uri=**era,** ajan=ka temente*
person=SPE come=APPR this=LOC no.exist

*awa kak~~i~~ri=**era***
person live=APPR
'Who could have come, nobody lives around here'

An extensive description of these and other modality clitics is offered in Chapter IX, §9.1.3.2.

4.5.1.4. Oblique postpositions

In the language, nominal phrases in oblique function are morphologically marked by postpositions. These markers appear appended to the right most element of the phrase There are several markers, including: *=ka* 'locative/allative', ablative *=tsui* 'ablative', *=rupe* 'finalative', *=ri* 'diffuse locative', *=kuara* 'inessive', *=muki* 'comitative', *=ra* 'purpose', etc.

Examples in (27) illustrate some of the postpositions. In (34a), the scope of the morpheme *=ka* is the phrase 'my mother's house'. In (34b), the finalative *=rupe* marks 'our tent'; (34c) shows the inessive *=kuara* on 'water'; and in (34d) the scope of the 'locative diffuse' is 'your belly'.

(27) a. *raepe ra yawachima ta=mama uka=**ka***
then 3M arrive 1SG.M=mother house=LOC
'Then he arrives to my mother's house'

b. *tsa mɨmɨra yapan-ka=uy in=tewepa=**rupe***
1SG.F woman's.son run-REI=PAS1 1PL.IN=farm=ALL
'My son ran again until our tent'

c. *na aɨmanta upuri uni=**kuara***
like.this tiger fall water=INE
'In this way the tiger jumps into the water'

d. *ta tɨkɨta-tsapa itaki na=tseweka=**ri***
1SG.M tie-still stone 2SG=belly=DIF
'I'll tie very tied a stone around your belly'

Examples in (29) shows some examples with non-directional postpositions. In (29b), the whole phrase 'this other latex hunter' is marked by the comitative *=muki*. Similarly, the scope of *=ra* in (29c), is the phrase 'my house'.

(28) a. *pɨtɨma=**pu*** *ikian tsumi=kana aesta*

tobacco=INS this wise.one=PL bewitch

ini=chasu *~~i~~mi~~i~~na*
1PL.IN=AFF long.ago
"A long time ago, these wise ones bewitched us unfortunates with tobacco'

b. *raepe* *rana* *irua-kaka,* *ikian*
then 3PL.M brother-REC this

rama *shiringuero=**muki***
other latex.hunter=COM
'Then they become friends, with this the other latex-hunter'
c. inu erurura *iwira=kana* *t=uka=**ra***
3PL.F bring tree=PL 1SG.M=house=PUR
'They carry wood for my house'

A full treatment of postpositional phrases is offered in Chapter VI.

4.5.2. Second position clitics

Second position clitics occur after the first major constituent of the sentence. In contrast with the phrasal clitics, second position clitics exhibit very few restrictions with respect to their phonological hosts. Clitics that fall in this category may attach to a noun phrase or pronoun in A, S, O, or oblique functions, an interrogative word, intersentential conjunction, or any other constituent occurring in sentence initial position. The most frequent second position clitics are the interrogative *=tipa*, the modals *=tin* 'certainty', *=taka,* 'uncertainty', *=ray* 'speculative' and *=ía* 'reportative'.

4.5.2.1. Interrogative *=tipa*

KK has a few interrogative constructions including the specialized clitic *=tipa*. In both polar questions and information questions this morpheme appears appended to the first element in the clause. The examples below demonstrate that polar interrogative

constructions can be described as the result of modifying a declarative sentence (29a). Examples (29b-c) show that second position is the only slot in the sentence this clitic can occupy, all other possibilities yielding ungrammatical utterances (29d-e).[1]

(29) a. *ene erura ipir=uy*
2 bring fish=PAS1
'You brought fish'

b. *ene-**tipa** erura ipir=uy*
2-Q bring fish=PAS1
'You brought fish?'

c. *ipira-**tipa** n=erur=uy*
fish-Q 2SG=bring=PAS1
'Fish you brought?'

d. **ene erura-tipa ipir=uy*

e. **ene erura ipir=uy=tipa*

f. **na=tipa erura ipir=uy*

As we see in (29), *=tipa* can attach to nouns and pronouns. Comparing (29b) and (29f), the only difference between the two is the form of the second person pronoun. This demonstrates that if the element being suffixed by *=tipa* is a pronoun it must be in the long form (29b); in other words, *=tipa* on short form pronouns or clitic pronouns produces ungrammatical sentences (29f).

However, *=tipa* can also appear appended to elements from other categories, as it will be demonstrated in Chapter IX, under interrogative constructions §9.4.1.

[1] There are other restrictions related to *=tipa* that can yield ungrammatical sentences. For instance, the sentence below is ungrammatical because the subject *ene* '2' and the object *ipira* 'fish'cannot occur adjacent to each other without having a genitive interpretation.
a. **erura-tipa ene ipir=uy*

4.5.2.2. Modality markers

In addition to the modality markers that appear appended to the verbal phrase (see §4.5.1.3), there is a second set of modality markers that occur attached to the first constituent of the clause. These are *=tin* 'certainty' (CER) (31); *=taka* 'uncertainty' (UNC) (32); *=ray* 'speculative' (based on general tendency, SPE), which is very often translated into Spanish as "pues" (33); and the evidential *=ya/=a*[2] 'reported' (unspecified source, REP) (34).

(30) a. *tsa=papa=**tin*** *mutsanaka* *ya=tsuriay*
1SG.F=father=CER cure 3SG.F=PAS3
'My father indeed cured him'

b. *uri=kana=**tin*** *uwata-ta* *tana*
3M=PL.M=CER walk-CAU 1PL.EX.M
'They, in fact, make us walk around'

(31) a. *ikun=**taka*** *ra* *chikuarata* *ini=utsu*
today=UNC 3M follow 1PL.IN=Fut1
'Now, maybe, they will follow us'

b. *maka=**taka*** *witurio* *tseta* *erutsu* *ini* *raepe* *ini* *utsu*
where=UNC Victor want bring 1PL.IN there 1PL.IN go
'Wherever Victor wants to lead us, there we go'

(32) a. *ni=**ray*** *r=yakuarara* *ikian* *ra* *pe=tsuriay*
NEG=SPE 3M=remember this 3M way=PAS3
'It seems he doesn't remember his way'

b. *inu=**ray*** *tseta* *muna=ay* *ukua=tsuriay*
3PL.F=SPE want steal=3SG.F used.to=PAS3
'They seem to had always wanted to steal it'

[2] The reported evidential *=ya* has two allomorphs. It is realized as *=a* when the phonological host ends in the vowels /i, ɨ, e/ (i.e., *uri=a* '3M=REP', *mɨtɨri=a* 'type.of.palm=RPT', *raepe=a* 'there=REP'), and it shows up as *=ya* when everywhere else.

(33) a. *mɨtɨrɨ* *pe=**a*** *rana* *upa,* *rana* *juane* *upa-pa*
middle way=REP 3plM end 3plM juane end-CPL
'It is said that half way into their journey, they, their juane (food) was gone'

c. *raepe=**a*** *ria=nan* *ikia* *ritama* *nua-n*
there=REP like.this=only this community be.big-NZR
'It is said that there, there was only a big town'

A detailed discussion on the distributional and functional nuances of modality markers can be found in Chapter IX, §9.1.3.1.

4.5.3. Positionaly flexible clitics

This category consists of the morphemes that can show up in various positions within the clause. Less-fixed clitics differ from what in this study are called particles in that the former are bound, whereas the latter generally appear phonologically independent. In KK, focus markers are typical examples of less-fixed clitics.

4.5.3.1. Focus marker *=pura*

The morpheme *=pura* combines with a wide range of stems and lacks a fixed position in the sentence. As expected of clitics, *=pura* occurs appended to the last word of a constituent or phrase. On nouns, however, *=pura* exhibits an odd distribution because it occurs word-internally, occupying a slot position close to the root. That is, they show up between derivational morphemes and the evaluative morphemes as is shown in the following examples:

(34) *tsuwɨ=**pura*** 'the BLOOD'
blood=FOC

*yawati=**pura**=tua=nu* 'the HUGE TURTLES'
turtle-FOC-AUG-PL.F

*panara-pan=**pura**=kana* ‘the BANANA FARMS’
banana-DER-FOC-PL.M

In discourse, the morpheme =*pura* is attested on nouns (47), verbs (48), pronouns (49), interrogative pronouns (50), and particles (51).

(35) a. *yaepe-tsui ajan animaru=**pura**=tua=nu ipu-ka pe=ka*
there-ABL DEM animal=FOC=AUG=PL make.sounds-REI port=LOC
‘Later, these huge animals again make sounds in the port’

c. *nanin awa=**pura** tsɨrɨ-kua in=ukua yawa*
like.this person-FOC feel.cold-because 3PL.F=used.to manner
‘Because people feel cold, they stay [dress up] that way

This morpheme has been attested on a restricted set of verbs, including *yaparachi* ‘dance’, *ikara* ‘sing’, *utsu* ‘go,’ among a few others. The frequency of =*pura* on verbs is very low compared to its frequency on nouns. Also, in the majority of cases, the host verb is not the nucleus of the clause and, without a nominalizer, can have a nominal interpretation (48a). Also, the verb tends to be the predicate of a dependent clause (48b).

(36) a. *ikun t=ɨm-ɨntsarar=utsu ta utsu=**pura***
today 1SG.M=tell.soty=FUT 1SG.M go=FOC

ikian guatemara ritama=ka.
this Guatemala community=LOC
i) ‘Today I’m going to talk about (how) I went to Guatemala’
ii) ‘Today I’m going to talk about my trip to Guatemala’

b. *mania in-ikua-tsenu-ura, tɨ-ma mania-puka*
how 1IN-know-hear-3OB Neg how-when

*ini=tsenu-n=**pura***
1IN=hear-REL-FOC
‘How can we understand it, which we have never heard?’

Very often, =*pura* appears attached to pronominal forms. As mentioned above, KK exhibits three sets of pronominal forms: long form free pronouns, short form free pronouns, and enclitics. The morpheme =*pura* appears attached to both long form pronouns (49a) and short form pronouns (49b).

(37) a. *yaepe, etse=**pura** ya=mutsana-ka=tsuri.*
there 1SG.F=FOC 3SG.F=medicine-REI=PAS3
'Then, he cured/bewitched me'

b. *ay sukta-wata, ay=taka tsa=**pura**=tsuri.*
already six-year already=UNC 1SG.F=FOC=PAS3
'I might have been sixteen already'

In addition, =*pura* can occur attached to interrogative words and demonstrative pronouns, as is shown below.

(38) *mari=**pura,** ikwa-ta-wara, na **ikian=pura** ta kumitsa*
what-FOC know-CAU-DER, QT DEM-FOC 1sgM say
WHAT, teacher, THIS is what I say.

Finally, the clitic =*pura* combines with the negative particles. The language has two negative particles, *t*ɨ*ma* and *ni*. Although =*pura* can appear attached to both of them, its occurrence with *ni* is rather rare.

(39) a. *t*ɨ*ma=**pura** ini utsu ikian* ɨ*w*ɨ*rati-kuara*
NEG1=FOC 1PL go this forest-INE
'We do not go through this forest' {CO-VY 163}

b. *aypuka ni=**pura** *ɨ*watsu emete*
currently NEG2=FOC paiche exist
'At present, it exists no paiche (type of fish)'

The distribution and functional nuances of =*pura* are discussed in Chapter X, devoted to the grammar-discourse interface, under the section on focus constructions (§11.2).

4.5.3.2. Restrictive focus marker =*nan*

The function of the morpheme =*nan* 'only' is to restrict to one piece of information a set of possibilities available in the discourse context. It can show up in different positions within the sentence, and attached to several types of stems. The phonological hosts include adverbial words (52a), oblique phrases (52b), nouns (52c), and pronouns (52d).

(40) a. *ɨpɨtsa=**nan** ta irua-ta-ri ukua-n waina.*
night-only 1SG.M friend-CAU-Prog used.to-NZR woman
'Only at night a woman makes me company'

b. *utumachiru ipuku-n=muki=**nan** ya=ukua*
pant be.long-REL=COM=only 3SG.F=used.to
'He used to wear only long pants' {PV-RA 094}

c. *ya kaɨ kanuara=pura=**nan** yuriti-tsen*
3sgF shin bone=FOC=only leave-PUR
'(The sickness continues) to leave only the bone of his shin'

d. *uri=**nan** kurata ra=pura, ranu kurata-mira-n=pura*
3SG.F=only drink 3M=FOC 3PL drink-PUR-REL-FOC
'Only he drinks it, which was for them to drink'

4.6. Particles

In this study, particles are understood as positionally variable and generally phonological independent morphemes. The most productive particles are the negative morphemes, quotatives, intersentential connectors, and several other elements with modality readings. In the following paragraphs I give examples of each, and point where in the dissertation they are discussed more fully.

4.6.1. Negative particles

The language has two negative particles: *tɨma* and *ni*. While the first is used to negate the whole clause or to negate the predicate, the later is mostly used to negate specific arguments. In addition, the use of *tɨma* and *ni* seems to be associated with particular idiolects and styles. In Chapter IX it will be argued that the scope of *tɨma* is the constituent that immediately follows it. Examples in (42) illustrate the different positions in which *tɨma* can appear in the clause.

(41) a. *tɨma* SVO

tɨma	*ra=tseta*	*eyu-n*
NEG	3SG.M=want	eat-NZR

'He doesn't want food'

b. S *tɨma* VO

yaepe	*inu*	*tɨma*	*eyu*	*tewe*
there	3PL.F	NEG	eat	salt

'There, they don't eat salt'

d. *tɨma* OSV

tɨma	*mari*	*epe*	*ey=utsu*
NEG	thing	2PL	eat=FUT1

'Nothing you will eat'

e. ADV *tɨma* SV

wata=taka	*tɨma*	*ra*	*ɨwama=uy*
year=UNC	NEG	3SG.M	destroy=PAS1

'Maybe for a year it did not get destroyed'

f. SV *tɨma* ADV

ya	*iriwa-ka=tsuri*	*tɨma*	*era*
3SG.F	come.back-REI=PAS3	NEG	good

'He came back not good (sick)'

Below are examples with the negative particle *ni=*. In contrast to *tɨma*, *ni* is used to negate single units, mostly arguments of the predicate. For instance, in (43a), below, the scope of negation is 'paiche', because if the negation would involve the existential predication, the form *temende* 'there-is-not' would have been used. In (43c), while *ni* negates 'person', *tɨma* negate 'tell anyone.'

(42) a. *aypuka ni=pura ɨwatsu emete*
currently NEG-FOC paiche exist
'At present, it exists no paiche (esp.fish)'

b. *tɨma t=ikua-ta ni=awa=utsu*
NEG 1SG.M=know-CAU NEG=person-FUT1
'I won't tell anyone'

An extensive discussion on negative constructions can be found in Chapter IX, §9.3.

4.6.2. Quotatives

KK has at its disposal two quotative particles, *ay* and *na*. As in the case of *ni*, above, these particles can occasionally appear attached to the element that immediately follows them. While the first particle serves to introduce a quote, the second particle follows a quote. Or as one of the consultants puts it: "I use *ay* to make someone speak, but I use *na* when I made someone speak already". In spontaneous discourse, the quotative generally appears in a construction that consists of a quote, the quotative particle, a short form or clitic pronoun and a cognition-utterance verb —e.g., *kumitsa* 'say/speak', *tsawiti* 'answer', *piata* 'ask', *ɨmɨntsarara* 'tell stories,' *chirara* 'name',

ikuaka ‘think’[3]—. For the quotative *na*, the construction could be summarized as:

[[quote] *na* PRO V].

(43) a. *na* *piata* *tsewe,* ***na*** *ra* *kumitsa*
2SG ask sal QT1 3M say
‘“You ask for salt,” he says’

b. *ta* *chira=ra=utsu* *ikian* *kukama,*
1SG.M name=VZR=FUT1 this kokama

na *ra* *kumitsa*
QT1 3SG.M say
“I will name this [people] Kokama”, he says’

c. *ta* *kaki̇ri̇* *ikian* *mundo* *ari̇wa,*
1SG.M live this world above

na *ikian* *awa* *tsawiti*
QT1 this person answer
“I live in the world above [the water]”, this person answers

d. Tsaniuri, ***na*** *tsa/*etse* *kumitsa=tsuriay* *ya=tsui*
come.in QT1 1SG.F speak-PAS3 3SG.F=DAT
‘Come on in, I told him’

Note in (44d) that a long form pronoun is not allowed in this construction.[4]

But not all instances of the quotative occur within the above construction. There are a few examples, like the ones in (45), where *na* is the only element signaling quoted speech.

[3] The KK people “locate” thoughts, feelings, etc. in their hearts. Thus, to be more precise, the predicate ‘think’ is expressed via a construction that involve the word for ‘heart’ as shown below:
[*ikua-ka* PRO *iya*] ‘to think, or to know in one’s heart’
know-REI PRO heart

[4] In elicitation, a long form pronoun is allowed if appears in first position (see below); however, such a structure is not attested in texts.
tsaniuri, e*tse/*tsa* *na* *kumitsa=tsuriay* *ya=tsui*
come.in 1F QT1 speak=PAS3 3SG.F=DAT
“Come on in”, I told him/her’

(44) a. *aja* *uri=ray* *yumati=ta=ka=ura,* *arirama* ***na***
yeah 3M PRT straight=CAU=REI=3M.OB arirama QT1
'Yeah, it seems he pronounces it straight, "Arirama", just like that'

The second quotative, *ay*, is sparse discourse. The construction could be summarized as: [*ay* PRO V [quote]], as shown in the following examples.

(45) a. *raepetsui* ***ay*** *ra* *kumitsa,* *awɨrɨ* *ya* *chɨpɨ-yara*
then QT2 3M says how.many 3SG.F price-possess
'Then, she says "how much does it cost"'

b. uri, eee, kumitsa **ay** na papa tsapuki-ta=ene
3SG. L.M hm says QT2 2SG father call-CAU=2SG.L
'He says "your father calls you"

Note, in (46a) that the speaker telling the narrative is a man (hence the form of the pronoun, *ra* '3SG.M', outside the quote), but the quote itself is from a woman (hence the form of the pronoun, *ya* '3SG.F', inside the quote).

An important point to notice is that the quotative *na* often appears without the quote itself, and it can show up either at the beginning or the end of the clause. In those cases, it has a modal interpretation conveying assurance and conviction which is often translated into Spanish as *así pues, de ésta manera* "in this way/like this". The examples below show this function of *na*.

(46) a. ***na*** *ikian* *ɨmɨna* *kukama=kana* *katupe*
QT1 this long.ago kokama=PL.M show.up
'And in this way the KK appeared [on earth]'

b. *rikua* *tana* *atsɨrɨka* ***na***
because 1PL.EX.M go.down.river QT1
'That's why we go down the river just like that'

c. ***na*** *tana* *yuti* *wepe* *semana*
QT1 1PL.EX.M stay one week

‘We remain like that for a week’

d. ***na*** *ikian* *ay=puka* *tana*
QT1 this already=when 1PL.EX.M
‘This is how we are [living] currently’

Thus, the particle *na* can operate at both sentence level and intersentential level. This is further discussed in Chapter X, §10.5.3.

4.6.3. Intersentential particles

There are a few conjunctions which serve as connectors of sentences in discourse. A prominent feature of this set is that they vary according to the speaker’s gender. They generally occur in first position within the sentence. These include (male speech form precedes the female speech form) *riay/yay* ‘also’, *urian/iyan* ‘but’, *raepe/yaepe* ‘then.’[5] Based on the latter, there are other forms such as *raepetsui/yaepetsui* ‘after that’, (*raepe=tsui* ‘there=ABL’), *raepenan/yaepenan* ‘until there’ (*raepe=nan* ‘there=only’). Below there are extracts from several narratives which illustrate the use of the connectors in connected speech.

(47) ***raepenan*** *ta* *kumitsa* *na=tsui,*
there.only 1SG.M say 2sg=DAT
‘Up to here I talk to you (about this)

riay *ta=tseta* *~~m~~ntsara=ra* *na=tsui*
also 1SG.M=want story=VZR 2SG=DAT
‘Also I want to tell you a story…’

[5] The forms *raepe/yaepe* have also a locative deictic interpretation, ‘there’:
a. *raepe* *tana* *riay* *putsa* *kuashi*
there 1PL.EX.M also eight day
‘There we also stayed eight days’

(48) *ra* *purara* *yapu=kana* *uka* *ukuki=n* *tuyuka=ri*
3M find paucar=PL.M house fall=REL ground=DIF
'She finds the paucars' house that has fallen down on the ground

raepe *waina* *yapichika=ura*
then woman catch=3M.OB
'Then the woman takes it'

(49) *ya=mari* *tsachi=n=chasu=era* *tsuwi=pura* *atsirika* […]
3SG.F=thing feel.pain=NZR=AFF=SBJV blood=FOC go.down
'The part that must be hurting is bleeding'

ya=pariatsu
3SG.F=suffer
'He suffers'

iyan *ay* *y=aya* *tapia=tua*
but already 3SG.F=shoot savage=AUM
'However, he shoots this savage'

(50) *r=erutsu=ura* *r=uka=ka*
3M=bring=3M.OB 3M=house=LOC
'She brings it to her house'

raepe=tsui *ra* *yupuni* *chikari* *itimu*
there=ABL 3M start look.for liana
'After that she starts to look for liana'

As stated above, the tendency is to place these connectors first in the sentence; however, the form *riay/yay* 'also' appears in other positions within the sentence. In those cases, however, its scope is not the entire clause but only the piece of information immediately before *riay/yay*.[6]

[6] There are a few instances in which *riay/yay* even in first position seems to have a limited scope:
a. ***riay*** *[ene]* *tima* *ta* *tsapuki=uy*
also 2LF Neg 1SG.M.SF call=Pas1
'I haven't call you either'

(51) a. *[ay]* ***yay*** *inu=mutsana=ka=tsuriay*
3SG.F also 3PL.F=medecin=REI=PAS3
'To him also they cured'

b. *[ya kakura]* ***yay*** *yawara pɨta=tupa*
3SG.F side also dog foot=place
'To his side also there is dog footprints'

c. *r=ikua [kukamiria=kana]* ***riay*** *emete*
3M=RSN Kokamilla=PL.M also exist
'That's why the Kukamiria also exist'

More information on intersentential conjunctions can be found in Chapter XI, §10.5.3.

4.6.4. Interjections

There are a few particles that can be categorized as interjections, these elements add emotional involvement and produced vivid language. These include an acute *uuu* used as a greeting before entering someone else's house; *apu* 'well' which is used for filled pauses; *ayau* —now extended to regional Spanish— is used to express pain; *iyan* 'wow' conveys surprise and/or fear. KK spontaneous discourse is also full of ideophonic elements. For instance, *blom*, is used to emphasized a sudden-surprising entrance into a place; *chaj*, for the sound the water makes when thrown away; *chak/chakak*, for sounds that solid things make when fell down or when someone hits them (i.e., to open a coconut); *chiiin*,[7] for total silence; *ɨɨsss* expresses nervousness; *plon* for pushing something away; *poj/soj* for sounds when cutting wood (for firewood, for instance); *pululilin* when something submerges into the water; *saj* for opening/cutting

[7] Probably this form has been gramaticalized into the verb *chinta* 'be.silent'

something soft (i.e., fish); *sak* for cutting quickly something hard (i.e., liana); *tin-tin* sound of a small drum; *tsɨrɨj* when someone trips and falls down; *wiii*, sound made by a boa.

4.7. Homophony among particles and clitics

Finally, I want to direct some attention to the homophony among some grammatical units, especially particles and clitics. Any attempt to establish a functional connection between them seems untenable, at least at this point of the analysis. That is, they truly are totally different morphemes. Table 4.4 shows some of these forms.

Table 4.4: Homophony among particles and clitics

GLOSS	FORM
quotative	*na*
2nd person singular	*na*
3rd person (FS)	*ya*
quotative, emphatic 'like this'	*ya*
comparative postposition	*=yá*
reportative	*=ía*
conditional	*-ra*
denominal verbalizer	*-ra*
purpose postposition	*=ra*
3rd person object (MS)	*=(u)ra*
conditional subordinator	*-ri*
progressive aspect	*-ri*
3rd person long form (FS)	*ay*
already	*ay*
subordinator of reason	*-ikua*
mediate past	*=ikuá*

If the discourse context is not enough to identify which element is being used, some strategies to resolve ambiguities may arise. For instance, if the modal *ya* 'like this' and pronoun *ya* '3SG female speech' occur adjacent to each other, a phonological change happens. The pronoun is produced as [za]; that is the palatal approximant is pronounced as a voiced sibilant [z]. This rule does not applies to the modal particle 'like this' which is always produced as [ja] (52a). An additional strategy has been identified —although only in elicitation contexts— if the sequence is Pronoun + Modal. Here, the long form pronoun ***ay*** occurs before the quotative ***ya*** (52b). Note that in both strategies the pronoun is the one that changes.

(52) a. *ya* *za* *kamata*
like.this 3SG.F work
'Like this she works'

b. *ay* *ya* *kamata*
3SG.F like.this work
'Like this she works'

For the case of the quotative *na* and second person short form *na*, the strategy is to use the long form pronoun *ene*. Recall that in the quotative construction [[quote] *na* PRO V], only short form pronouns are allowed. Only for second person the exact opposite is true (54a). In discourse there are not many instances of second persons being quoted anyways.

(53) b. *na* *ene/*na* *kumitsa=tsuri*
QT1 2SG.L talk=PAS3
'Like this you talked'

4.8. Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an overview of the different units KK exhibits, as well as to define the terminology used to refer to those units. The morphological units KK displays include roots, stems, suffixes, clitics, and free particles. They are summarized in Table 4.4, together with their host, if relevant, and their canonical function(s).

Table 4.5: Main types of morphological units in KK

TYPE	SUBTYPES	HOST	MEANING/FUNCTION
Root/ stems	nouns, verbs,adverbs		
suffixes	inflection	V	progressive aspect
	inflection/derivation	V	causative, other aspectual suffixes
	derivation	N, V	Ns, Vs, ADVs
clitics	phrasal	NP, VP	tense, modality, oblique postpositions
	second position	first constituent	interrogation, several types of modality
	positionaly flexible	N, PRO, DEM, PRT	focus, restrictive focus
particle	first position		quotatives, sentential connectors,
	relatively free		negative markers, interjections

Looking at the grammatical functions the different types of units encode, clitics are the most productive group. Crucial grammatical categories such as number, tense, modality, interrogation and focus are conveyed by clitics. The language has about twelve suffixes, only about four of which could be said show inflectional-like behavior. However, none of them is obligatory in finite clauses. KK has also an important number of free particles to indicate negation, quotations, sentential and intersentential relationships, among others.

Now that the central categories and the main features of the language have been established, we can continue with a detailed examination of each of them. In the next chapter we focus on nouns.

CHAPTER V

NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

This chapter is devoted to nouns and noun phrases, including the syntactic categories that occur within noun phrases and the grammatical categories associated with them. The syntactic categories that occur within a noun phrase include nouns, pronouns, derived nominals, interrogative words, quantifiers, genitive constructions, and relative clauses.[1] The categories associated with nouns, which are expressed via suffixes, are transcategorial markers. The categories associated with NPs are focus, plural, evaluatives and oblique postpositions. The analysis presented in this chapter differs from a previous account provided in Vallejos (2005), in which the evaluative morphemes (diminutive, augmentative and affective) were analyzed as inflectional (cf. Chapter IV). In fact, they do display several typological features associated with inflectional morphology rather than with derivational morphology. But in KK, the evaluative morphemes also appear in pronouns which shows their scope is beyond the noun word level. Yet, a closer examination of their formal and functional properties

[1] Relative clauses are treated in more detail under complex clauses, in §10.2.

reveals that the evaluatives differ from the set of noun phrase clitics, which includes the plural markers, focus markers, modals, etc. Because of the nature of their constribution to the semantic content of the noun, the arguments for this updated analysis will be discussed under derived nominals (§5.4.2), rather than under the noun phrase (§5.1).

A few examples that illustrate the points being made in this chapter come from elicitation; however, almost all patterns have been attested in spontaneous discourse. If a pattern has not (yet) been attested in texts but only in elicitation, this is appropriately indicated (ED following the free translation indicates elicited data).

5.1. The noun phrase

The notion of NP plays a prominent role in the grammar of KK. As mentioned in Chapter IV, there are several grammatical categories that operate at the NP level, rather that at the noun level. These categories are typically expressed through phrasal clitics.

5.1.1. General characterization

A noun phrase (bracketed) must include at least a noun (1).

(1) [*napitsara*] *uman=uy* N
man die=PAS1
'The man died'

Yet several other elements can potentially appear within a noun phrase. For instance, the head noun can be modified by another noun (2a), a possessive pronoun (2b), a demonstrative pronoun (2c), a numeral (2d), an adverbial quantifier (2e), an indefinite demonstrative (2f), or a relative clause (see Chapter X). Modifiers generally appear in front of the head noun.

(2) a. *shirinka* *ɨwɨra* N N
latex tree
'latex tree'

b. *tsa* *mɨmɨra* PRO N
1SG.F woman'.son
'my son'

c. *ikian* *ɨwɨra* DEM N
DEM tree
'this tree'

d. *mukuika* *napitsara* NUM N
two man
'two men'

e. *chita* *kuriki* QUAN N
a.lot money
'a lot of money'

f. *yamua* *kuniati* I.DEM N
other girl
'another girl'

Not all these modifiers can co-occur in a single NP, though. By and large, in spontaneous discourse the head noun appears alone or semantically restricted by just one modifier. In the database for this study, the most frequent modifiers by far are demonstratives and possessive pronouns, which occupy a single slot in first position within the NP. In other words, they do not co-occur (3d). Similarly, numerals, quantifiers, and the indefinite demonstrative also take up one slot (second pronominal) and do not combine within a single NP (3e). While infrequent, it is no problem for two (3a, b) or even three pre-head modifiers (3c) to occur in a single NP. (3c) is an elicited pattern not attested in texts yet.

(3) a. *ikian* *mukuika* *ayuma* DEM NUM N
this two brother.in.law
'these two brothers in law'

b. *yukun* *yamua* *yatsɨ* DEM I.DEM N
that other moon
'that other moon' (That other month)

c. *tsa* *mukuika* *nai* *amɨra* PRO NUM N N
1SG.F two grandmother death.relative
'my two desceased grandmothers'

d. **ikian* *ta* *ayuma* *DEM PRO N
this 1SG.M brother.in.law

e. **yamua* *mukuika* *ayuma* *I.DEM NUM N
other two brother.in.law

In addition, the head noun can be further modified by a relative clause, which can either follow or precede the head noun. Importantly, its position with respect to the head noun plays a role in the semantic relationship between the two. Relative clauses that precede the head noun have a restrictive function —i.e., restrict the referent of the head—(4). Those that follow the head noun tend to have a descriptive function —i.e., provide supplementary possibly non restricting information (5). Interestingly, it is only possible to distinguish this restrictiveness contrast after looking at the distribution of relative clauses in connected speech. In elicitation, speakers give both orders, without being able to describe a functional difference. For more discussion on relative clauses, see Chapter X.

(4) a. [PRO Rel-C N]
tana *erutsu-ka* *[rana* *yumi-n* *karamina]*
1PL.M bring-REI 3PL.M give-NZR corrugated.iron
'We carry out the corrugated iron that they donate'

b. [PRO Rel-C N]
r=yatukupe *[r=aya-n* *arawata]*
3SG.M=carry.on.back 3SG.M=shoot-NZR choro
'He carries on his back the choro monkey that he shot'

c. [Rel-C N N]
[tʉma napitsara=muki kakʉrʉ-n *wayna kuniati=kʉra]*
NEG man=COM live-NZR woman girl=DIM

ay *ipirawira* *tseta* *ya* *mirikua-ra*
already dolphin want 3SG.F wife-PUR
'A young woman who doesn't live with a man, the dolphin wants for wife'

(5) a. [PRO N Rel-C]
[tsa *mʉmʉra* *wika-n]* *watari*
1SG.F woman.son strong-NZR miss
'My son who is strong is missing'

b. *sanitario* *ɨpʉka* *ya* *kaɨ=tsuri* *yaepe=tsui*
nurse cut 3SG.F shin-Pas there-ABL

[N Rel-C]
ya *uchima-ta-tsen* *[tsuwɨ pua-n]=pura*
3sg go.out-CAU-PUR blood decompose-NZR=FOC
'The nurse cut his shin and then took out the blood, which was decomposed'

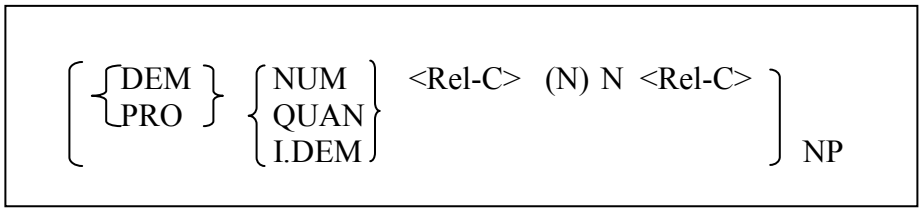
c. [QUAN N Rel-C]
[upi mari rana *yumi-n]* *tana* *erutsu*
all thing 3PL.M give-NZR 1PL.M bring
'All the things, which they donate, we bring'

Note in example (4c) that if a NP involves a modifier noun, the restrictive relative clause precedes both the modifier noun and the head noun.

Based on examples (1) to (5), we can conclude that if multiple modifiers were to occur within a NP, a demonstrative or a possessive pronoun would appear in first position, followed by a numeral, an adverbial quantifier, or an indefinite demonstrative in second position. As shown above, a relative clause can precede a modifier noun and

the head noun. The only element that could appear after the head noun would be a relative clause. Up to this point, a KK NP could be schematically summarized as in Figure 5.1. Note that the elements in angle brackets, < >, cannot co-occur.

Figure 5.1: Summary of a KK noun phrase



Phrasal clitics can appear appended to an NP , such as plural (6a-b), focus (6b), tense (6c), oblique postpositions (6d), and modals (6e), among others. For a detailed discussion of postpositions, see Chapter VI; modals are described in Chapter IX; and, focus in Chapter XI.

(6) a. *[tsa m-m-rakunia]=**nu** -ts-ka-ka*
1SG.F woman.daughter=PL be.scared-REI-REI
'My daughters remain so scared'

b. *[uka uwari-n]=**pura=kana** tsenia-pupe-ra-pa*
house fall-NZR=FOC=PL.M knee-like-VBZR-CPL
'The houses, which have fallen, are kind of kneeling'

c. *y=uchima-ta [chita yawiri]=**tsuri***
3SG.F=go.out-CAU a.lot yucca=PAS3
'She took out a lot of yucca'

d. *raepe rana irua-kaka [ikian rama shiringuero]=**muki***
then 3PL.M mate-REC this other latex.hunter=COM
'Then they become friends with this other latex hunter'

e. *[ra m-m-ra]=**taka** uk-r-i ikiara*
3SG.M w'son=UNC sleep like.this
'Maybe her child sleep like this'

All the phrasal clitics illustrated in (6) also appear on pronominal forms, as will be shown in §5.3.

Within a given clause**,** NPs can function as subjects (see (4a, b), (5a), (6a, b) above), or objects (as in (5b) & (6c), above). As will be described in the next sections, adjacent NPs can have either an appositive (§5.1.3) or a genitive (§5.9) relationship between them. The grammatical and oblique functions of NPs are further discussed in the chapters dedicated to clause structure (Chapters VIII, IX & X).

5.1.2. Head elements in NPs

In KK, not only nouns can operate as the head of a NP. Strictly speaking, definite pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and indefinite pronouns generally replace whole NPs, not only head nouns. The examples below show this; notice the clitics attached to the pronoun (7a), to the demonstrative pronoun (7b) and to the indefinite pronoun (7c).

(7) a. *ajan* *napitsara=nu* *chikari-ka* ***tsa****=pura=tsuri*
this man=PL lookfor-REI 1SG.F=FOC=PAS3
'These men looked for me again'

b. *tana* *mainani* ***ikian****=pura*
1PL.M take.care this=FOC
'We take care of this one'

c. ***rama****=kana* *tset=utsu* *tsanangillo=kuara=pe=nan*
other=PLM want go Sananguillo=INE=there=only
'Others want to go only to Sananguillo (village)'

Examples in which pronoun-headed NPs appear restricted by any of the modifiers listed in (2) are quite rare. In fact, no examples of a personal pronoun or an indefinite pronoun modified by a relative clause have been attested in the database.

There are a few sentences in which a demonstrative pronoun appears semantically specified by a relative clause (8a, b).

(8) a. ***[ikian*** *[ay* *rana* *yumi=n]]* *tana* *tuyuka=ra*
this already 3PL.M give=REL 1PL.M ground=PUR
'This, what they have already given [us] for our land […]'

b. *ay* *rana* *pitani-ta* ***[ikian*** *[ta=tseta-n]]*
already 3PL.M paint-CAU this 1SG.M=want-NZR
'They go ahead and paint the one that I want'

Noun phrases that involve personal pronouns rarely appear modified by relative clauses; if they do, the relative clause follows the pronoun and has a descriptive reading, as shown in (9a). There are also a few examples of headless relative clauses that involve personal pronouns and transitive verbs which can be given genitive interpretations. That is, within the relative clause, the relativized/nominalized verb conveys the entity which is being possessed by the referent of the pronoun (9b).

(9) b. *[inu* *#ts#kaka-n=inu]* *iriwa* *utsu*
3PL.F feel.fear-NZR=PL.F come.back go
'They, who are scared, start to come back'

a. *[tana* *yat#ma-n]=pura* *uni* *erutsu*.
1PL sow-Rel=FOC water bring
'The water takes away what we have sowed /our crops.

Besides nouns and pronouns, other elements that can arguably function as head elements in an NP are numerals. Perhaps this could suggest that in KK numerals belong to the noun category. However, in §5.8 it will be shown that, although numerals can appear within NPs without any derivational morphology, they can also occupy verbal positions within the clause. To operate as head nouns, numerals need not only to be nominalized but also to show up under strict discourse conditions. Generally, the

referent inmediately precedes the numral NP. Below there is an extract from a narrative that illustrate this.

(10) *ikian iruaka inia=chasu ra=yumi ikian a=manta=tsui*
this four sp.fish-AFEC 3SG.M=give this otorongo=DAT
'These four poor carachamas he gaves to this otorongo'

uri ra eyu, ra watari
3SG.M 3SG.M eat 3SG.M missing
'This he eats, (but) it's not enough'

tupapenan ra piyata-ka-ta=ura
again 3SG.M ask-REI-CAU=3SG.M.OB
'Again he asks him'

tupapenan t=yumi-ka r=utsu
again 1SG.M=give-REI 3SG.M=FUT

***[mukuika-n]**=nan n=emera*
two-NZR=only 2SG=feed
'I'll give you again only two for you to eat'

Within the discourse context, it is clear that the numeral 'two' refers to the carachamas (a type of fish) and is functioning as the object of 'give'. In addition, the restrictive focus marker appears attached to the numeral. However, this fact alone does not tell us much about the category of numerals in KK since this focus marker can occur appended to different types of hosts. All in all, numerals do not exactly belong the category of nouns or verbs (see §4.6 for additional discussion).

5.1.3. Appositive NPs

Appositive NPs —phrases that have the same referent and assume the same syntactic function within the clause— occur frequently in KK discourse. That is, two NPs are placed side by side with no intervening material between them. Apposition

plays a discourse pragmatic function; it is a strategy used to clarify, describe, emphasize, and/or restrict the referent being talked about. In terms of form, although in spontaneous speech there is no pause between the two NPs, it is possible to observe that the intonation contour includes two prosodic peaks. Importantly, each NP can receive its own set of clitics. For instance, note in (11) that appositive NPs are marked by *=pura* 'focus' and *=n(u)/=kana* 'plural.' Further, if these NPs assume the O argument function within the main clause, tense clitics appear attached to each one, as *=uy* 'PAS1' in (11a).

(11) a. *in=umi* *[ajan* *awa]=pura=n=uy*
3PL=see this person=FOC=PL.F-PAS1

[profesor]=pura=n=uy *calle=kuara*
teacher=FOC=PL.F=PAS1 street-INE
'They saw these persons, teachers, in the street'

b. *[ikiratse-n]=pura=nu* *[uka-ka* *yuti-n]=pura=nu*
green-NZR=FOC=PL.F house-LOC stay-NZR=FOC=PL.F

ya=tu *tsapuki*
3SG.F=AUG call
'To the children (the greenish ones) who stay in the house he calls'

Note however that the apositive NPs do not need to be focused or be marked by the exact same set of clitics. In (12) the first NP contains the plural clitic, while the second has both clitics, focus and plural. In (13) both NPs include plural clitics.

(12) *kantun-yara* *[rama]=kana* *[yuriti-n]=pura=kana*
tomorrow-for other=PL.M stay-NZR=FOC=PL.M

ray *kumitsa-ka*
also say-REI
'The next day, the others, the ones who remain, talk'

(13) *ajan parana - tsima=ra* *ts=umi*
this river- shore=DIF 1SG.F=see

[awa=tua]=nu *[uchima-ka* *uri-n-i]=nu*
person=AUG=PL.F go.out-REI come-NZR-EV=PL.F
'At the borders of this river, I see huge people that are coming out'

The main criterion for positing two NPs in an appositive relationship —as opposed to belonging to a single NP— is that each NP appears marked by phrasal clitics. Modifiers do not need to agree with the head noun with respect to number, for instance. That is, plural number does need to go on the modifiers but only at the end of the noun phrase. Examples (11) to (13) show that each NP receives plural marking, focus, and/or tense.

As shown in (11) to (13), the second NP generally describes and/or restricts the first. There are examples, however, in which the first NP seems to describe the second (14). Generally, in this type of example there is a small pause between the two NPs which is a determinant feature to characterize them as cases of left dislocation rather than apposition.

(14) a. *[ipatsu=kuara* *kakiri=n]=**inu*** *[awa]=**nu***
lake=INE live=REL=PL.F person=PL.F

chita *uyari* *umi* *animaru=nu*
a.lot time see animal=PL.F
'Who live in the lake, these people see animals many times'

Up to here we can conclude that NPs in KK minimally require a noun or pronoun. The former can be potentially modified by several elements (see Figure 5.1). Nevertheless, in real discourse head nouns tend to appear alone or with only one modifier, the most frequent modifiers being demonstrative pronouns and possessive

pronouns. Generally, modifiers precede the head noun, except for non-restrictive relative clauses which tend to follow the head. In addition, adjacent NPs in appositive relationship are frequent in KK discourse. In the next section we focus on nouns.

5.2. Nouns

From a morphosyntactic perspective, nouns function as the nucleus of a noun phrase. As explained above, a noun may be replaced by a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun, or an indefinite pronoun, when its reference is recoverable from the context. From a semantic point of view, nouns generally refer to objects and entities.

The canonical function of nouns in connected speech is to introduce participants into the scene. The extract in (15) is the first portion of a narrative as told by a female speaker. Note that in the first utterance, a noun is employed to introduce the referent *wayna* 'woman.' Then 'woman' is replaced by the third person proclitic *y*= or the short form pronoun *ya*. These pronouns are assuming the subject function within each clause. In the second utterance, there is the noun *yawiri* 'yucca.' In the penultimate utterance, the speaker introduces awara 'female devil' and in the last utterance both 'the awara' and 'the woman' are replaced by the pronouns *y*= and *=ay,* which assume the subject and object functions respectively. The relevant nouns and pronouns are in bold.

(15) *ajan wepe* ***wayna***
DEM one woman
'(There is) this woman'

y*=utsu=tsuri=ay* *ya=ku=ka* ***yawiri*** *tawa-tara*
3SG.F=go-PAS3=already 3SG.F=farm=LOC yucca pick.up-PUR1
'She went to her farm to pick up yucca'

titi=nanin ***y****=utsu=tsuri […]*
be.alone=only 3SG.F=go=PAS3
'She went all alone'

y*=uchima-ta* ***yawiri****=tsuri=ay*
3SG.F=go.out-CAU yucca=PAS3=already
'She already got the yucca'

ya *piruka=ri yuti=n* ***awara*** *katupe*
3SG.F peel=PROG stay=REL awara show.up
'While she is peeling, the awara (a female devil) shows up'

yaepe ***y****=umanu=t=****ay***
then 3SG.F=die-CAU=3SG.F.OBJ
'Then she kills her'

In (15) we see that nouns can appear without any type of morphology attached to them. However, a noun has a root and optional morphemes as part of its structure. Following distributional criteria, the optional morphemes could be classified into derivational morphemes and inflectional-like morphemes. The second set consists of three evaluative morphemes (diminutive, augmentative, and affective) which, strictly speaking, occupy an intermediate position between derivational and inflectional morphemes, as will be shown below.

Figure 5.2, shows the configuration of a noun. Nouns can be classified into subtypes, they are discussed in the subsequent section.

Figure 5.2: Noun structure

(Root-) Root (DER)

5.2.1. Count nouns vs. mass nouns

Beyond semantics, count nouns and mass noun can be distinguished for the types of modifiers they can combine with. First, count nouns, or the noun phrase whose

head is a count noun, can receive the plural marker. Second, count nouns can be quantified by both numbers and indefinite quantifying expressions, such as *chita* 'a lot', *upi* 'all', *awɨrɨ* 'a little bit', *aytsemenan* 'a bit', *ukuatsemenan* 'too much', etc. For instance, the noun *awa* 'person' can appear with the plural clitic (16a, b), modified by the number 'three' (16b), or modified by *chita* 'a lot' (16c).

(16) a. *raepe* *ikian* *awa=kana* *t=umi=uy*
there this person=PL.M 1SG.M=find=PAS1
'There these people I saw'

b. *mutsapɨrɨka* *awa,* *rana* *iriwa-ka-ta=ura*
three person 3PL.M come.back-REI-CAU=3M.OBJ
'Three people, they make him come back'

c. *ra* *uwata-puka* *chita* *awa=kana* *chikuara-ta=ura*
3SG.M walk-when a.lot person=PL.M buttock-CAU=3M.OBJ
'When he walks, many people follow him'

Mass nouns, on the other hand, notionally refer to entities whose constituent matter is understood as non-discrete or unbounded. Some of the most common mass nouns include *uni* 'water', *kaitsuma* 'yucca beer', *amaniu* 'cotton', *tewe* 'salt', etc., or natural phenomena such as *ɨwɨtu* 'wind', *tsaku* 'heat', *amana* 'rain, *ɨwɨtini* 'cloud, mist', *tupa* 'thunderclap', etc. Mass nouns can be quantified by non-numeral expression but not by numerals. Also, they do not take the plural marker. In (17a) we have the noun *kaitsuma* 'yucca beer', specified by *aytseme* 'little bit'. In (17b) *tewe* 'salt' is modified by *ukuatsemenan* 'too much'. (17c) shows the inability of mass nouns to combine with numerals and/or to take the plural marker.

(17) a. *yumi=ay* *aytseme* *kaitsuma*
give=3SG.F.O little.bit masato

‘Give him a little bit of masato’

b. *ukuatsemenan* *tewe=muki* *ran=ey=ura*
too.much salt=COM 3PL.M=eat=3SG.M.Ob
‘They eat it with too much salt’

c. **yumi=ay* *mutsapɨrɨka* *kaitsuma=kana*
give=3.F.O three masato=PL.M

Besides the crosslinguistically common mass nouns, in KK other semantic categories also behave grammatically in this way. These categories consist of typically collective items relevant to every day live, such as small crops (*turichi* ‘cilantro’, *ruku* ‘achiote’, etc.), wild fruits which are usually collected in big amounts (*mɨrɨtɨ* ‘aguaje palm’, *manaka* ‘ungurahui palm’, *muniwatsu* ‘breadfruit’), small fish (*kumarata* ‘mojara’, *inia* ‘carachama’), insects that are only seen in colonies (*tsatsɨwa* ‘ant’, *kuki* ‘curuhuinsi’, *kawa* ‘wasp’, *ura* ‘suri’, *arawi* ‘cockroach’), among others.

The claim here is that in natural, every day communication, these nouns used in singular make reference to a collection of items, a semantic character consistent with a label like collective nouns rather than mass nouns. They are collective nouns in the sense that they make reference to a group of countable entities and they can occur with quantified measurement words; yet they are mass nouns in the sense that they do not take the plural marker. Note in (18a) the use of ‘basket’ and in (18b) of ‘a canoe’ as quantifying units.

(18) a. *r=erutsu* *mɨrɨtɨ* *tsaparu* *r=uka=ka*
3SG.M=bring aguaje basket 3SG.M=house=LOC
‘She brings a basket of aguaje (palm fruit) to her house’

b. *inia=pura* *wepe* *ɨrara* *t=purara*

carachama=FOC one canoe 1SG.M=find
'A canoe of carachama (type of fish) I catch'

It appears that within the KK cultural context, it does not make sense to bother specifying the quantity for these items. However, in folk stories, special cockroackes can appear quantified by numerals. In addition, common, generic count nouns, such as *panara* 'banana', *yawiri* 'yucca', *ipira* 'fish', *kai* 'monkey' can also be used in singular form for collective reference. In contrast with the above nouns, the latter very often appear also marked by plural.

(19) a. *ay-tin* *ajan* *awa=nu* *upa-ta-pa* *ini* *ipira*
already-MOD this person=PL.F end-CAU-CPL 1PL fish
'For sure, these persons are already finishing our fish'

5.2.2. Measurable nouns vs. non-measurable nouns

Additional subtypes of nouns become apparent from attributive constructions. The language has a few constructions involving the verbs *tua* and *nua*. Both translate as 'be big/become big'. In previous studies, the distribution of these verbs has been described as driven by animacy. For instance, Cabral claims that "*tua* is used when the subject is animate and *nua* when the subject is inanimate" (1995:284). In this database, however, the distribution of these verbs is driven by the measurability of the referent: *nua* appears with nouns and noun phrases whose referent is construed as non-measurable, while *tua* occurs with those entities which are construed as potentially measurable.

The examples below illustrate the use of *tua*. In (20a) *yawara* 'dog' is clearly animate, and we could say that *kɨ̃ma* 'guava (tree)' in (20b) might also be categorized as animate. However, there are many other examples of *tua* occurring with inanimate

nouns, such as *ritama* ‘village’ (20c), *ɨpatsu* ‘lake’ (20d), and the loanword *karu* ‘car’ (20e). As one consultant explained to me, what they all have in common is that “we can see where they start and end.” That is, the measurement of their referents is somehow feasible; their limits or borders are something speakers can experience. For instance, lakes are categorized as big or small depending on how long it takes to cross them from one end to the other; villages are measured in terms of the number of families/houses, etc.

(20) a. *rana* *tsapuki* *ikian* *yawara* *tua-n=kana*
3PL.M call this dog be.big-NZR=PL.M
‘They call these big dogs’

b. *raepe* *ra=pura* *ɨwati* *kɨma=pura=tu,* *upa* *tua-pa*
then 3SG.M =FOC get.up guava=FOC=AUG end be.big-CPL
‘Then it rises into a big guava tree, ends up big’

c. *mania-puka=taka* *ikian* *ritama* *tua=utsu*
how-when=MOD this community be.big=FUT1
‘When, maybe, this village will grow’

d. *ra* *utsu=tsuriay* *ɨpatsu* *tua-n=kuara*
3SG.M go=PAS3 lake grow.up-NZR=INE
‘He went until the big lake’

e. […] *wepe* *tua-n* *karu=pu* *uri* *tana =tsua-tara*
one be.big-NZR car=INS come 1.PL=take -PUR1
‘With a big car comes to pick us up’

In contrast, *nua* is used for non-measurable referents. For instance, primary navigable (huge) rivers in the area, such as the Amazon or the Huallaga, are described as being *nuan* ‘big, huge’, never as *tuan*.

(21) a. *ria* *akicha-wa* *ta* *mirikua*
like.this feel.fear-gerund 1SG.M wife

atsirika *ikian* *parana* *nua-n=kuara*
go.down this river be.big-NZR=INE
'With fear my wife goes down this huge river'

b. nua-n amana yapichika tana iwitu=muki
be.big-NZR rain catch 1SG.M wind=COM
'A huge rain with wind (storm) catches us'

c. *tupapenan* *uni* *nua-n* *uri-ka*
again water be.big-NZR come-REI

ra=pururuka *ra=pura*
3SG.M=flood 3SG.M=FOC
'Then again the big water comes (and) overfloods it [village]'

d. *awa=pura* *utsu* *ra* *ikua=tara,* *tua-n* *nua-n…*
person=FOC go 3SG.M know=PUR1 be.big-NZR be.big-NZR
'people come to learn about this [accident], many… so much (people)

Example (21d) is revealing. The speaker is talking about how during the rainy season a few years ago, his community collapsed. He tells first that a group of people came to see the disaster, but then he goes on to say that in fact many, many people —to the point that he lost track of the size of the group— came to see the community and tried to help them.

Beyond its verbal function, *nua* can be used as an adverb of quantity that could be translated as 'a lot.' Its semantics still makes reference to non-measurable amounts. The context for the example below is this: a hunter has been lost for days in the jungle; thus, at this point it is imposible to know how much or how far he has walked. The adverbial function of *nua* is sparse in the database.

(22) a. *ay* *nua* *ra=uwata* *ɨwɨrati*
already a.lot 3SG.M=walk forest
'He has already walked a lot in the forest'

5.2.3. Proper nouns

Proper nouns are understood as names referring to unique entities often readily identifiable by the other members of the speech community. In KK there are not many proper nouns. First names belong to this subset, but only a few names could be considered traditional names; the vast majority have been adopted and/or adapted from Spanish. Last names, on the other hand, refer to clans, not to specific individuals. Some of the most common KK last names include: *Ahuanari, Aquituari, Arimuya, Caritimari, Canaquiri, Curitima, Tapullima, Tapayuri, Murayari, Yuyarima, Yahuarcani*, among others. In more recent years, names for villages have been also incorporated into the language. As for distributional patterns, proper nouns do not appear modified by demonstratives or possessives. In discourse, they can be farther described by non-restrictive relative clauses, although only rarely (see (23c)).

(23) a. *tsa=papa=tsui-n* *tsa=ami=tsuri=ay*
1Pos=father=ABL-NZR 1SG.F=granfather=PAS3=already

vicente tapullima
Vicente Tapullima
'My grandfather from my father's side was Vicente Tapullima'

b. *ikian* *utsu -n* *kostarika* *kati=nan*
this go-NZR Costa Rica until=only
'This (plane) goes in fact only until Costa Rica'

c. *watemara* *kuriki* *ketsal na* *chira -n*
Guatemala money Quetzal QT name-NZR
'Guatemala's money is called Quetzal'

d. *tsa=papa* *parinari* *awa*
1SG.F=father Parinari person
'My father is originally from Parinari'(Lit. a person of Parinari)

There are a few cases in which proper nouns appear under the scope of the demonstratives *ikian* (MS)/*ajan* (FS) 'this'. However, I would argue that the function of the demonstratives here is of a different nature. In these contexts, their primary function is not to express deixis but rather is an article-like function. This use of the demonstratives is possible influence from Amazonian Spanish, in which articles commonly occur in front of proper nouns (e.g. la Anita). In (24) there is a typical example in which the noun 'Samiria' refers to a specific geographic area, and 'Parinari' refers to a unique village.

(24) *ikian tsamiria na=kakɨri, ikian parinari*
this Samiria 2SG=live this Parinari
'You live in Samiria, (or) in Parinari'

One of the core features of nouns is that they can be replaced by pronouns, which are the topic of the next section.

5.3. Pronouns

In KK, pronouns carry information pertaining to person, number, gender and the inclusive/exclusive distinction. Recall though that gender in KK is somehow unusual, as it makes reference not to the gender of the entity that one is talking about but to the speaker's biological gender. The complete paradigm of pronouns for female speech (FS) and male speech (MS) is presented in Table 5.1.

The language exhibits three sets of pronominal forms: long form free pronouns, short form free pronouns and enclitics. That is, there are two sets of independent pronouns, a short form and a long form, but this only happens for entities with singular reference. In plural the long/short distinction does not exist.

Table 5.1: Pronominal forms

	FS			**MS**		
	Long	Short	Clitic	Long	Short	Clitc
1sg	*etse*	*tsa*	*ts(a)=*	*ta*		*t(a)=*
2sg	*ene*	*na*	*n(a)=*	*ene*	*na*	*n(a)=*
3sg	*ay*	*ya*	*y(a)=*	*uri*	*ra*	*r(a)=*
1pl incl.	*ini*		*ni(a)=*	*ini*		*ni(a)=*
1pl excl.	*penu*		*pen(u)=*	*tana*		*tan(u)=*
2pl	*epe*		*ep(i)=*	*epe*		*ep(i)=*
3pl	*inu*		*in(u)=*	*rana*		*ran(u)=*

As for the inclusive/exclusive distinction, this is only relevant for first person plural, in both female and male speech. The inclusive form, *ini*, is identical in both speech varietes, so is second person singular and plural.

For third person singular there is an additional opposition regarding the syntactic function of the pronoun. The forms display an accusative pattern, as summarized in Table 5.2. Note that while clitics in S/A argument function are proclitics, these in O argument function are enclitics. In addition, the nominative set can take the plural marker —i.e., *uri=kana/ ra=kana, ay=nu/ inu* 'they'— although this phenomenon seems associated with specific idiolects. Beyond third person pronouns, no morphemes corresponding to specific syntactic functions have been found for other persons.

Table 5.2: Third person pronouns according to their syntactic function

	FEMALE SPEECH		MALE SPEECH	
	S/A	**O**	**S/A**	**O**
3sg	*ay / ay / y=*	*=ay*	*uri / ra / r=*	*=ura*

The distribution of the three sets of pronominal forms is only partially predicted by grammar. For instance, at the clause level, the three sets of forms (Table 5.1) have

quite similar behavior in terms of the syntactic functions they can assume. In general, they can function as the S, A, or O argument if the construction displays unmarked word order. Yet there are certain constructions where distinct distributions of short forms, long forms and clitics has been found. Furthermore, their distributional pattern in natural discourse is driven by pragmatic factors.

From all the pronouns in Table 5.1, Rodrigues (1984/1985: 43) states that only five forms are of Tupí-Guaraní (TG) or Tupinamba origin. These are listed in (25).

(25)

1SG	(PTG)	**itsé*	>	*etse*	1SG (female speech)
3SG	(PTG)	**a'é*	>	*ay*	3SG (female speech)
2SG	(TG)	*éne*	>	*ene*	2SG
1PL inc.	(Tupinamba)	*yané*	>	*ini*	1PL inc.
2PL	(Tupinambá)	*pé, pe'ẽ*	>	*epe*	2PL

In sections 5.3.1-5, the functional nuances of each set are discussed.

5.3.1. Long form pronouns

Long form pronouns can assume subject (S/A) and object functions, as presented in (26). In (26a), the first person pronoun *etse* is the S argument; in (26b) it is the A argument; and in (26c) it is the O argument.

(26) a. *etse* *uwari*
1SG.F fall
'I fell'

b. etse *ukita* *murits=uy*
1SG.F burn ceramic=PAS1
'I burned the ceramic'

c. *mui* *karuta* *etse*
snake bite 1SG.F
'The snake bites me'

Long forms generally show up as unbounded free-word forms. However, in fast speech, long forms in object function can appear phonologically attached to the

immediately preceding element (27a-c). Recall from §3.4, that when one element cliticizes to another, the vowel of the preceding element disappears. Thus, in (27a-b) that, *etse* 'first person female speech long form' attaches to the verbal word, the vowel of the causative *-ta* is deleted. Similarly, in (27c) the final vowel of the verb *piyata* 'ask for' is lost when the pronoun *ene* is attached.

(27) a. *ina* *ts=ichari=t= etse*
NEG 1SG.F=leave-CAU=1SG.L.F
'Don't make me forget' (Lit. 'Don't let me leave myself')

b. *yaepe* *inu=chikuara=t=etse*
there 3PL.F=buttock=CAU=1SG.L.F
'Then they follow me'

c. *rana* *piyat=ene* *mari=tipa* *epe* *tseta* *eyu*
3PL.M ask=2SG.L thing=Q 2PL want eat
'They ask you what you (all) want to eat'

However, there are a few places in the grammar where only long forms are allowed; at the same time, there are constructions in which long forms are not allowed.

Long forms are required in sentences with second position clitics. That is to say, if a sentence includes a modal clitic and the first element is a pronoun, it has to be from the long form set (28a-c). Modal clitics appended to short form pronouns yield unacceptable sentences (28d).

(28) a. *ene=ray* *t=ima* *ikua* *kumitsa* *era*
2SG.L=SPE NEG know say be.good
'You, it seems to me, don't know how to speak well'

b. *ene=taka* *ta* *mama*
2SG=UNC 1SG.M mother
'Perhaps you are my mother'

c. *ene=tipa* *erura* *ipir=uy*
2SG=Q bring fish=PAS1
'You brought fish?'

d. **na=tipa erura ipir=uy*

In constructions with stative verbs that refer to human propensity concepts, a long form is required to express some kind of metaphorical locative-possessive relationship. The construction is: [V NP]. The verb refers to the possessed attribute that could be thought of as being located on someone. The noun phrase is the location and/or the possessor. If a pronoun occurs in the NP slot, it has to be the long form. In examples (29a-b) the long form pronouns follow the words expressing metaphorically located concepts, such as 'goodness' and 'fear'. Note, however, that when the descriptive word occurs in a different type of construction (29c), where the pronominal precedes the descriptive word, a clitic pronoun is fine (29c).

(29) a. *aypuka era* ***etse***
now be.good 1SG.L.F
'Now the goodness is on me/I become a good person'

b. *akɨcha* ***ene***
feel.fear 2SG.L
'The fear is on you/You are scared'

c. *mari-ra=tipa* ***n****=akɨcha*
thing-PUR=Q 2SG=feel.fear
'Why are you scared?'

In clause constructions marked by progressive aspect, the order SOV is one of the available configurations (§9.1.1). In this template, if the subject is a pronoun, it has to be from the long form set. If a short form occurs, the sequence [pronoun noun] will have a genitive interpretation where the short form is taken as the possessor, as shown in (30b). Note that example (30b) is unacceptable not because of the form of the

pronoun itself but because short form must be interpreted as the possessor of the second N; as a result, the object of burning is missing in the sentence.[2]

(30) a. S O V
etse *muritsu* *uki-ta-ri*
1SG.F ceramic burn-CAU-PROG
'I am burning the ceramic'

b. *tsa *muritsu* *uki-ta-ri*
1SG.F ceramic burn-CAU-PROG

Building on the examples above, long forms do not function as possessive pronouns (31a). If a long form occurs in front of a noun, they would never be interpreted as the possessor in a genitive relationship (31b).

(31) a. *maka=tipa* *ene* *purara* *wayna=mia* ***na/*ene*** *mirikua=ra*
where =Q 2SG.L find woman=IRR 2SG wife-PUR
'Where could you find a woman for (making her) your wife'

b. ***etse*** *yawara* *umi-a=ri*
1SG.L.F dog see-EV=PROG
'I'm looking at the dog' * My dog is looking

Long forms do not occur in the pronoun slot within the quotation construction [[*quote*] QT PRO V]. More specifically, long forms can occur within the quote itself, but they cannot follow the quotative marker *na* (32).

(32) a. *Tsaniuri*, *na* ***tsa/*etse*** *kumitsa=tsuriay* *ya=tsui*
come.in QT1 1SG.F speak=PAS3 3SG.F=DAT
"Come on in", I told him'

Long forms do not assume oblique functions; that is, they do not show up marked by postpositions. For instance, in the database for this study, there are no

[2] If an object were to be included, the sentence would be grammatically correct but still pragmatically odd. The oddity resides in that ceramics by themseleves cannot burn something/someone, unless of course someone uses them as an instrument. However, if *-ta* CAU is left out, (29b) would become a well formed sentence, with the interpretation 'My ceramic is burning.'

instances of first person *etse* or third person *uri* combined with postpositions. This restriction can be explained by the fact that long forms are used for encoding salient referents within the universe of the discourse. Thus, the fact that long forms do not occur with oblique postpositions is consistent with their pragmatic load. It is known that new and/or salient information is usually introduced into the discourse as a core argument of a clause (Du Bois, 1987, 2003). After this information becomes old, or it is no longer important, it can be expressed by obliques. Obliques, by definition, add complementary information in a given clause, as opposed to core arguments that bring central information.

In the database, there is only one instance of second person *ene* with the comitative marker (33a). However, this example can be accounted for by the fact that the primary function of long form pronouns is pragmatic. In this particular example (33a), the phrase appears fronted and stressed; and within the discourse context, the comitative is in contrastive focus function. As discussed in Chapter XI, first position is the focus position in KK, and stress has a strong correlation with focused information (Vallejos 2009). Note in (33b) that the long form plus comitative in non-focal position is not only never attested but also not accepted by speakers.

(33) a. *ene=muki* *ta=kakɨrɨ=utsu*
2SG.L=COM 1SG.M=live=FUT1
'With you I will live'

b. **ta=kakɨrɨ=utsu* *ene=muki*

Examples in (34) illustrate the use of long forms in pragmatically marked scenarios. Example (34a) comes from a narrative about a boy that has been looking for

his mother without much success. One day he finds one woman who insists is his mother. (34b) was taken from a narrative about animals in the wild arguing about who is the most powerful of all. Everyone accepts that the jaguar is the greatest, except the monkey, so the jaguar eats him, and not the others.

(34) a. ***etse*** *na=mama* *na* *ikian* ***ra=****mama* *kumitsa*
1SG.F 2SG=mother QT this 3SG.M=mother talk
"I am your mother," like this her mother says'

b. ***uri*** *r=eyu-pa*
3SG.M.L 3SG.M=eat-CPL
'He (jaguar) devours him (monkey)'

Because of their pragmatic role, long forms appear frequently marked by focus markers, such as *=pura* (35a-b) and *=nan* (35a, c).

(35) a. ***etse****=pura=nan* *ya* *katupe=tsen*
1SG.F=FOC=only already show.up=PUR3
'At this point only I came to show up'

b. ***ay****=pura=nu* *tsapuki* ***etse****=pura* *ni* *tsenu=****ay***
3SG.F=FOC=PL call 1SG.F=FOC NEG listen=3SG.F.OB
"They call, (but) I do not hear it'

c. ***uri****=nan* *kurata.*
3SG.M=only drink
'Only he drinks'

An extensive discussion on the pragmatic forces that trigger the distribution of long form pronouns in discourse is offered in §11.3.

5.3.2. Short form pronouns

Like the long forms, short forms can assume any syntactic argument function within a clause. They can operate as the subject of intransitive verbs (36a), the subject

of transitive verbs (36b) or as the object (36c). Note also that a short form can appear within a subordinate clause (36d).

(36) a. ***ra*** *watari*
3SG.M missing
'It is missing'

b. *uri* ***ra*** *eyu,*
3SG.M 3SG.M eat
'This he eats (Lit. It he eats')

c. *n=erura* ***tsa****=tsuriay*
2SG=bring 1SG.F=PAS3
'You brough me'

d. *ni=t=ikua* ***na*** *uri*
NEG=1SG.M=know 2SG come
'I didn't know you were coming'

In contrast to long forms, short forms do occur with oblique markers such as comitative (37a), locative (37b), dative (37c), etc.

(37) a. *yayti tsa utsu* ***na=muki*** *tsa yumayari-tsen=ene*
also 1SG.F go 2SG=COM 1SG.F help-PUR=2SG
'I also go with you to help you'

b. *yantsui t=ima uyari ts= katupe=utsu* ***na=ka***
there NEG time 1SG.F=show.up=FUT1 2SG=LOC
'This is why I will never show up at you (where you are)'

c. *ra purar=ura ra kumitsa* ***ra****=****tsui***
3SG.M find=3SG.M.OB 3SG.M talk 3SG.M=DAT
'He finds him (and) he talks to him'

As mentioned in the previous section, short forms function as possessive pronouns, whereas long forms do not (38a). Pronominal forms in possessive function can appear unbounded (38a-b) or cliticized to the possessed noun (38c).

(38) a. *maka=tipa ene purara wayna=mia* ***na/*ene*** *mirikua=ra*
where =Q 2SG find woman-MOD 2SG wife-PUR
'Where could you find a woman for (making her) your wife'

a. ***tsa*** *urkuru uki=uy*
1SG.F basket burn-PAS1
'My basket burned'

b. *ya* ~~*iririta*~~ *tsa=tsuriay* ***tsa****= mama=tsui*
3SG.F pull.out 1SG.F=PAS3 1SG.F=mother=ABL
'He pulled me away from my mom'

A phenomenon associated with the third person short forms is the generation of third person plural by means of the plural marker. This has been attested only when the pronoun operates as an argument of the either the main clause (39a) or a subordinate clause (39b), never as an oblique, except with comitative (39c) or a possessive pronoun. Note in (39a) that both the plural form *rana* and the singular plus plural marker *ra=kana* are used in the same sentence.

(39) a. *ra=mama tsemuta* ***ra=tu=kana***
3SG.M=mother feed 3SG.M=AUG=PL.M
'His mom feeds them'

b. ***rana*** *tsenu tuntu* ***ra=kana*** *chira-ta-n*
3PL.M listen drum 3SG.M=PL.M name-CAU-NZR
'They listen the drum, what they call (it)'

c. ***ra=kana****=muki na kamata*
3SG.M=PL.M=COM 2SG work
'With them you work'

In terms of function, while long forms are used for encoding salient referents, short form pronouns occur by default typically referring to core arguments low in salience. The extract in (40) would be a typical introduction of referents into the discourse. The pattern is: First, a full NP for the first mention, then a long form pronoun

for a salient piece of information, and from there on short form pronouns occur (or clitics, see below) for already activated participants.

(40) *ikian kai tini,* ***uri*** *timiara akiki kuraka,*
this monkey white 3SG.M invite monkey(esp) leader
'This white monkey, he (is the one who) invites to the chief of the mono-coto'

ra *kuratata ikian akiki kuraka*
3SG.M drink -Cau this mono.coto chief.leader
'He makes the chief of the mono-cotos drink'

In (40a) a new participant, 'white monkey', is introduced. Next, this participant is expressed by the long form pronoun which shows that this information is focus. After that, the same participant, now low in salience, is referred by a short form.

The same analysis (i.e., low salience) applies to short forms occurring within subordinate clauses. In (37a) notice the short form *tsa* 'I' in the subordinate clause of purpose. In my earlier work (Vallejos 2004), the appearance of the long form *ene* attached to the verb in object function was explained as a strategy for avoiding homophony (when the following element is the quotative particle *na,* for instance). However, when more texts were added to the database, it becomes apparent that homophony does not account for all the data. An alternative explanation is offered at the end of §5.3.3.

5.3.3. Clitic pronouns

Clitic pronouns are the further reductions of short forms, used to refer to recurring participants in core grammatical relations. Recall that in order to have well-formed clauses, arguments generally must occur explicitly. Clitics can fulfill this functional requirement for established participants. From a phonological point of view,

clitic pronouns are basically morpho-phonological processes applied to independent short form subject pronouns as a result of colloquial and fast speech. The rule that applies to the whole paradigm could be generalized as: if a pronoun occurs before a word that starts with a vowel, the pronoun loses its stress and its last vowel and becomes attached to the subsequent element; if the following word starts with a consonant, the pronoun loses its stress but retains its vowel. Examples in (41) illustrate clitic pronouns in subject function. Relevant clitics are in bold.

(41) a. ***t***=*ikiratse=tsui=ka* ***t***=*umi* *rana=tsuri ,*
1SG.M=be.small=ABL=LOC 1SG.M= see 3PL.M=PAS3

hasta ***t***=*aypa*
until 1SG.M=grow.up
'Since I was a kid, I saw them, until I grew up'

b. ***y***=*utsu=tsuri* *tsuntaru-tara* *ikitu=ka*
3SG.F=go=PAS3 soldier-PUR1 Iquitos -LOC
'He went to become a soldier in Iquitos'

c. *tima kukama=pu* ***nia***=*kumitsa-k-ikua*
NEG kokama=INS 1pl.IN=speak-REI-RSN
'Because we no longer speak in Kokama…'

Bound pronominals also function as possessive pronouns, cliticized to the first element of the possessed phrase.

(42) a. *aytsemeka* *na* ***ni***=*tua-n=nu=tsuriay*
truth like.this 1PL.IN-be.big-NZR=PL.F-PAS3
'For real, our elders were like this'

b. *ikia=ka=taka* ***t***=*irua=kana* *kakiri*
here=LOC-MOD 1SG.M=brother=PL.M live
'Maybe here my brothers live'

Most of the distributional patterns of the three sets of pronouns can be predicted by grammar and pragmatics. The exception is that the distribution of pronouns in the syntactic function of object is not always obvious. It seems that prosody also plays a role. As stated earlier, in elicitation all long forms, short forms and clitics can fulfill the object function. However, in language use, the following patterns have been observed. If the object pronominal is the last element in the phonological verbal word, the forms that occur in the object slot are the long form pronouns generally appear cliticized to the verbal word as object (43a-c), although not necessarily (43d).

(43) a. *ya* *inup=**ay***
3SG.F hit=3SG.F
'He hit him'

b. *yaepe* *inu=chikuara-t=**etse***
there 3PL.F=buttock-CAU=1SG.F
'Then they follow me'

c. *raepe* *waina* *yapichik=**ura***
then woman catch=3SG.M.OBJ
'Then the woman catches it'

d. *y=~~i~~nta-ta-ka-ta* ***etse***
3SG.F=complain-CAU-REI-CAU 1SG.F
'He annoys me again'

However, if there is a clitic following the object pronoun —such as tense, focus, a modal, etc.— the O argument usually shows up as an independent short form pronoun to which the clitic in question gets attached.[3] This is illustrated below.

[3] Besides the third person short form pronoun (44c, d), the object pronoun *ura* can also bear clitics as shown below.
ra *mutsanak=**ura**=tsuri* 'He cured him'
3M eat=3M.OBJ=PAS3

(44) a. *y=irua* *inupa* ***ya****=uy*
3SG.F=brother hit 3SG.F=PAS1
'His brother hit him'

b. *n=erura* ***tsa****=tsuri*
2SG=bring 1SG.F=PAS3
'You brought me'

c. *n=ichari* ***ra****=pura=tsuri*
2CL=leave 3SG.M=FOC=PAS3
'You left her'

d. *rana* *tɨkɨta* ***ra****=tsuri=ay* *ɨwɨra=ri*
3PL.M tie 3SG.M=PAS3=already tree=DIF
'They tied him already around the tree'

Some discussion of second person pronouns is in order. Only second person long forms and clitics have been attested in object function. That is, in the database there is not a single instance of the short form *na* in object function, neither bound nor free. The most frequent pattern is the long form *ene* attached to the verbal word (45a-b). In addition, the long form appears bounded to clitics or auxiliares (45c).

(45) a. *rana* *piyat=**ene*** *mari=tipa* *epe* *tseta* *eyu*
3PL.M ask=2SG thing=Q 2PL want eat
'They ask you what do you want to eat'

b. *rana* *tseta* *mɨta* ***ene***
3PL.M want lie 2SG
'They want to lie to you'

c. *ikia=ka* *ta* *umi* ***ene****=ikua*
this=LOC 1SG.M see 2SG=RSN
'Because I see you here…'

A second recurrent pattern is to have the clitic in its most reduced form *=n* (46).

(46) a. *r-ikua* *ta* *tsapuki=**n****=uy*
3SG.M-RSN 1SG.M call=2SG=PAS1
'This is why I called you'

b. *kun=tua=nu=taka* *tseta* *muna=**n**=uy*
DEF-Aum=PL.F=SPE want steal=2SG=PAS1
'It seems that these big ones wanted to steal you'

c. *ya* *chikari=**n**=uri*
3SG.F look.for=2SG=come
'He came looking for you'

A summary of the features that the three sets of pronominals exhibit is presented in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Syntactic and pragmatic functions of pronominals

	LONG FORMS	SHORT FORMS	CLITICS
S, A, O	yes	yes	yes
Take postpositions	no	yes	no
Possessive pronouns	no	yes	yes
Appear in the quotative construction	no	yes	?
Host modal clitics	yes	no	no
Refer to salient participants	yes	no	no

5.3.4. Demonstratives

Demonstratives are another area of the grammar where the language displays the female speech versus male speech distinction. The main function of the demonstratives is to express deixis; they reflect a proximate versus non-proximate relationship. They are presented in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Demonstratives

	FS	MS
Proximate	*aja-n*	*ikia-n*
Non-proximate	*yukun*	*yukan*

One point that needs to be mentioned about *aja,* the proximate female form, is that, when it is marked by both the nominalizer *-n* and the plural morpheme *-nu,* a

morpho-phonological process occurs: the nominalizer *-n* becomes a bilabial *-m* and an epenthetic vowel *-i* is inserted after it. That is: *aja=n=nu* > *ajaminu* (see also §2.4.6).

5.3.4.1. Demonstratives: formal properties

The first thing to notice in Table 5.4 is that all the forms end in *-n*. In fact, for the proximate demonstratives, it is possible to posit that they consist of the bases *aja / ikia* 'this, close to the speaker' plus the nominalizer/relativizer morpheme *-n.* Both the bases and the nominalized forms occur in elicitation and texts. However, this analysis seems limited to proximate forms; the non-proximate forms without the *-n* ending are no longer attested either in texts or in elicitations. In general, the proximate forms *aja-n/ikia-n* are highly frequent in discourse (1109 instances), whereas non-proximate *yukun/yukan* appear quite sporadically (39 instances).

There are reasons to think that the bases *ikia/aja* might have had a demonstrative modifier function (i.e., determiner), while the nominalized forms *ikian/ajan* were perhaps limited to the demonstrative pronoun role. Synchronically, though, the distribution of functions is not always transparent. Consider the following examples elicited in a particular context: Speaker A cannot find his machete and produces (47a); Speaker B finds it, shows it to Speaker A and produces (47b). In this context, the consultant reports that only *ikia* is allowed, *ikian* being unacceptable. In (47b) *ikia* clearly operates as a modifier of 'machete' and indicates proximity to the speaker. The demonstratives always precede the nouns they determine within the noun phrase.

(47) a. *maka=taka* *ta=kɨchɨ* *ukaym=uy*
where=UNC 1SG.M=machete lose=PAS1
'Where could my machete have been lost?

b. *ikia/*ikian* *kɨchɨ* *ukaym=uy?*
this machete lose=PAS3
This machete has been lost?

However, in the examples below the same consultant states that either *ikia* or *ikian* work fine. Notice, though, that (48b) can have two interpretations.

(48) a. *ikia* *wayna=pura* *yachu=uy*
this woman=FOC cry-PAS1
'This woman cried'

b. *ikian* *wayna=pura* *yachu=uy*
this woman=FOC cry-PAS1
'This woman cried'
'The woman of this one cried'

The situation illustrated in (48) is a hint that perhaps *ikia* and *ikian* operate within different syntactic structures. The noun phrase of (48a) would consist of [Dem N], while that of (48b) would be [N N]. That is, it would confirm that *ikian* is the nominalized form of the demonstrative. In terms of function, in elicitation contexts the first structure specifies the referent with indication to spatial deixis; the second tends to be associated with discourse deixis. Examples from texts support this hypothesis (49).

(49) a. *ay* *ini* *aki-ta* ***aja*** *ɨwa=kuara*
3SG.F 1PL.IN get.in-CAU this 3Pos-INE
'We put it inside this trunk'

b. ***ajan*** *y=ɨati=pura* *ini* *tsɨki-ka*
this 3SG.F=tip=FOC 1PL.IN pull.out-REI
'The tip of this we pull out'

An additional argument in support of the above analysis is that demonstratives can take any of the morphemes a regular NP takes, including the evaluative morphemes (diminutive, augmentative and affective), plural markers, and a few postpositions.

Notice, however, that these morphemes are only allowed in the nominalized form. That is, the evaluatives without the nominalizer are not accepted by the speakers.

(50) *ikia-n=kɨra* DEM-NZR=DIM **ikia=kɨra*
ikia-n=kana DEM-NZR=PL.M **ikia=kana*
ikia-n=pu DEM-NZR=INS **ikia=pu*

Here are some examples that illustrate the use of demonstratives in both male and female speech.

(51) a. ***ikia-n****=kana* *kakɨrɨ* *amutsewe*
This-NZR=PL.M live close
'These ones live close'

b. *ini* *ɨrɨrɨta-ka* ***aja-n****=kɨra=nu*
1PL.IN pull.out-REI this-NZR=DIM=PL.F
'We pull these little ones out'

c. ***aja-n****=pu* *na* *yauki=ay*
this-NZR=INS 2SG make=3SG.F
'Make it with this'

d. ***aja-n****=tsui* *yay=ti* *ini* *putukata-ka=ay*
this-NZR-ABL also=CRT 1PL.IN pile-REI=3SG.F
'Also from here we do pile it up'

e. ***ajaminu*** *tɨma* *yuwa-yara-n*
This.NZR.PL.F NEG spine-possessed-NZR
'These ones do not have spine'

Demonstratives take almost all locative and directional postpositions, but only sporadically non-directional morphemes such as the instrumental marker (51c) and the comitative marker (51d). Many other spatial and temporal demonstratives are derived from *ikia/aja*. However, these two forms do not exhibit parallel behavior. For instance,

while *ikia* can take locative markers directly, *aja* cannot; it needs to be nominalized first.

5.3.4.2. Demonstratives: functions

Demonstratives in KK take on several functions. They express spatial deixis, discourse deixis, referentiality and definiteness, substitute for participants and propositions already introduced in the discourse, and act as fillers. In this section, the functional nuances of both proximate and non-proximate demonstratives are explored.

Crosslinguistically, one basic function of demonstratives is to express spatial deixis. In KK, demonstratives reflect a proximate versus non-proximate relationship. The spatial point of reference is the speaker, though sometimes the hearer could be included as part of the reference point also. The examples in (52) illustrate this function of the demonstratives. In each case, the referent of the noun being modified is spatially proximate to the speaker. In (52a) the 'hen-house' is the one close to the speaker. In (52b) the 'shotgun' is being hold by the hearer, but the speaker takes it from him. The speaker produces the utterance in (52c) once he arrives to the 'village'.

(52) a. *ikun* *ini* *purara* *kumitsa-ukua=n*
today 1PL.IN find say-HAB=REL

gallo=utsu ***ikia*** *atawari-uka=kuara*
rooster=FUT1 this hen-house=INE
'Now we'll find the rooster that used to sing in this chicken house'

b. ***aja*** *puna* *n=yumi* *ta=chikari-tsen* *inamu*
this shotgun 2SG=give 1SG.M=look.for-PUR3 sp.bird
'Give me this shotgun to look for panguana'

c. ***aja*** *ritama* *tsa=yakuarara=ukua* *yayti*
this village 1SG.F=remember=HAB also
'This village I use to remember also'

To illustrate non-proximate demonstratives, consider (53a, b), where the speaker is referring to a 'woman' she sees in the distance.

(53) a. ***yukun*** *wayna=kɨra upa y=apuka*
that woman=DIM finish 3SG.F=laugh
'That little woman just finished laughing'

b. ***yukun*** *wayna=era tsa yuwama*
that woman=MOD 1SG.F daugther.law
'That woman might be my daughter in law'

Although spatial deixis might be the most semantically basic meaning of demonstratives, I would argue that spatial deixis is not the primary function of demonstrative pronouns. In text, the vast majority of instances are used for discourse deixis; that is, to make reference to already introduced participants (54).

(54) a. *raepe tua-n* ***ikia*** *ɨaku*
there be.big -NZR this creek
'There, it's big this creek'

b. *rana yaparachi-ta-ka* ***ikian*** *wayna*
3PL.M dance-CAU-REI this woman
'Then they make this woman dance again'

c. *raepe-n=ka* ***ikia*** *napitsara=chasu putu*
then-NZR=LOC this man=AFEC swell
'And right there this poor man swells up'

d. ***ajan*** *ipirawira tsa=tsenu-ukua=tsuriay*
this dolphin 1SG.F=hear-habitual=PAS3
'This dolphin I used to hear'

Demonstratives can also make reference to entire propositions, although with less frequency compared to their reference to participants. Utterances in (55) were taken from a narrative. The demonstrative *ajan* in (55b) makes reference to the proposition 'the face has designs; the head has decorations' introduced in (55a).

(55) a. *tsitsa* *kuatiara-n* *ajan=ka* *yaki-chiru*
face design-NZR this=LOC head-clothes
'The face has designs; here (on the head) there are head decorations'

b. ***ajan*** *itsi-ta-ka* *rana*
This have.fear-CAU-REI 3PL.M
'This scares them'

In natural texts, it is often the case that demonstratives express referentiality and definiteness more than deixis. Usually, proximal demonstratives are used as determiners of participants or entities that were already introduced in the discourse. In other words, they operate as determiners of participants that are already definite and referential. Although this phenomenon has been noticed in the spontaneous speech of almost every speaker, it is more prominent in some idiolects, such as that illustrated in (55).

(56) a. ***ikia*** *chura=nanin=kira,* *emete* *ra* *juane*
this be.small=this.one=DIM exist 3SG.Mjuane
'The small one has his juane (food)'
(Lit. 'As for the small one, his tamale exists')

b. ***ikia*** *tsukuri,* *mania=taka* *ra=chira=tsuri=ay*
this boa how=UNC 3SG.M=name=PAS3=already
'As for this boa, what might its name have been?'

c. *rikua* *ray* *ira=tsurin* ***ikian*** *pedro*
that's.why SPE lie=NZR this Pedro
'I think this is why this Pedro is such a lier'

Considering that all my language consultants are bilinguals to different degrees, one hypothesis that could be entertained is that the article-like usage of demonstratives is the result of influence from Spanish. Note in (55c) that the demonstrative is used even in front of proper nouns, and recall that the use of articles in front of proper nouns is a pervasive phenomenon in Amazonian Spanish.

Another key role of demonstratives is their pronominal function within a clause; that is, they can fill a NP slot. In (54b), the demonstrative is the subject of the clause; in (56a-d), the demonstratives are the object within each clause.

(57) a. ***ikian*** *t=ma* *rana* *watari-ta-pa-n*
this Neg 3PL.M miss-CAU-CPL-NZR
'This they don't lack'

b. ***ajan*** *uyari-ka* *ini* *yapara-ta-ka*
this time-REI 1PL.IN coil-CAU-REI
'Once again we fold up this'

c. ***ajan*** *iyatira* *tsa* *yauki-n*
this first 1SG.F make-NZR
'This one is the first I make'

d. *marira=ray* *na* *chikuara-ta-pa* ***yukan****=era*
why=MOD 2SG buttock-CAU-CPL that=MOD
'Why do you have to chase that?'

Demonstratives do not only serve as subjects and objects but also as oblique elements (cf. §5.3.5). In the database, they take on locative and directional functions quite frequently, although instrumental and comitative functions only sporadically (57). In (57a) the demonstrative is marked with the instrument marker, and (57b) with the comitative morpheme.

(58) a. ***aja-n****=pu* *na* *yauki=ay*
this-NZR=INS 2SG make=3SG.F
'Make it with this'

b. *tana=nan* *kumitsa* ***ikia****=muki*
1PL.M=only talk this=COM
'We are the only ones that talk with this (person)'

The last point that needs to be made about demonstratives is that, in spontaneous speech, the proximal set is often used as fillers. In such cases it is obvious that the

demonstratives are not further modifying a referent, nor being used to keep track of particular referents in the narrative. The function of fillers is to keep the communicative channel open while the speaker is looking for the right word, when he/she is hesitant about what to say next, etc.

(59) a. *ria* ***ikian****, ta,* ***ikia****, ikua-kaka* *t=iya=tsuri=ay*
so this 1SG.M this know-REF 1SG.M=heart=PAS3=already
'So, I know in my heart already'
(Lit. 'So this, I, this, know in my heart already')

b. *mania=taka,* ***ikia****, ra=papa* *chira=tsuri,* ***ikia***
how=UNC this 3SG.M=father name=PAS3 this
'What maybe his father's name was'
(Lit. 'how maybe, this, his father name was, this')

c. ***aja****, tsa=yakuarara=ukua* *yayti,* ***aja****,*
this 1SG.F=remember=HAB also this

yatsuka-ri *ya=tu*
take.shower-PROG 3SG.F=AUG
'I also remember that he is taking a shower'
(Lit. 'this, I also remember, this, he is taking a shower')

The female form *aja* is homophone with the Spanish particle *ajá* widely used to show agreement between interlocutors and engagement in the conversation. This may explain why this filler has also been attested in the speech of a few male speakers.

As mentioned earlier, many other demonstrative adverbs are formed on the basis of the proximal demonstratives. They are the topic of the next section.

5.3.5. Demonstrative adverbs

Locative, temporal, and manner demonstratives function as adverbs in the sense they do not occur as operators of a noun. Although their scope is not the noun phrase,

but the clause, they are discussed in this section to highlight their relationship with the demonstratives discussed in §5.3.4. A number of location and manner demonstratives are derived from *ikia/aja* 'this,' *raepe/yaepe* 'there,' and *ria/ya* 'like this' by adding postpositions. This is illustrated in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Location, time, manner demonstrative adverbs

	MS	**FS**
'here'	*ikia-ka*	*aja-n-ka*
'from here'	*ikia-tsui*	*aja-n-tsui*
'towards/around here'	*ikia-rupe*	*aja-(n)-rupe*
'up to here'	*ikia-kati*	*aja-n katika*
'there/then'	*raepe*	*yaepe*[4]
'from there/after that'	*raepe-tsui*	*yaepe-tsui*
'around there/then'	*raepe-rupe*	*yaepe-rupe*
'at this moment'	*raepe-n-ka*	*yaepe-n-ka*
'like this'	*ikia-ra*	*aja-ya*
'like this'	*nanin*	*nanin*
'like that	*ria*	*ya*
'like that'	*ria-n*	*ya-n*
'like that'	*ria-ra*	---
'at that moment'	*ria-puka*	*ya-puka*
'because of that'	*ria-ikua*	*y-ikua*

Demonstrative adverbs indicate information about where, when and how the event takes place. They generally occur in first position within the clause. In KK. several location and manner demonstratives are derived from the demonstrative roots plus postpositions, including *-ka* 'locative,' *-tsui* 'ablative,' and *-rupe* 'finalative.' The forms *ria/ya* also involve other morphemes such as *-puka* and *-ikua* that operate as subordinadors 'when' and 'why,' respectively, within adverbial clauses. What is interesting is that in male speech, most demonstratives are derived from *ikia*; that is, the

[4] It could be hypothesized that the form *raepe* diachronically consists of *ria* 'there' plus the Tupinamba locative postposition **pe* 'place'.

un-nominalized form. This is not the case for the female speech paradigm, where the majority of forms derive from the nominalized stem *aja-n*.

All the forms listed in Table 5.5 are highly frequent in discourse as can be seen in the texts (Appendix A). Several are illustrated in (60). Perhaps a couple of examples in (60) need some context. In (60b) the speaker was explaining that, to avoid flooding of their houses during rainy seasons, they pile up sacks of sand in specific points around the house. In (60d) the speaker is describing a musical instrument he has in his hands, and shows with gestures the reference point on the stick.

(60) a. ***ikia-ka***=*tipa* *na= kaki-ri* *ami=tu*
this-LOC=Q 2SF=live grandfather=AUG
'Here do you live, Grandpa? (Lit. Is this where you live, Grandpa?)

b. ***aja-n=tsui*** *yayti* *ini* *putukata-ka=ay*
this-NZR-ABL also 1PL.IN pile-REI=3SG.F
'From here also we pile it up'

c. *tsaniuri* ***ikia=rupe*** *ini=utsu*
come.on this=FIN 1PL.IN=FUT1
'Come on, we'll go by this (path)'

d. ***ikia-kati=nan*** *kuakuara-tin=ki-ra* *i-wi-ra*
this-until=only be.empty-NZR-DIM stick
'Only up to here is the little hole of this stick'

It needs to be pointed out that the form *ikiakati* 'up to here,' in (61d), it is a reduction of the demonstrative *ikia* plus the relational adverb *katika* 'until'. In contrast, the sequence in the female version does not get reduced and remains as two words. This would be due to the fact that the female version includes the nominalizer *-n*, which seems to block reduction (60).

(61) MS: *ikia katika* > *ikiakati* 'up to here'
FS: *ija-n katika* > ---- 'up to here'

The forms *raepe* and *yaepe* convey both location and temporal deixis. Examples in (61) show their spatial locative usages, and in (62), their temporal function.

(62) a. ***raepe*** *waina* *yapichika=ura*
there woman catch=3SG.M.OBJ
'And there the woman catches it'

b. *ya* *tsupara-t=ay,* ***yaepe*** *ya* *ichari=ay=ikua*
3SG.F close-CAU=3SG.F.OBJ there 3SG.F leave=3SG.F.OBJ=RSN
'He shuts her in, thus he leaves her there'

d. *rana* *ikua* *maka-taka* *tana* *kakiri* ***raepe=rupe***
3PL.M know where-UNC 1PL.EX.M live there=FIN
'They know how we live over there'

(63) a. ***yaepe*** *ya* *tsatsatsima* *tsapuki* *awa=nu*
then 3SG.F scream call person=PL.F
'Then he screams to call the people'

b. ***raepe*** *amutsenan* *rana=tsenu* *ikian* *tuntu* *ipu*
then far 3PL.M=hear this drum sound
'Then they hear the sound of this drum far away'

c. ***raepe=tsui*** *ra* *yupuni* *chikari* *itimu*
then=ABL 3SG.M start lookfor liana
'After that he starts to look for liana'

The demonstrative adverbs of manner in Table 5.5 call for some additional explanation. The female manner demonstrative *ajaya* 'like this' is a reduction of the demonstrative *aja* plus the relational adverb *amiya* 'similar.'[5] The reduction is an

[5] *Amiya* is a comparative adverb that also functions by itself, without a demonstrative.
amiya epe yaparachi=utsu nanin ikia
idem 2PL dance=FUT1 like.this this
'You will dance the same (way), like this'

ongoing process that consists of three different stages, which are still attested in both discourse and elicitation. This is summarized in (64):

(64) FS: *aja amiya* > *ajamiya* > *ajaya* 'like this'
MS: *ikia amiya* > --- 'like this'

The word *amiya* 'similar' exists in the male speech as well, but the sequence [*ikia amiya*] does not get reduced to **ikiaya*. Instead, they use the form *ikia-ra* as an equivalent to *ami-ya*. For instance, when either a male or a female consultant is asked to translate a sentence that includes *amiya* into the male speech, he/she consistently would use *ikiara.* One hypothesis that could explain the form *ikiara* as being the corresponding to *ajaya* is the association of the phonemes /r/ and /y/ with the male speech and female speech, respectively. Several forms in Table 5.5 show that the *r/y* opposition is a distinctive feature between male speech and female speech (see also §1.5.1). [6]

Examples (65a) and (65b), taken from a procedural text, illustrate two stages of the use of *aja* + *amiya.* The speaker is explaining how to start to weave a hat with materials extracted from palm trees. (65c) shows the use of additional demonstrative adverbs in female speech. In (66) we have examples of demonstratives of manner in male speech.

(65) a. ***aja-miya*** *ini* *yupuni-ta* *ya=kɨra*
this-similar 1PL.IN start-CAU 3SG.F=DIM
'Like this we start the little thing'

[6] One must be careful not to confuse the form **ikiaya* with *ikiayá* formed from a comparative postposition =*yá* that functions pretty much like any other postposition, and is used in both female and male speech. That is, while the word *ikiayá* is perfectly good in male speech, the word *ikiáya* is not allowed by male speakers.

b. ***aja-ya*** *y=uchika-tsen*
this-similar 3SG.F=finish-PUR3
'To end up like this'

c. ***ya-puka*** *ya=pura* *aykua=tsuriay*
like.that-when 3SG.F=FOC be.sick =PAS3
'At that moment she became sick'

(66) a. *ni* *r=ikua=tsuriay* *mari* ***ikiara*** *yankata*
NEG 3SG.M=know=PAS3 thing like.this put

ra=m~~i~~n~~i~~rakunia
3SG.M=w'daugther
'He didn't know what put his daughter like this'

b. ***ria*** *ikian* *m~~i~~r~~i~~t~~i~~* *ritama* *katupe*
like.that this aguaje community show.up
'This aguaje (palm) community shows up like that'

c. ***ria-puka*** *ni* *ini* *tsenu* *maniawatsu-n*
like.that-when NEG 1PL.IN hear how-NZR

wapuru *ipu*
ship sound
'At that moment we didn't hear any ship sound'

d. ***ria*** *ta* *wata*
like.that 1SG.M year
'That's my age' (Lit. 'Like that is my age')

The pronominal use of *ria* 'like this' in (66d), is one of few instances in the database of demonstratives of manner taking on pronominal functions in the database.

5.3.6. Other pronominal forms

This section deals with the pronominal forms *rama/yama* 'other' and *kun* 'that one.' While *rama/yama* is relatively productive in the database, *kun* is rare.

The demonstrative 'other' is produced slightly different in the two dialects. While in the Kokamilla dialect it is produced as *rama/yama* (in masculine speech and

feminine speech respectively), in the Kokama dialect it is *ramua/yamua*. As demonstrated in (67), this form functions as the determiner of a noun. As such, it appears in front of the noun, and following any demonstratives that may occur in the noun phrase (67a).

(67) a. *ikian* ***ramua*** *kukama* *ta-ra*
this other kokama man's.son
'This is the son of another Kokama'

b. ***rama*** *wixa* *kumitsa* *wayna=tsui*
other older.woman say woman=ABL
'The other elderly women tells the woman'

c. *inu* *yawachima* *ajan* ***yamua*** *ritama=ka*
3PL.F arrive this other town=LOC
'They arrive to this other town'

The examples in (68) show that *rama/yama* can operate also as a pronoun within the clause. Note, for instance, that the pronoun can even take the plural marker (68b) and the focus marker (68c).

(68) a. ***rama*** *t-ma* *tsenu-n*
other NEG hear-NZR
'The other is not able to hear'

b. *ikian* *tsapak-r-i* *ikian* ***rama***=*kana* *yawachima*
this behind this other =PL.M arrive
'Behind this, these others arrive'

c. *ya* *chikuara-ta=ay* ***yama***=*pura* *yapana*
3SG.F buttock-CAU-3SG.F.OBJ other=FOC run
'He follows him, the other runs'

Another pronominal form that exists in the language is *ku(n)* 'that one' (69a-b). I hypothesize this item could be reconstructed back to the Tupinamba form **ko* 'here, near the speaker, visible' (Jensen 1998:550). Although it has limited distribution in

today's KK, it remains in some forms, such as *kuika* 'over there,' *kuin* 'that one over there' as well as in the distal demonstratives *yukun*/*yukan*.

(69) a. *naniwa* *tapɨa=tua* *mɨta* ***kun*** *apu* *puna*
like.this savage=AUG lie that.one leader arm

erutsu-tara=tu
bring-REL.A=Aum
'This way the savage lies to that chief who is carrying the arm'

b. ***kun****=tua=nu=taka* *tseta* *muna=n=uy*
DEF-AUG=PL.F=UNC want steal=2SG=PAS1
'It seems that those big ones wanted to steal you'

This closes the discussion on pronominal forms. The next section explores the grammatical strategies that KK has to create nouns.

5.4. Derived nominals

The language displays different strategies to derive nominals. These strategies include derivational morphemes, compounding, periphrasis, and onomatopoeic words. Derivational morphemes can be classified into meaning-change morphemes and category-change morphemes. This section discusses both types of derivational morphemes, but only those whose outcome is a noun. Category-change morphemes that turn a noun into another part of speech —i.e., verbalizers and adverbializers— are dealt with in other chapters (verbs in Chapter VII, adverbs in Chapter VI).

5.4.1. Category-change morphemes

This set of morphemes changes the syntactic category of the bases they are added to. Derivational morphemes are suffixed right after the root. The majority of the

bases are verbal roots, and the meaning of the resulting noun will depend on the specific derivational morpheme.

In an overview of the types of nominalization identified in languages of the world, Comrie and Thompson (1985:349) note that the resulting nouns may be the name of the activity or state designated by the verb or adjective, or may represent one of the vrbal arguments. They also note that the difference between these two types of nominalizations is that the action/state-denoting nominals often retain certain syntactic properties of the verbs or adjectives they are related to, while the argument-denoting nominals typically behave syntactically like other nouns, bearing only morphological and semantic relations to the associated verb or adjective.

This is the case in KK. For instance, agentive and theme nouns can take morphology and occupy syntactic slots within the clause like any other non-derived noun. However, action-denoting nouns exhibit some features associated with verbs, such as being modified by adverbs.

The language displays relatively few morphemes to derive argument-denoting nouns. For instance, agent-denoting nominals are achieved with the morphemes *-wara* (§5.4.1.1) and *-tsurin* (§5.4.1.2), object nominalization with the morpheme *-n* (§5.4.1.3), and so on. Action-denoting nouns are derived with the morpheme *-wa* (§5.5). The details are discussed below.

5.4.1.1. Agent nominalizer -*wara*

This suffix derives agent-denoting nominals from transitive verbs. It derives the volitional argument that carries the action or participates in the event expressed by the

predicate in a habitual manner. It can be understood as someone that performs the action routinely. The morpheme *-wara* is quite productive, although some words —such as *ikuatawara* 'teacher'— seem to be lexicalized.

(70) Agent nominalization

kamata-wara	work-NZR	'worker'
maynani-wara	look.after-NZR	'watchman'
muna-wara	steal-NZR	'robber'
ratsanti-wara	dance-NZR	'dancer'
yumita-wara	teach-NZR	'teacher'
umanu-ta-wara	die-CAU-NZR	'killer'
ikua-ta-wara	know-CAU-NZR	'teacher'
tawa-ta-wara	color-CAU-NZR	'painter'

The last three examples involve the intransitive verbs *umanu* 'die,' *ikua* 'know,' and *tawa* 'be.colored,' none of which involve agent participants. In order to derive an agent-denoting noun via the agent nominalizer *-wara*, an instigator participant needs to be brought into the scene by means of the causative morpheme *-ta.* For instance, from *ikua* 'know,' is generated *ikua-ta,* know-CAU, whose literal interpretation would be 'inform, notify.' Then, the word for 'teacher' is derived from this stem, and the resulting sequence *ikua-ta-wara* would be interpreted as 'the one who informs, notifies' or 'the one who makes someone know.'

The morpheme *-wara* has been also attested in a few nouns; that is, it can also derive nouns from existing nouns. This pattern is less productive though. The instances found in the database are in (71).

(71)

paka-wara	aguti-DER	'aguti hunter'
wayna-wara	woman-DER	'womanizer'

5.4.1.2. Proficient-agent nominalizer *-tsurin*

In contrast to nouns derived by *-wara*, nouns derived by *-tsurin* entail not only volition and control, but also proficiency and expertise carrying out the action or the event.

(72) Proficient-agent nominalization:

kumitsa-tsurin	talk-NZR	'talker, story teller'
aya-tsurin	shoot-NZR	'accurate shooter'
yaparachi-tsurin	dance-NZR	'gracious dancer'
kamata-tsurin	work-NZR	'hard-working person'
ɨra-tsurin	lie-NZR	'liar'

In terms of form, it could be posited that this morpheme consists of *-tsuri-n*. In the corpus for this study it is possible to find both *-tsuri* and *-tsurin,* but the former is less frequent. The range of functions of derived nominals by *-tsuri* seems more limited, although the speakers do not seem to make a categorical distinction in terms of their distribution. This phenomenon seems quite similar to the case of the demonstrative pronouns *ikia/ikian* discussed in §5.3.4.1. Below are some examples that illustrate the use of both forms:

(73) a. *uri* *kamata-**tsuri***
3SG.M work-NZR
'He is a hard working man'

b. *uri* *tɨma* *aya-**tsuri***
3SG.M NEG shoot-NZR
'He is not a skilled hunter'

c. *na* *muna-**tsuri***
2SG steal-NZR
'You are a robber'

(74) a. ***ɨra-tsurin*** *yukan* *sanpedro*
lie-NZR that Saint.Peter
'A total lier is that San pedro'

b. *ajan* *yaparachi-**tsurin*** *tsaipur=uy*
DEM dance-NZR get.drunk=PST
'That dancer got drunk'

In (73), the nouns *kamatatsuri* 'worker', *ayatsuri* 'hunter', *munatsuri* 'stealer' are in the second NP; that is, they are operating as predicates of non-verbal clauses (for a formal characterization of non-verbal clauses, see Chapter VII). In contrast, in (74), *ɨratsurin* 'lier' and *yaparachitsurin* 'dancer' are the head nouns of the NP subject. In addition, in (74b), that dancer is being specified by the demonstrative that. From these examples it appears that the functional difference between *-tsuri* and *-tsurin* is that while the former derives nouns that fulfill the predicate function, the latter derives nouns that can serve as arguments within the sentence.

5.4.1.3. S/O nominalizer *-n*

Without a doubt, the morpheme *-n* is the most powerful of all the nominalizers attested in the language. It is extremely frequent and derives nouns that occur in several nominal syntactic positions. In terms of meaning, this morpheme generates object nominalizations from transitive verbs (75), and subject nominalization from intransitive (76) and stative verbs (77).[7] As such, it is an absolutive nominalizer.

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[7] The morpheme *-n* is also an absolutive relativizer, as shown in the examples below. For more discussion on relative clauses, see Chapter X, §10.2.

a. *ay-taka* *yamimi* *ɨwɨra* ***ikana-n**-ri*
3SG.F-UNC hide tree be.dry-NZR-DIF
'Maybe he is hiding around the tree that is dried'

b. ***mɨta-n*** *aɨmanta=pura* *umanu=tsuri* *tata=kuara*
lie-NZR otorongo=FOC die=PAS3 fire=INE
'The fooled otorongo died in the fire'

(75) Object nominalization from transitive verbs

yupi-n	weave-NZR	'woven product'
aya-n	shoot-NZR	'shootee'
memuki-n	roast-NZR	'roasted food'
yat#ma-n	sow-NZR	'crop'
kuatiara-n	draw-NZR	'written record'
eyu-n	eat-NZR	'food'
emera-n	feed-NZR	'nourishment'
kamika-n	mix.by.hand-NZR	'hand-mixed drink'

(76) Subject nominalization from intransitive verbs.

aypa-n	grow-NZR	'a grown up'
tsupara-n	get.lost-NZR	'someone lost'
tsapiari-n	obey-NZR	'someone obedient'
tsaipura-n	get.drunk-NZR	'someone drunk'
ipurkari-n	hunt-NZR	'hunter'
ikua-n	know-NZR	'someone wise'

The last two verb roots listed in (76) are usually translated into Spanish and English as *cazar* 'hunt' and *saber* 'know,' both of which can appear in either intransitive or transitive construction in Spanish. While in KK this is true for *ikua* 'know,' the verb *ipurkari* 'hunt' only appears in intransitive constructions; that is, it never takes an object (although some speakers may accept one in elicitation). Also, *ikua* is interpreted as 'knowledge' twice in the corpus; that is as a noun without any overt derivation.

(77) Subject nominalization from stative verbs.

misha-n	be.small-NZR	'someone small'
ik#ratse-n	be.non.mature-NZR	'kid'
ikana-n	be.dry-NZR	'something dried'
timi	be.apart-NZR	'part, portion'
chiri-n	be.muddy-NZR	'mud'

It should also be mentioned that the nominalizer *-n* combines with the restrictive morpheme *-nan* 'only' to generate nouns with superlative meanings.

(78) *misha-nan-i-n* be.small-only-NZR 'something smaller than usual (fruit, baby)'
chura-nan-i-n be.small-only-NZR 'someone really small in height'
titi-nan-i-n alone-only-NZR 'someone lonely'

(79) *na rana chirata-n, chura-nani-n=kɨra*
QT 3PL.M bestow.name-NZR be.small-only-NZR=DIM
'Like this they name the littlest one / the smallest of all'

There are a few instances where the resulting nouns have idiosyncratic meanings. For instance, the nominalizer on the verb 'go up the river' produces a reference to the upper parts of a river, usually translated into Spanish as *cabecera*.

(80) *yayakati-n* go.up.river-NZR 'up-river area'

Finally, the nominalizer *-n* also derives nouns from adverbial words. In (82) we have the words 'long ago' and 'first, at the edge' from which 'ancestor' and the 'first one' are derived. Note that *ɨmɨna* 'long time ago' in (81a) operates as a temporal adverbial, and in (81b) is used as a noun.

(81) *ɨmɨna-n* long.ago-NZR 'ancestor'
ɨyatira-n first-NZR 'the first one'

(82) a. *ɨmɨna tsɨmara tana kakɨrɨ*
long.ago shore 1PL.EX.M live
'Long ago we lived along the shore'

b. *tana ɨmɨna-n maynani kuniati=kɨra=kana*
1PL.EX.M long.ago-NZR take.care young.girl=DIM=PL
'Our ancestors protected the young girls'

5.4.1.4. Zero nominalization?

There is a set of words that can occur equally well as nouns and as verbs (83).

(83)

ikua	know	knowledge
mutsana	cure	remedy
yamɨma	be sad	sadness
kumitsa	speak, say	language, saying/word
amɨra	be deceased	ancestor

The following examples illustrate both the nominal and verbal use of some of the forms above. Examples (84a, b) are especially revealing as they include both uses of the forms *ikua,* and *kumitsa,* respectively, in a single sentence. In (84c) *mutsana* operates as the noun 'remedy', and in (84d) as the verb 'cure'.

(84) a. *na=papa* ***ikua****=pura* *na* ***ikua****=utsu*
2SG=father knowledge=FOC 2SG know=FUT1
'The wisdom of your father you will know'

b. *mai-pan=kana* ***kumitsa*** *rana* ***kumitsa****=pu*
mestizo-DER=PL.M speak 3PL.M language=INS
'(Even) the totally mestizos speak their (own) language'

c. *yauki-n* ***mutsana****=pu* *ya* *kurata-ta* *ya*
make-NZR remedy=INS 3SG.F drink-CAU 3SG.F

mɨmɨ rakunia=tsuriay
woman's.daugther=PAS3
'He made his daughther drink the prepared remedy'

d. *tsa=papa=tin* ***mutsana****-ka* *ya=tsuriay*
1SG.M=father=CER cure-REI 3SG.F=PAS3
'In fact, my father did cure him again'

There are three analytical possibilities to explain this set: i) these are verb roots that have been extended to take on noun syntactic functions; ii) these are nouns taking on verb functions; and, iii) each of these forms represents two different lexical entries

(i.e., homophony). Because KK does not exhibit much morphology, there are no formal criteria to determine with certainty which of the three analyses holds true.

Nonetheless, for descriptive purposes, I consider two facts to catalog these words under zero nominalization (i.e., the roots are basically verbal): its frequency in either verbal syntactic slots or nominal syntactic slots, and its interpretation without any context. The words included in the list in (83) are more frequently used in verbal syntactic slots. In fact, their function as nouns is rather rare. In addition, their translation out of context is that of a verb. If the opposite is the case, they are included in Zero verbalization (§7.2.3.1).

5.4.2. Meaning-change morphemes

Meaning-change morphemes add content to the root without changing its syntactic category. In this section, I discuss a set of morphemes that I call evaluatives. These are *=kɨra* diminutive, *=chasu* 'affective', *=tu* 'augmentative', and *-watsu* 'augmentative 2'. Strictly speaking, though, only *-watsu* could be analyzed as a nominal suffix. As for the first three forms, their scope is the noun phrase, rather than the noun to which they attach. However, because of their distribution within the nominal word — i.e., attach to the root, except when focalized by *=pura*— and the nature of the semantic contribution to the head noun, the evaluatives are discussed in this section, rather than under the Noun Phrase (§5.1).

As mentioned earlier, the analysis presented here differs from the account provided in Vallejos (2007), where this set was analyzed as nominal suffixes rather than NP-level clitics. A closer examination reveals that this set cannot be described as either

derivational or inflectional. Although their host is primarily a noun word, a crucial piece of evidence for their NP-level distribution is that they can also appear attached to pronouns. Thus, a better analysis for evaluatives is that of clitics of noun phrases.

The diminutive, augmentative and affective morphemes are highly productive, whereas the second augmentative, -*watsu*, only appears sporadically. In terms of distribution, evaluatives differ from the set of noun phrase clitics introduced in §5.2. That is, with nominal words they attach to the root, and can co-occur with plural markers, the focus marker, oblique postpositions, modality markers, etc. Note that while the focus marker =*pura* precedes the evaluatives (85a, b), the plural marker follows it (85a-c). The postposition closes the word (85c).

(85) a. *yawara=**pura**=**tu**=**kana*** *uri=tsuri=ay*
dog = FOC = AUG = PL.M come = PAS3 = already
'The big dogs (tigers) have come already'

b. *yaepe=tsui* *ajan* *animaru**=pura=tu=anu*** *ipu-ka*
there=ABL DEM animal=FOC=AUG=PL.F sound-REI
'After that, these big animals make sounds again'

c. *ikia=ka-nan* *r=uk~~i~~r~~i~~* *puka=**chasu**=**kana**=**muki***
here=LOC-only 3SG.M=sleep turtle-AFE=PL=COM
'The poor turtles have to sleep here'

If category-change morphemes also co-occur, they attach to the nominal root, followed by the focus marker, the evaluatives, and finally the other phrasal markers as shown in (86a-b).

(86) a. *yaepe* *tsa* *umi=uy* *chita* *chura-**n**=**k~~i~~ra**=**nu***
there 1SG.M see=PAS1 many be.small-NZR=DIM=PL
'Then I saw many small houses'

b. *inu* *mita-**n**=**tua**=**nu***
3PL.F lie-NZR=AUG=PL.F
'They are such big liers'

5.4.2.1. Diminutive =*kɨra*

When speakers are asked to explain the meaning of =*kɨra*, they usually make reference to the meaning we could argue is the basic one, that of adding the idea of "small size" to the noun.

(87)

awa	'human being'	*awa=kɨra*	'small person'
uka	'house'	*uka=kɨra*	'small house'
tuntu	'drum'(*Sp. bombo*)	*tuntu=kɨra*	'small drum' *(Sp. tambor)*
kɨchɨ	'machete'	*kɨchɨ=kɨra*	'knife'

This morpheme is highly productive, and, as seen in (87), the resulting meaning is very predictable. Thus, one might think of the diminutive as inflectional. However, when one finds words like 'knife' derived from 'machete,' this suggests that =*kɨra* entails quite drastic change in meaning. That is to say, one could think of *kɨchɨ* and *kɨchɨkɨra* as referring to different concepts. However, this idea is perhaps suggested by the fact that in both English and Spanish we have two different words for these concepts. One might ask how, aside from the Spanish translation, we could know wether the Kokamas are referring to one concept or two with *kɨchɨ* or *kɨchɨkɨra*? Taking into consideration some facts about KK daily-life, I would suggest that speakers do not have two different concepts in mind. The KK use machetes for almost all the functions that in western society could be done with a knife. That is, in terms of practical usage,

'knife' could be totally replaced by 'machete' (the reverse is not true, though). Even children use a machete in order to, for example, peel out yucca or cut pineapples. I would say that maybe they conceive both 'machete' and 'knife' as one thing — 'instrument made from metal with a sharp side and used to cut'— with the only difference in size. The point is that, it should not be automatically presupposed that *=kɨra* derives new concepts on the bases of the English or Spanish translations.

There are a few examples that involve *=kɨra* in which the resulting meaning is unpredictable. One could argue that examples that have idiosyncratic meanings entail lexicalization. Here are the examples:

(88)

panara	'banana'	*pana=kɨra*	'ripen banana'
misha	'be.small'	*mishan=kɨra*	'child'
wɨra	'bird'	*wɨra=kɨra*	'dove'

In the case of *wɨrakɨra* in (88) the contribution of *=kɨra* seems predictable because a dove is essentially a small pigeon. To that extent, this word could also refer to a 'little bird.' However, *wɨrakɨra* 'dove' is no longer treated as a composite word, hence such a segmentation would be a historical analysis.

In addition, the diminutive is used to talk about something with affection. There is a well-known correlation between small size and affection.[8] In example (88a), the speaker is reporting a moment in which one Kokama is talking to the spirit of a liana (hanging vine). This particular tree happens to be a very tall one. Here, he is asking for

[8] Such extension in the usage of the diminutive is also true in Spanish and in many other languages.

permission to cut and take part of the liana in order to start building his house. In (89b) the speaker is describing the way someone calls her wife. In these examples, *=kɨra* is expressing feelings of care and affection, rather than size. Examples like these are very frequent in texts.

(89) a. *itimu=kɨra, ts=erutsu na utsu yupi-mira*
liana-DIM 1SG.F=bring 2SG go wave-PUR2

yapu=nu uka=ya
paucar=PL.F house=CMP
"Dear liana, I take you in order to make a net similar to the paucar's house'

b. *waina=kɨra, na=ray ya kumitsat=ay*
woman-DIM PRT=MOD 3SG.F talk=3SG.F
'My dear (Lit. little woman), like this he calls her'

In other cases of lexicalization, the diminutive serves to decrease spatial distance (90a). Interestingly, it can also decrease social and affective distance as is shown in (90b).

(90) a. *amutse* 'distant' *amutse=kɨra* 'close'
b. *mama* 'mother' *mama=kɨra* 'man's aunt'

5.4.2.2. Augmentative *=tu*

The augmentative carries the opposite meaning of the diminutive. It adds the feature of "big size" to the noun that it attaches to. As explained in §3.3, the language has a few morphemes that have their own stress; the augmentative is one of them. When *=tú* is attached to a noun, the stress pattern changes from the penultimate syllable to the ultimate syllable. It could be hypothesized that this morpheme perhaps has its source in

the Tupí-Guaraní intensifier *-*katú* (Jensen 1998:539).[9] The form =*tua* is found in few instances as allomorph of =*tu* (cf. 92b-c). In the language, *tua* 'be big' also operates as a verb.[10]

(91)

awa	'human being'	*awa=tu*	'tall person, giant'
pe	'path'	*pe=tu*	'wide path'
kuarara	'yacuruna'[11]	*kuarara=tu*	'giant yacuruna'

(92) a. *ay-puka* *epewatsu-pati* *pe=pura=**tu***
already-when be.wide-ADV way=FOC=AUG
'At present, there is a very wide path'

b. *era-n* *awa=**tua*** *ya=umi* *ya* *uki ri aytsi=kuara*
be.good-NZR person=AUG 3F.CL=see 3SG.F dream=INE
'A beautiful tall person he sees while dreaming

c. *ya* *ima* *aypa-n=**tua***
already men's.brother grow.up-NZR=AUG
'He is his big/older brother'

d. *raepe* *ra=pura* *iwati* *kima=pura=**tu***
then 3SG.M=FOC get.up guava=FOC=AUG
'Then, this one, the guava grows tall'

Note that =*tu* adds the idea of 'big' in several ways: the marked nominal in (92a) refers to a trail which is wider than expected for any pathway within the jungle. In (92b) the augmentative-marked NP refers to someone tall; note here that the augmentative =*tu* does not necessarily exclude positive features, such as 'good looking.' Example (92c)

[9] The emphatic *-*katu* as been reconstructed as an element that follows the verbal word (Cabral 1995, Jensen 1998). In KK, -*katu* still plays this function, although is no longer productive. Example: *era-pa-katú* 'be.good-CPL-EMP 'to be beautiful, wonderful'.

[10] Predicates with the verb *tua* 'be big' are frequent in the language. Here are some examples:
a) irara ***tua*** 'the canoe is big' b) *irara tua-n ukaim=uy* 'the big canoe is lost'
canoe be.big canoe big-NZR lost-PAS1

[11] In local Spanish, *yacuruna* is an aquatic creature frequently mentioned in myths or folk stories.

shows that the augmentative in reference to people not only conveys that someone is tall or big, but also older.

Like the diminutive, the augmentative can be also associated with other meanings. For instance, it is common for the augmentative to carry pejorative connotations in discourse. That is, there is a correlation between big size and disdain, as illustrated in (93).

(93) a. *raepe* *ikian* *muiwatsu* *taɨra=**tu*** *tseta* *uchima-puka*
then DEM big.snake man's.son=AUG want go.out -when

*ra=**tu*** *umanu-ta* *ra* *mama=pura-utsu*
3SG.M=AUG die-CAU 3SG.M mother=FOC-FUT
'When the (awful) boa's son wants to get out, it will kill his poor mother'

b. *temente* *kusi=**tua***
there.is.not Jose=AUG
'Jose was not there' (Lit. 'There was not (the irresponsible) Jose')

c. *ɨpɨtsa* *ray* *ya* *tsawa=**tua**=nu* *warika=utsu* *asta*
night PRT 3SG.F spirit=AUG=PL.F go.up=FUT until

ya *ɨrɨkarɨ*
3SG.F mosquito.net
'At night, those (bad) spirits will reach her mosquito net'

In example (93a) the augmentative is attached to the 'son of a snake.' Since this is a baby snake, it cannot be referring to large size; rather it is conferring a sense of aversion. In this same example, notice that the augmentative also marks the subsequent pronoun that refers back to the boa. Example (93b) was extracted from a personal narrative in which a woman is talking about the day her child had an accident while she was at the farm. When asked where her husband was when that incident happened, she answered with (93b). He was supposed to take care of their children while she was

absent, but he left them all alone. In (93c), the augmentative is adding a negative connotation to 'spirits' which, in the context of the story, will attack a woman while she is sleeping in her mosquito net.

The augmentative can also add the feature 'strong' to the meaning of a noun, as in the examples in (94). In (94a), the speaker is describing a storm, and in (94b) the AUG-marked nominal refers to an evil spiritual being with the power to harm people.

(94) a. *Raepe* *ikian* *ɨwɨtu=**tu*** *amana*
Then DEM wind=AUG rain
'Then it rains accompanied by (strong) wind'

b. *na* *kumitsa-ukua-n=pura* *tsa=nai*
like.this talk-habitual-NZR=FOC 1SG.M=gd.mother

*ururi=**tu*** *yay*
creature=AUG also
'Like used to talk my grandmother also about the ururi (spiritual being)'

Finally, the augmentative can have also emphatic functions. This happens, for instance, when it attaches to the adverbial word *aitsemeka* 'truly', as it is shown below:

(95) a. *aytsemeka=**tu**-n* *karuka* *rana* *ikian*
truly=AUG-NZR late 3PL.M this

*taɨra=pura=**tu**=kana* *uri*
men'son=FOC=AUG=PL.M come
'It is the true, in the afternoon the children (of the tiger) come'

5.4.2.3. Affective =*chasu*

The affective morpheme expresses the speaker's feelings of sympathy and distress regarding the entity which is being described. Often the speaker feels sorry for the entity to which the noun suffixed by =*chasu* refers. As we can see in (96), the meaning of this morpheme is quite predictable and regular.

(96) *ayuma* 'brother in law' *ayuma*=chasu 'poor brother in law'
wayna 'woman' *wayna*=chasu 'poor woman'
uka 'house' *uka=chasu* 'poor house'

In natural discourse, the affective morpheme attaches with more frequency to animate entities. In (97a) the speaker reports that one day he had to carry heavy furniture and no one was available to help him but his little brother-in-law. Example (97b) refers to someone who is screaming of pain.

(97) a. *ta* *ayuma=**chasu*** *yumayari* *ta*
1SG.M brother.law=AFF help 1SG.M
'My poor little brother in law helps me'

b. *tsatsats-ma-ri* *tsa* *m-m-ra=pura=**chasu***
scream-Prog 1SG.F w'son=FOC=AFF
'My poor son is screaming'

The examples in (97) illustrate the affective morpheme attached to inanimate entities. In those cases, =*chasu* adds not only the speaker's feeling of distress but also the idea of small amount —'a little bit.' For instance, in the discourse context for (97a), the speaker had to leave his hometown in order to earn some money. Thus, it is not clear whether the sadness is associated with the money itself (little, not-enough money), the speaker (who is all alone and has to send out his earnings), or both. Example (99b) expresses the speakers yearning for salt in a place where people don't eat salty food. In any event, in both cases =*chasu* indicates the speaker's feeling of affliction and distress regarding the situation.

(98) a. *ta* *ikia=tsui* *yumunu kuriki=**chasu*** *ta=mirikua*
1SG.M here-ABL send money=AFF 1SG.M=wife

yauki-tsen *t=uka-ra-n*
make-PUR 1SG.M-house-PUR-NZR
'I send a poor/little bit of money from here in order for my wife to build my house.'

b. *temente* *tewe=**chasu*** *rana* *yankata* *ra=kuara*
no.exist salt=AFF 3PL.M put 3SG.M=INE
'Not a bit of salt they put in there'

In the texts, *=chasu* attaches also frequently to personal pronouns. As mentioned above, the diminutive and augmentative do too; however, comparing the distribution of the three evaluatives, the augmentative and affective attach frequently to pronouns, whereas the diminutive only does sporadically. Examples in (99) illustrate the appearance of the affective morpheme on pronouns.

(99) a. *yaepe* *ya =pura=chasu* *ka-kakɨrɨ* *yuti* *yachu -nan*
then.there 3SG.F=FOC-AFFC RED-live stay cry-R.FOC
'There, poor she lives just crying'

b. *ikua-n* *awa=kana* *ria* *aesta* *ini=chasu*
know-NZR person=PL like.this bewitch 1PL-AFFC
'Like this the wizards bewitch poor us'

In general, the evaluatives do not co-occur. Interestingly, when a speaker was asked if any combination was possible in a single word, he gave the following examples:

(100) a. ? *uka-**kɨra-chasu*** house-DIM-AFF 'poor little house'
b. ? *wayna-**kɨra-chasu*** woman-DIM-AFF 'poor little woman'

Nevertheless, it seems that the sequence of 'diminutive' and 'affective' morphemes is possible with only a few nouns, which show a certain degree of lexicalization. A second instance of combination attested in texts is that of the augmentative and the affective morpheme to convey conflicting feelings about a

specific entity or situations. For instance, the following example comes from a conversation about the KK language. The speakers are discussing the fact that this language is looked down upon by many, and as a consequence it is unfortunately disappearing. Note the augmentative *=tua* and the affective *=chasu* attached to the pronoun referring to the language. Not many examples of this kind have been attested.

(101) *a. upa inu tsitsari-pa=ay wepe-ka-rapa ray*
end 3PL.F forget-CPL=3F.OBJ one-REI-one.by.one SPE

*in-kumitsa-ra=tuashta, yakuara ya=**tua**=**chasu** ukayma*
1PL.IN.C-talk-DER=AFE2 while 3SG.F=AUG=AFE dissapear
'They almost totally forget it, maybe because we speak one or the other, in the meantime it (poor and neglected) disappears'

Up to here we have seen that the diminutive, augmentative and affective are very productive, and have relatively predictable meanings. Table 5.6 summarizes the semantics of the three morphemes.

Table 5.6: Semantic features carried by the evaluatives

DIMINUTIVE	AUGMENTATIVE	AFFECTIVE
Small size (short, narrow) Feeling of affection Social-genetic close (Rarely attach to pronouns)	Big size (long, wide, tall) Feeling of dislike Completeness, strong, emphatic (Frequently attach to pronouns)	Feeling distress, affliction Small size or amount Feeling of care (Frequently attach to pronouns)

Overall, evaluatives clearly add meaning to that of the lexical root, but it is not that obvious that they create "new concepts." For example, in discourse, speakers — especially women— tend to refer to their children by *tsa mɨmɨra* 'my son', *tsa mɨmɨra=kɨra* 'my little son', and *mɨmɨra=chasu* 'my poor son' within the same text. The speaker uses either one of the three expressions to refer to the same referent

through the texts. Each expression, however, is used under special pragmatic circumstances determined by the content of the story. For example, in one case the speaker uses *mɨmɨra=kɨra* when describing her small child with the affection and worries of a mother. She uses *mɨmɨra=chasu* when the story is more about the danger to which the fragile child is exposed.

An additional argument for the non-derivational function of the evaluatives is that these morphemes occur with pronouns. Since personal pronouns are referential by definition, the occurrence of evaluatives attached to pronouns suggests they do not strictly derive new concepts, rather they only add extra information under pragmatic circumstances.

5.4.2.4. Augmentative -*watsu*

Unlike the evaluatives, -*watsu* never occurs on pronouns. It attaches to the root, and can be followed by other clitics associated with nouns, including the evaluatives. Most importantly, -*watsu* can co-occur with the augmentative =*tu*.

The augmentative -*watsu* is a reflex of the Tupí-Guaraní augmentative *-*wačú* (Cabral 1995:147, Jensen 1998:508), which is still very productive throughout the family. In today's Kokama, -*watsu* has a limited distribution. It appears sporadically, and only with some nouns. Compared to the augmentative =*tu*, the semantic constribution of -*watsu* to the root is more dramatic, and hence it is possible to posit that it derives new lexical items. The list in (102) presents lexical items derived by -*watsu*, and their translation into Spanish is given in the last column.

(102)

uka-watsu	house-big	'community house'	*casa comunal*
patiwa-watsu	palm.tree-big	'specie of palm tree'	*huacrapona*
mui-watsu	snake-big	'boa'	*boa*
muni-watsu	peanut-big	'breadfruit'	*pan de árbol*
urkuria-watsu	barn.owl-big	'eagle owl'	*búho*
panara-watsu	banana-big	'plantain'	*plátano bellaco*

In (103) there is a list of lexicalized items that contain -*watsu*. Although synchronically they cannot be broken down any further, I hypothesize the elements that could be historically involved.

(103)

itsiwatsu	'deer'	*?itsi-watsu*	? fear-big
epewatsu	'wide'	*? pe -watsu*	? place-big
iwatsu	'paiche' (type of fish)	*? ipira-watsu*	? fish-big

Evidence for the fact that these are lexicalized items is shown in (104a), where 'deer' takes the diminutive morpheme, which semantically would conflict with *watsu* if it were operating as augmentative.

(104) a. ***itsiwatsu****=kira* *yapana-t=ura*
deer=DIM run-CAU=3M.O
'The little deer makes him run'

b. *ni-mania* *rana* *tsatsawa-ka* *i patsu=tsuri=ay* ***epewatsu***
NEG-how 3PL.M go.across-REI lake=PAS3=already be.wide
'There was no way to cross the lake, it was wide'

This marker can also appear attached to verbs (105a-b). However, in those instances, the contribution of -*watsu* does not have to do with size, but rather with pragmatic force or emphasis. Note that in (105c) -*watsu* is attached to *kunumi* —which can operate as noun (youngster) and verb (be young)— and has the same emphatic function. Also in (105c), note that the nominal word includes both augmentatives,

-*watsu* and =*tua*. This example shows clearly that their distribution and semantic content is different: while the former attaches to the root and adds emphasis, the latter closes the word and conveys big size.

(105) *a. ajan ipama-**watsu**-n* *ni-tsenu*
this stand-AUG2-NZR NEG-hear

iya-tika *ipama-ipama-yuti*
heart-MOD stand-stand-stay
'It seems this one standing doesn't hear/understand; remains standing (indifferent)'

b.*yapɨka-**watsu**-n* *ya=pura=tua* *yuti*
sit-AUG-NZR 3SG.F=FOC=AUG stay

yawara-tsuni=tu *n=umi-ari*
dog-be.black=AUG 2SG=see-PROG
'He remains just seated (does nothing, stays immobile); the black tigers observes you'

c. *kunumi-**watsu**-n=tua* *tɨma* *wiju-n*
young-AUG2-NZR=AUG NEG old-NZR
'It is quite a big young guy, it's not old'

The semantics of *watsu* are generally transparent. However, when it appears attached to the interrogative word *mania* 'how,' it could be translated into English as 'what/how in the world.' When nominalized, it is interpreted as 'whatever, whichever'

(106) a. *inu* *yankata* *mania-**watsu**-n*
3PL.F put how-AUG2-NZR
'They put whatever' [they don't care about what/how]

b. *na* *ikua* *mania-**watsu*** *ya* *chira*
2SG know how-AUG2 3SG.F name
'Do you know what in the world its name could be?'

5.4.3. Compounding

An additional strategy for deriving nouns in KK is compounding. Compound stems consist of a combination of noun and verb roots. The resulting patterns are: N+N, and N+V. The outcome has a single stress in the penultimate syllable (see also §3.3.1)

5.4.3.1. N + N

Semantically, this pattern follows the reading of possession, the second element being the possessed element. This process is very common to derive names for body parts. The Spanish gloss is given in the last column.

(107)

pua-muchuri	'hand-node'	'wrist'	*muñeca*
yɨwa-muchuri	'arm-node'	'elbow'	*codo*
pɨta-muchuri	'foot-node'	'ankle'	*tobillo*
pɨta-tsapita	'foot-base'	'heel'	*talón*
yɨwa-pɨka	'arm-seat'	'shoulder'	*hombro*
yara-kanuara	'owner-bone'	'rib'	*costilla*
pua-taɨra	'hand-son'	'finger' (Kokamilla)	*dedo*
pua-ɨati	'hand-tip'	'finger' (Kokama)	*dedo*
kama-ɨati	'breast-tip'	'nipple'	*pezón*
yuru-piruara	'mouth-skin'	'lips'	*labio*
yakɨ-tsa	'head-leaf'	'hair'	*pelo*
yatukupe-ɨwa	'back-trunk'	'spine, backbone'	*espinazo*
tsitsatse-tsa	'eye-leaf'	'eyebrow'	*ceja*
tsitsatse-piruara	'eye-skin'	'eyelid'	*párpado*
tsitsatse piruara-tsa	'eye skin-leaf'	'eyelash'	*pestaña*
mɨmɨra-kunia	'son-sister'	'daughter'	*hija*
rimariru-kunia	'grandson-sister'	'granddaughter'	*nieta*

Note that the word for 'eyelash' consists of three nouns *tsitsatse* + *piruara* + *tsa*. In this case, the first noun is phonologically independent, whereas the last two

become a single word. The last noun in the chain is the possessed. The structural relations of possession in sequences with three nouns could be summarized as:

[[N] N] N.

Another group of compound nouns consist of a categorical part (the second N) that contains the basic meaning of the whole compound, and a modifier (the first N), which restricts this meaning.

(108) *yakari- ɨwɨra* 'type of wood' (*lagarto caspi*)
lizard + tree

pɨta + *chiru* 'shoe'
foot + cloth

tsuitini + mui 'fer-de-lance' (*cascabel, Bothrops sp.*)
spot + snake

There are also combinations on nouns whose meaning cannot be transparently guessed from the constituent parts.

(109) *ipira* + *putu* 'passion fruit'
fish + something.that.floats

kuarachi + *tsana* 'watch'
sun + reflection

pɨta + *tupa* 'footprint'
foot + place

5.4.3.2. N + V

In this category, the second element is a descriptive stative verb. It acts as modifier, restricting the meaning of the preceding noun.

(110) *ɨkɨ* + *tsen* 'pepper'
chili + be.sweet

tutu + *misha* ‘drum’
bass.drum + be.small

kai + *tsuni* ‘black monkey’
monkey + be.black

ɨna + *pewa* ‘shimbillo (Inga spp.)’
guaba.fruit+be.flat

urupu + *tini* ‘condor’
black.vulture + be.white

5.5. Gerund and participle *-wa*

The morpheme *-wa* attaches to both nouns and verbs, and has gerund and participle functions. As gerund it modifies a noun, within the scope of the noun phrase. As participle, it can modify the predicate, the verb phrase or the entire clause. Here I discuss its function as a gerund. (Its participial functions are described in §6.6.).

As gerund nominalizer it derives event-denoting nominals that can then operate as nouns within NPs. However, the resulting stems do not take any morphemes associated with nouns, such as plural clitics or adpositions.

(111)

ikara-wa	sing-GER	‘singing’
*tsatsarupe-**wa***	cross-GER	‘crossing’
tsuni-wa	be.dark-GER	‘darkness’

The *wa*-marked words can operate as a syntactic argument of the main predicate (112a), a nominal modifying another nominal (112b), or a subject of a non-verbal predicate construction (112c).

(112) a.

S	V	O
ay	*inu=umi*	*tsuni-**wa***
already	3PL.F=see	be.dark-GER

‘They already see darkness’

b. *shiruy* *piruara* *na* *inu* *chira-ta*
sp.fish skin QT 3PL.F give.name -CAU

[DET **N** N]
ajan *tsatsarupe-**wa*** *warimata-n*
this cross-GER decorate-NZR
'Scale of shiruy, that's what they call it to this crossing design'

c. [NP NP]
*tini-**wa*** *ra=tsai*
white-GER 3SG.M=tooth
'White-looking is his teeth'

The most frequent function of the morpheme *-wa* is to generate adverbial modifiers from verbs. This is explained in §6.6.

5.6. The derivational *-pan*

The morpheme *-pan* generates new nouns from both verbs and nouns with a resulting meaning of "someone full of X", where X is the content expressed by the verb. On verbs *-pan* could be further broken down into the completive aspectual *-pa* and the nominalizer *-n*. For instance, the form *yamimapan* 'someone full of sadness' could be parsed as *yamima-pa-n* 'be.sad-CPL-NZR'. The list in (113) shows some examples; the last column offers the Spanish interpretation given by the speakers.

(113)

yamima-pa-n	be.sad-CPL-NZR	'someone full of sadness'	*penoso*
yumira-pa-n	be.furious-CPL-NZR	'someone grumpy'	*rabioso*
akicha-pa-n	be.scared-CPL-NZR	'someone scared'	*miedoso*
aykua-pa-n	be.ill-CPL-NZR	'someone unhealthy'	*enfermizo*

The examples in (114) are evidence for the analysis presented above. In (114a) the base *yamimi* operates as the main predicate, in (114b) the verb appears marked by

the aspectual *-pa*, and in (114c) we have the sequence *yam-ma-pa-n* occupying a nominal syntactic slot.

(114) a. *eskuera=ka,* *tsa=pura* ***yam-ma=tsuri***
school=LOC, 1SG.F=FOC be.sad=PAS3
'At school, I was sad'

b. *ya* ***yam-ma-pa,*** *yikua* *ya* *yachu-yachu-ka*
3SG.F be.sad-CPL *because* 3SG.F cry-cry-REI
'He is completely sad, that's why he keeps crying and crying'

c. *ikian* *tseta* *mutsana-ka* ***yam-ma-pa-n***
DEM want cure-REI be.sad-CPL-NZR
'This wants to cure the sad person' (one who is completely sad)

This analysis accounts for the majority of the examples, except for cases like (115) which would have to be analyzed as having two completive markers —i.e., *aypa-pa-pa-n* 'grow.up-CPL-CPL-NZR'. However, as discussed in §4.3, reduplication of grammatical morphemes is unattested in KK. So, perhaps a better analysis for (113) would be that of *-pan* acting as a unit.

(115) d. *anan* *tsa=m-m-ra=pura=nu* *aypa-**pa-pan***
before SG.F=w'son=FOC=PL.F grow.up-CPL-DER
'Before my children are all grown up/adults'

The analysis of completive plus nominalizer does not apply to nouns either. On nouns *-pan* acts as the derivational morpheme with the meaning 'place full of X', where the value of X is filled by the nominal base (cf. Spanish *-al*). Consequently, the nouns derived by *-pan* have completely different referent than the base to which the derivational morpheme attaches. Some examples are presented in (116), including the Spanish translation offered by speakers in the last column.

(116)

*itaki-**pan***	stone-DER	'place full of stones, scree'	*pedregal*
*m**i**r**i**ti-**pan***	aguaje-DER	'basin full of aguaje palm'	*aguajal*
*panara-**pan***	banana-DER	'banana farm'	*bananal*
*yanama-**pan***	weed-DER	'area full of weeds'	*hierbal*

In terms of distribution, the morpheme *-pan* attaches to the nominal root, and the noun phrase clitics come after it (117).

(117)

*panara-**pan**=chasu*	banana-DER=AFF	'poor banana farm'
*m**i**r**i**ti-**pan**=kana=kuara*	aguaje-DER=PL.M=INE	'within aguaje groves'
*panara-**pan**=chasu=kana*	banana-DER=AFF=PL.M	'poor banana farms'

The examples in (118) illustrate *pan*-derived words in language use. In (118a), notice that the root refers to a fruit, but the derived stem refers to a farm. In (118b), the root refers to a type of palm tree, Sp. *aguaje*, and the derived stem to an area of the Amazon basin where such a palm tree exists. In (118c), the root refers to 'stone' and the stem is 'scree'. Example (118d) is one of the few instances where *-pan* indicates 'degree of X'. The root refers to a 'someone of mixed race' and the stem to 'someone so mixed that he is almost white'.

(118) a. ***panara-pan**=kuara emete* *ra* *uka-k**i**ra*
banana-DER-INE exist 3SG.M house-DIM
'His little house is in the banana farm' (Sp. platanal)

b. *amana* *pururuka-ta* ***m**i**r**i**ti-pan***
rain flood-CAU aguaje-DER
'The rain floods the aguaje grove' (Sp. aguajal)

c. *rana* *kupia-ri* ***itaki-pan*** *yuti=uy*
3plM cultivate-PROG stone-DER stay=PAS
'They were cultivating a place full of stone' (Sp. pedregal)

*d. mai-**pan**=kana* *kumitsa* *rana* *kumitsa=pu*
mestizo-DER=PL.M speak 3PL.M language=INS
'The almost white ones speak their language'

To sum up this section, it is possible to say that KK has two main strategies to increment nouns: derivation and compounding. Derivation is more productive than compounding. The set of derivational morphemes can be categorized into two types: category-changing morphemes and meaning-changing morphemes. The first type includes the nominalizers *-wara, -tsurin, -n*, plus *-wa* and *-pan*, are suffixes. They attach directly to the root. In contrast, the meaning-changing morphemes (evaluatives) are clitics. In the nominal word, they follow the focus marker and can also attach to pronouns. The discussion now turns to other elements that appear within the noun phrase: interrogative words.

5.7. Interrogative words as pro-forms

Interrogative words in KK are essentially pro-forms that stand for the missing piece of information within the sentence. This set of words displays some formal properties associated with nouns. For instance, they take oblique postpositions as well as the full set of modal clitics. In that sense, they operate as head nouns, substituting NPs. In terms of distribution, in interrogative clauses they appear in first position within the sentence.

The first two interrogative words listed in Table 5.7 are derived from nouns: 'who' from 'person' and 'what' from 'thing.' The third interrogative word, 'how much/many' is derived from the quantifier 'some.'

Table 5.7: Basic interrogative words

INTERROGATIVES	GLOSS	ORIGIN
awa	'who'	< 'person'
mari	'what'	< 'thing'
awɨrɨ	'how much'	< 'many'
maka	'where'	
mania(wa)	'how'	

On the basis of this set of words several others are derived by adding a postposition or a subordinating morphemes (specifically *-puka* 'when' and *-ikua* 'why'). Except for *awɨrɨ*, all the interrogative words appear in several combinations.

Table 5.8: Combinations of interrogative word, postpositions & subordinators

INTERROGATIVES	GLOSSES		SPANISH
awa-tsu/-ka	who-DAT/LOC	'to whom'	*a quién*
awa-rupe	who-FIN	'where, with whom'	*donde quién*
awa-muki	who-COM	'with whom'	*con quién*
awa-tsui	who-ABL	'from whom'	*desde quién*
mari-pu	what-INS	'with what'	*con qué*
mari-ra	what-PUR	'what for'	*para qué*
mari-ikua	what-RSN	'why'	*por qué*
maka-tsui	where-ABL	'from where	*de donde*
maka-rupe	where-FIN	'which way'	*por donde*
maka-tin	where-CER	'which one'	*cuál*
mania(wa)-puka	how-TEM	'when'	*cuando*

While most of the meanings in Table 5.8 derive transparently from the component morphemes, the combination *maka-tin* 'where + certainty' has lexicalized into an unpredicted meaning, 'which one'. It is clear that the certainty modal *=tin* 'in fact' has lost its semantic value to the extent that it can even co-occur with a modal like

=taka ‘maybe’ which has the opposite function. In fact, the sequence like *maka-tin=taka* is not only possible in discourse but quite frequent interpreted as ‘whichever’ (see, for instance, (124)).

The following information questions illustrate the use of these words.

(119) a. ***awa*** *ayuka=n=uy*
who-(Q) hit=2SG=PAS1
‘Who hit you?

b. ***awa*** *n=umi=uy*
who 2SG=see=PAS1
‘Whom did you see?’

c. ***awa****=muki* *n=uri=uy*
who=COM 2SG=come=PAS1
‘With whom did you come’

(120) a. ***mari*** *inu* *yumi=uy* *na=tsu*
what 3PL.F give=PAS1 2SG=DAT
‘What did they give you?’

b. ***mari-ikua*** *n=yachu*
what-RSN 2SG=cry
‘Why do you cry?’

c. ***mari-ra*** *n=uri=uy*
what-PUR 2SG=come=PAS1
‘What did you come for?’

(121) a. ***mania(wa)*** *na=yawachim=uy*
how 2SG=arrive=PAS1
‘How did you get here?’

b. ***mania(wa)-puka*** *n=iriw=utsu*
how-when 2SG=come.back=FUT1
‘When are you coming back?’

(122) a. ***maka*** *n=uwari*
where 2SG=fell.down

'Where were you born?'[12]
(Lit. 'Where do you fall down?')

b. ***maka*** *n=uwari=uy*
where 2SG=fell.down=PAS1
'Where did you fall down?'

c. ***maka-tin****-muki* *y=uts=uy*
where-CER-COM 3SG.F=go=PAS1
'With which one did he go?'

(123) a. ***awiri*** *ya* *chipi-yara*
how.much 3SG.F price-HAVE
'How much is it?'
(Lit. 'How much is its price?')

b. ***awiri*** *na* *mimira*
how.many 2SG woman's.son
'How many children do you have?'
(Lit. 'How many are your children')

5.7.1. Interrogative words in discourse

In discourse, the interrogative words take on additional functions beyond the ones illustrated in (119-123). Combined with modals, they are often used in rhetorical questions. Although more rarely, they can also operate as pronominal forms, relativizers, and modifiers of the noun that they precede. In what follows I illustrate these functions.

The interrogative words can take the full set of modal clitics, including the certainty marker *=tin*, the uncertainty marker *=taka*, and the speculative marker *=ray* (For a detailed discussion of epistemic modality, see Chapter IX. The examples below

[12] The verb *uwari* 'fall down' has been metaphorically extended to mean 'be born.' One of my consultants observed that if a sentence is unmarked with respect to tense (such as (122a)) both interpretations —'fall down' and 'be born'—are available, but the default interpretation is the second. However, if the sentence is marked with tense, it can only be interpreted as 'fall down' (as in (122b)).

illustrate some of the attested combinations of interrogative words, postpositions and modals.

(124) a. ***mari=ra=ray*** *tɨma* *na* *katupe-ta* *y=era*
thing=PUR=SPE NEG 2SG show.up-CAU 3SG.F=APPR

kuarachi-wɨrɨ *penu* *umi-mira*
sun-under 1PL.EX.F see-PUR
'Why don't you make her show up during the day so that we can see her?'

b. ***maka=tin=taka*** *kuema* *ra=muki*
where=CER=UNC dawn 3SG.M=COM
'Which one may have woke up with her?'

The combinations of interrogative words with modals receive rich interpretations in their discourse contexts. The examples in (124) are rhetorical questions; (124a) can be interpreted as 'You must have reasons why you haven't introduced her to us yet.' (124b) implies that 'She sleeps with many, so it's hard to know who was the one this time.'

The combination of interrogative words and the modal =*taka* 'maybe' can be also used as a relativizer, as exemplified in (125a-d).

(125) a. ***awa=taka*** *ganashka* *ikia-ka* *uri=utsu*
who=UNC win here=LOC 3SG.M=go

ra=tseta-n-ka
3SG.M=want-NZR=LOC
'Whoever wins here (in this election) will go where he wants to'

b. ***awa=taka*** *tseta* *utsu* *tsanangillo=ka*
who=UNC want go Sananguillo=LOC

pɨtani-ta *ikian*
ripen-CAU DEM
'Whoever wants to go to Sananguillo marks here'

c. ***maka=taka*** *witurio tseta erutsu ini raepe ini utsu*
where=UNC Victor want bring 1PL.IN there 1PL.IN go
'Wherever Victor wants to take us, there we will go'

d. ***mari=taka*** *rana yauki era-pa-ka*
what=UNC 3PL.M make be.good-CPL-REI
'Whatever they make is very good'

A more limited use of interrogative words is as determiners and indefinite pronouns. As determiners, they modify the noun they precede. In (126a) 'what' is modifying 'animal', in (126b) 'which one' is determining 'tree.' On the other hand, in (127a), *mari* 'what' is the subject of the clause, whereas in (127b) *maka=rupe* 'towards which way' is the pronominal form for place.

(126) a. ***mari*** *animaru=tu=taka akɨcha-ta-pa inu*
what animal=AUG=UNC be.scared-CAU-CPL 3PL.F
'Which animal may have scared them?'

b. ***maka=tin*** *ɨwɨra=ri=taka ta warika=mia*
where=CRT tree=DIF=MOD 1SG.M go.up=MOD
'To which one of the trees could I climb?

(127) a. ***mari=****taka aykua-t=ura*
what=UNC be.sick-CAU=3M.OBJ
'Whatever/anything makes him sick'

b. *ra=tsetuni* ***maka=rupe*** *ikian rimariru utsu tupa=pura=rupe*
3SG.M=smell where=FIN this grandson go place=FOC=FIN
'He sniffs towards the place this grandson goes'

5.7.2. Interrogative words and negation

When the interrogative words co-occur with the negative morphemes *tɨma* or *ni*, the clause is interpreted as non-interrogative. Note in (128) that the combination of an interrogative word and a negative morpheme is given a pronominal and adverbial-like

interpretation. For instance, *ni-maka* is interpreted as 'nowhere', *t#ma marira* as 'no-reason', and *t#ma mania* as 'no-way'

(128) a. *ni=**maka=tsui*** *r=ukuata*
NEG=where=ABL 3SG.M=pass
'He passes through nowhere'

b. *t#ma* ***mari=ra*** *ta=kumitsa* *yuti*
NEG what=PUR 1SG.M=talk stay
'I keep talking for no reason'

c. r=*upuri* *t#ma* ***mania*** *ra* *yaparari*
3SG.M=fall NEG how 3SG.M sink
'He falls, but there's no way he will sink

d. *t# ma* ***mania*** *ta* *yapichika=ura*
NEG how 1SG.M catch=3M.OBJ
'No way can I catch it'

e. *ni**=maka**=tsui* *ya=pura=nu* *ikua=ini*
NEG=where=ABL 3SG.F=FOC=PL.F know=1PL
'Nowhere do they recognize us'

It should be added, though, that when the sentence includes the interrogative morpheme *=tipa*, the resulting structure is interpreted as a rhetorical question. The example in (129), for instance, within the discourse context means 'Given that nobody cares, there's no point for me to keep talking.'

(129) *t#ma* ***mari=ra=tipa*** *ta=kumitsa* *yuti*
NEG what=PUR=Q 1SG.M=talk stay
'Why should I keep talking?'

For more details on interrogative clauses, see Chapter IX, §9.4.

5.8. Quantifiers

Another category that operates within the noun phrase is quantifier. In KK there are two types of quantifiers: numerals (§5.8) and non-numerals (§5.8.2).

5.8.1. Numeral quantifiers

Numbers in KK are neither nouns nor verbs, but have features of both. Within the NP, they operate as determiners of the noun they precede, and can be head nouns only if they are first nominalized. Numbers from one to four are of Tupi-Guarani origin. Numbers from five to ten, as well as the words for hundred and thousand, have been borrowed from Quechua. They are introduced in Table 5.9. The Tupi-Guaraní reconstructions are from Lemle (1971:119-127).

Table 5.9: Numerals in KK

#	ORTHOGRAPHY	ORIGIN	
1	*wepe*	**oyepeteĩ*	Tupí-Guaraní
2	*mukuika*	**mokõy*	Tupí-Guaraní
3	*mutsapɨrɨka*	**mocapɨr*	Tupí-Guaraní
4	*iruaka*	**irõ* 'pair'	Tupí-Guaraní
5	*pichka*	*pichka*	Quechua
6	*sukta*	*suqta*	Quechua
7	*kantis*	*qanchis*	Quechua
8	*pusa*	*pusaq*	Quechua
9	*isku*	*iskun*	Quechua
10	*chunka*	*chunka*	Quechua
11	*chunka wepe*		
12	*chunka mukuika*		
20	*mukuika chunka*		
21	*mukuika chunka wepe*		
22	*mukuika chunka mukuika*		
100	*wepe pacha*	*pachak*	Quechua
1000	*wepe waranka*	*waranqa*	Quechua

The numeral system of today's Kokama is decimal. From eleven to nineteen, the numbers are built based on *chunga* 'ten' plus the numbers from one to nine following it. The number twenty is a construction of two adjacent numbers, [Num Num], where the first number, *mukuika* 'two,' modifies the second noun, *chunga* 'ten.' In that sense, the second number could be thought of as noun-like. This strategy is applied for the consecutive numbers.

The most robust function of numerals is that of determiners of the noun they precede. The modified noun need not be marked as plural if the modifying number is above 'one'. That is, the majority of speakers do not attach a plural clitic to the head noun. However, in a few cases numerals and plural do co-occur. I hypothesize this phenomenon has to do with particular idiolects and perhaps with transfer from Spanish. For instance, a couple of speakers have produced phrases like the ones presented in (130).

(130)

mukuika	*kuniati=kana*	two young.girl=PL	'two girls'
mutsapɨrika	*kuchi=tu=kana*	three pig=AUG=PL	'three pigs'
mukuika	*ayuma=kana*	two brothers.in.law=PL	'two brothers in law'

Yet other speakers do not need to add the plural marker to the head noun. Within the same text, a given speaker has produced both *mukuika awa* and *mukuika awa=kana* 'two people.' It seems, then, that the plural concordance-like marking is a novel and still uncommon strategy in KK, probably revealing language interference from Spanish.

The types of nouns that in the database appear modified by numbers range semantically from animate beings (*napitsara* 'man', *mɨmɨrakunia* 'woman's daughter', *irua* 'friend/brother', *inia* 'type of fish') etc. to nouns with temporal interpretations such as *wata* 'year', *ikuashi/kuashi* 'sun/day', *yatsɨ* 'moon/month', or Spanish borrowings such as *semana* 'week', *hora* 'hour', *specialist* 'consultant', etc. Examples are presented below.

(131) a. *ta* *umi* ***wepe*** *ɨkɨratsen* *yamɨma-pa-n*
1SG.M see one kid be.sad-CPL-NZR/REL
'I see one kid full of sadness'

b. ***mutsapɨrɨka*** *nanin* *kuakuara-n=kɨra* *r=umi*
three only be.empty-NZR=DIM 3SG.M=see
'Only three little holes he sees'

c. ***mukuika*** *kuashi* *na* *ɨyɨ-ta* *na* *meu=utsu*
two day 2SG grill-CAU 2SG meo=FUT1
'For two days you will toast your meo (cassava tortilla)'

d. *ay* *wayna* *aypa-n,* ***mukuika*** ***chunka*** *wata* *etse*
already woman grow.up-NZR two ten year 1SG.F
'A grown up woman, I'm already twenty years old'

In the database, there are a number of non-verbal predicate constructions where the numeral appears sentence initially, schematically: [Num NP]. In these cases, however, the numeral receives a predicate-like interpretation, with the NP interpreted as the subject. For instance, in (132a-b), the numerals *pichka* 'five' and *iruaka* 'four' are the subjects of their respective constructions, whereas the NP 'my children' and 'its tails' are the predicates. However, numerals are not attested assuming argument

functions in verbal predicate constructions. In (133), *mukuika* ‘two’ behaves as an appositive element; the subject of the clause is the pronopun *inu* ‘they.’

(132) a. ***pichka*** *tsa=mɨmɨra=nu,*
five 1SG.F=woman'son=PL.F
‘I have five children’ (Lit. Five are my children) (ED)

b. ***iruaka*** *ra* *tsuwi=kɨra=kana*
four 3SG.M tail=DIM=PL.M
‘It has four little tails’ (Lit. Four are its little tails) (ED)

(133) ***mukuika*** *inu=umanu*
two 3PL.F=die
‘two (of them), they died’ (ED)

In terms of their verbal features, numerals must be nominalized to combine with clitics associated with nouns and noun phrases, and to appear in other nominal syntactic slots. Note in (134), that the numeral is nominalized via *-n* before being suffixed by the diminutive, augmentative, affective, and plural clitics, which are morphemes restricted to nouns.

(134) a. *yaepe* ***wepe****-n=tua* *uri*
there one-NZR=AUG come
‘Then comes a big one’

b. ***mukuika****-n=kɨra=nu* *ni* *umanu=tsuri=ay*
two-NZR=DIM=PL.F NEG die=PAS3=already
‘Two little ones didn’t die’

c. ***mukuika****-n=nu* *ni=tseta* *yatsuka*
two-NZR=PL.F NEG=want take.bath
‘Two of them don’t want to take a bath’

d. *tapɨa=tua=nu* *umanu-ta=y=tsuri* *iyan*
savage=AUG=PL.F die-CAU=PAS3 CNJ

mukuika*-n=chasu=nu* *yapana*
two-NZR=AFE=PL.F run
‘The savages killed him, then the poor two ran’

In the other direction, numerals can take morphemes associated with verbs. In elicitation, numerals can operate fully as predicates of the clause. The examples in (135) were elicited from two speakers. In (135a), the numeral is suffixed by the completive aspect *-pa*, in (135b) by the progressive marker *-ri*, and in (135c) by the causative marker *-ta*. It should be pointed out, though, that one of the functions of the causative morpheme is to derive new verbs from nouns, so (135c) alone is not strong evidence of the verbal character of numerals.

(135) a. *wayna* *mɨmɨra* ***mukuika****-pa*
woman w.son two-CPL
'The woman's son ended up two'
(Free translation: The woman had twins)

b. ***mukuika****-ri* *y=mɨmɨr=utsu*
two-PROG 3SG.F=w.son=FUT
'She is having a second child'
(Free translation: She is pregnant for the second time)

c. ***mukuika****-ta* *na* *mirikua*
two-CAU 2SG wife
'Make two your wife'
(Free translation: Have two wives!)

In discourse, there are no clear instances of numeral quantifiers in predicate function. There are a few occurrences in which the numerals appear bearing the aspectual morpheme *-ka* 'reiterative' (136a-b).

(136) a. *tsa=aypa=tsuri* ***mukuika****-ka=nan*
1SG.F=grow.up=PAS3 two-REI=only
'I grew up with only two'
(Free translation: I grew up as part of a family of only two)

b. *upa* *inu* *tsitsari-pa=ay* ***wepe****-ka-rapa* *ray*
end 3PL.F forget-CPL=3F.OBJ one-REI-one.by.one SPE

in-kumitsa-ra=tuashta,
1PL.IN.C-talk-DER=AFE2
'They almost totally forget it, maybe because we speak one or the other (language)'

In summary, while numerals are a part of speech category of their own, they also display features of both nouns and verbs. Like nouns, they work as nominal determiners within NPs. Yet they need to be nominalized to serve as the head on a NP. Like verbs, they do not require derivational morphology to operate as predicates; also, they receive morphology associated with verbs. So even though they are a unique category, their formal behavior puts them towards the verbal side in the part-of-speech spectrum.

5.8.2. Non-numeral quantifiers

The language also has a set of non-numeral quantifiers at its disposal (137).

(137)

awɨrɨ	'a number of, many'
aytseme	'little bit (Kokamilla)'
chita	'a lot, many'
ukuatsɨ	'plenty '
upi	'all'
uriaka	'too much'

On the basis of the forms introduced in (137), a number of forms are derived via the nominalizer *-n*, the restrictive marker *=nan*, the emphatic particle *=tseme,*[13] the

[13] The form *-tseme* has a limited appearance in the database, hence its function is difficult to account for with accuracy. In eliciting context it acts as an emphatic. Here are two examples given by one of my consultants. The context for (a) is this: a kid wants a fruit from a tree but he is afraid to climb the tree. So, someone would say to him the utterance in (a).:The context for (b) is this: a kid has been gone for a while; people have been looking for him everywhere:

a. *uwarika-**tseme** na* *yapichik=ay* '(For God's sake), just climb and get it!' (ED)
climb-EMP 2SG catch=3SG.F

b. *aytsemeka-**tseme*** *tɨma* *ra* *katupe* 'For real, he doesn't show up!'(ED)
it.is.true-EMP NEG 3SG.M show.up

distributive *-rapa*, the aspectuals *-ka* ‘reiterative’ and *-pa* ‘completive,’ and the negative particles. Note that the restrictive *=nan* ‘only’ reduces the quantity to which the base form makes reference.

(138)

amaska-n	be.enough-NZR	‘suficient’
awɨrɨ X=nan	many X=RES	‘a few’
aytseme=nan	a.bit=RES	‘just a little bit (Kokamilla)’
ukua=tseme	a.lot=EMP	‘too much, excessive’ (sentence level)
tɨma chita	NEG a.lot	‘no many/a few’

Non-numeral quantifiers display similar properties to numerals. They operate as modifiers of the head noun within NPs, and need to be nominalized to act as nouns. In what follows I provide examples that show the use of each quantifier, starting with the most frequent ones in the database.

The word *awɨrɨ* conveys ‘considerable amount of X.’ It can appear modifying both count and non-count nouns. Interestingly, with uncountable entities it conveys individuation-like meaning. For instance, when modifies ‘speech’ it gets interpreted as ‘many words,’ when it appears with ‘time’, it gets interpreted as ‘many turns,’ and so on.

(139) a. ***awɨrɨ*** *tsukuri=kana* *uri=tsuri* *ra=kakura*
many boa=PL.M come=PAS3 3SG.M=side
‘So many boas came to him’

b. ***awɨrɨ*** *ritama=pura=taka* *r=uwata=tsuri=ay*
many community=FOC=UNC 3SG.M=walk=PAS3=already
‘He has walked already a number of villages’

c. *ya=kakɨrɨ* ***awɨrɨ*** *wata* *titi-ka*
3SG.F=live many year be.alone-REI
‘He has been alone for many years’

Recall that *awɨrɨ* also operates as the interrogative word 'how much / how many.' In the database, there are rhetorical questions in which *awɨrɨ* is used as interrogative but entails 'so many' (140). Interestingly, the Spanish interrogative *cuanto(s)* is also commonly used as an indefinite quantifier in Amazonian Spanish.[14]

(140) ***awɨrɨ**-taka* *ts=yauki=ay*
how.many-MOD 1SG.F=make=3F.OBJ
'How many I may make'
(Entails: I make so many that it's difficult to know the exact number'

In contrast, the combination of *awɨrɨ* 'many' and the restrictive morpheme *=nan* 'only' within the same NP conveys 'just a few.' In this construction, the quantifier precedes the head noun (141a-b) and *=nan* cliticizes to the head: [*awɨrɨ X=nan*]. However, the quantifier can be nominalized, and thereby become the head noun itself (141c); again, this phenomenon seems parallel to the Spanish expression *unos cuantos* 'a few.'

(141) a. ***awɨ rɨ*** *kumitsa=kɨ ra=**nan*** *ya=kumitsa*
how.many saying=DIM=only 3SG.F=say
'She speaks only a few words'

b. *yaepe* *ts=umi* *toledo=tsuri=ay,* ***awɨ rɨ***
there 1SG.F=see Toledo=PAS3=already how.many

*kumitsa=**nan*** *ya=kumitsa*
saying=only 3SG.F=say
'Then I saw (president) Toledo, only a few words he said'

[14] An example would be the rhetorical question: *Cuántos hijos quizás tendrá?* 'How many kids might he have?' which implies this person has many kids.

c. *ikia=ka* *ay* ***awiri-n=nan*** *t=yapichika=ura*
this=LOC already how.many=only 1SG.M=catch=3SG.M.OBJ
'Here I catch only a few'

Similar to numerals, the quantifier *awiri* can also take the aspectual morpheme *-ka*, as shown in (142).

(142) a. ***awiri-ka=nan*** *awa=pura=nu* *tuyuka-ri*
many-REI=only person=FOC=PL.F ground=DIF
'Only a handful of people there were on earth'

Another highly frequent quantifier is *chita* 'all.' This quantifier is versatile in the sense that syntactically it can operate as adverb or verb. The examples in (143) illustrate its modifying function.

(143) a. *raepe* *ay* ***chita*** *kuriki* *ini=utsu=ray*
then already a.lot money 1PL.IN=go=SPE
'We already go with a lot of money'

b. ***chita*** *ipira* *ini* *purara* *raepe*
a.lot fish 1PL.IN find there
'A lot of fish we find there'

c. ***chita*** *napitsara=nu* *yawachim=uy*
a.lot man=PL.M arrive=PAS1
'Many men arrived'

The examples below demonstrate the verbal functions of *chita.* Note that it can take the progressive suffix *-ri* (144b), the future clitic *=utsu* (144b, c), and the reiterative and completive aspectual morphemes (144d). In predicate function, *chita* receives a dynamic interpretation, as 'increase in number.'

(144) a. *ra* *tawra=kana* ***chita***
3SG.M man's.son=PL a.lot
'His sons increase in number' (He has many sons.)

b. *ay* *rana* ***chita****-ri=utsu*
already 3plM a.lot-Prog=FUT1
'(By then) they will be already increasing in number'

c. *raepetsui* *ay* *tana* ***chita****=utsu,* *t#ma* *ukuatseme*
after already 1PL.EX.M a.lot=FUT1 NEG too.much
'Then we are going to be a lot, (but) not too much'

d. *kukama=pura* *tin* *ukuatseme=nan* ***chita****-ka-pa*
kokama=FOC CER too.much=only a.lot-REI-CPL
'The Kokama people certainly increases too much'

To assume pronominal functions and take NP clitics, *chita* needs to be nominalized by *-n*. Example (145) illustrates this, where *chita-n=pura* 'a lot' refers to abundant fish.

(145) a. *yayakati* ***chita****-n=pura* *na* *rana* *kumitsa*
go.up.river a.lot-NZR=FOC QT1 3plM talk
'Going up the river there are a lot, they say'

Another strategy to derive indefinite quantifiers is to combine them with the negative particles *t#ma* and *ni*. The elicited examples in (146) demonstrate this. In (146a), the combination NEG + 'many' produces 'a few,' in (146b) NEG + 'one' produces 'none.' Example (146c) shows the negative existential operating as a quantifier.

(146) a. ***t#ma*** ***chita*** *napitsara* *yawachim=uy*
NEG many man arrive=PAS1
'A few men arrived' (ED)
(Lit. 'Not many men arrived')

b. ***ni-wepe*** *kunumi* *kak#r#* *ikia-ka*
NEG2-one young live DEM-LOC
'None of the young people lives here' (ED)
(Lit. 'Not one young person lives here')

c. ***temende*** *awa* *uman=uy*
NEG.exist people die=PAS1
'Nobody died' (ED)
(Lit. 'There was not a person who died')

As for the other quantifiers listed in (137) and (138), they behave in essentially the same way as the ones discussed so far. Below I include examples that illustrate the use of some of them. Example (147a) comes from a text about the origins of the Kokamilla subgroup. Example in (147b) was produced in the following context: the speaker is talking about the fact that in a particular region, the majority of inhabitants are Kokamas. Then, in (147b) he points out that only a handful of them are of different ethnic backgrounds.

(147) a. *r=ikua* *kukamiria=kana* ***aytsewa=nan***
3SG.M=RSN Kokamilla=PL.M a.bit=RES
'That is why the Kokamilla are just a few'

b. ***wepe-rapa*** *awa* *ramua* *awa=pura=kana*
one-DIS person other person=FOC=PL.M
'Scattered people (one here and there) are other people'

Adverbial quantifiers whose syntactic scope is the verb, the verb phrase and the sentence are discussed in §6.5.

5.9. Genitive relationship within the noun phrase

Genitive relationships within the NP are expressed in at least two ways in the language: by the juxtaposition of two nouns, [15] or by a short clitic pronoun and a noun.

[15] Two juxtaposed nouns are highly frequent in the language, and, to be precise, they can receive three interpretations (below), although in (c) the elements involved are better characterized as noun phrases:
a. N-determiner N-head
b. N-possessor N-possessed
c. NP-subject NP-predicate

Either way, the possessed noun is placed second. The examples in (148) demonstrate the first pattern, and (149) the second.

(148) [N-$_{possessor}$ N-$_{possessed}$]$_{NP}$

a. *[kusi ta=ra-kana-nan] kak=ri ikia=ka*
Jose son=PL-only live here-LOC
'Only Jose's sons live here'

b. *rikua [tapira rimariru] iriw=uy*
reason tapir grandson return=PAS1
'And that's why the tapir's grandson returned'

(149) [PRO-$_{possessor}$ N-$_{possessed}$]$_{NP}$

a. *inu muna [tsa kuriki]=tsuri*
3PL.F steal 1SG.F money=PAS3
'They stole my money' (ED)

b. *Maka=tipa [na=m=m=rakunia]*
where=Q 2SG=w.daughther
'Where is your daughther?' (ED)

Possessed NPs can in turn appear adjacent to each other to express more complex genetic relationships. For instance, in (150), the possessor is the NP= [PRO + N]. In (150a) 'my husband' and in (150b) and 'my uncle'.

(150) [[PRO N]$_{NP=possessor}$ N$_{possessed}$]
a. *[[ya=mena] uka] uwari*
3SG.F= husband house fall
'Her husband's house falls down' (ED)

b. *[tsa pay] mirikua] =m=ntsa-ra-ka yuti*
1SG.F uncle wife story-VZR-REI stay
'My uncle's wife keeps talking' (ED)

Noun phrases with up to two possessors, (148) to (150), are frequent in discourse. In elicitation, it is also possible to have two nominal possessors (151a), or a

pronominal plus two nominal possessors (151b), but not three nominal possessors (151c).

(151) a. [[N N] N]
maniri *ta-ɨra* *ɨ-rara* *ukaym=uy*
Manuel m.son canoe disappear=PAS1
'The canoe of Manuel's son disappeared'
(Lit. 'Manuel's son's canoe disappeared')

b. [[[PRO N] N] N]
ta *taira* *tut-ɨra* *ɨ-rara* *ukaym=uy*
1SG.M m.daughther father.law canoe disappear-PAS1
'The canoe of my daughter's father in law disappeared'
(Lit. My daughter's father in law's canoe disappeared'

c. *[[N N] N] N

Notions such as source and location which are sometimes expressed through genitive constructions in languages like English and Spanish, are expressed in KK by means of postpositions and relative clauses. Below are some of the examples given by speakers; the expressions I was looking for were: the lake's fish, the farm's banana, the farm's hut, etc.

(152) a. *ajan* *ɨ-patsu-kuara-pe-n* *ipira* *era-pa-ka*
DEM lake-INE-LOC-NZR fish good-CPL-REI
'The fish from this lake is really good'

b. *yawa yapichika* *ipira-utsu* *ɨ-patsu-kuara-pe-n*
IMP catch fish=FUT lake-INE-LOC-NZR
'Go get the fish that is in the lake'

c. *inu* *muna-pa* *panara* *na* *papa* *ku-kuara-pe-n*
3SG.F steal-CPL banana 2SG father farm-INE-LOC-NZR
'They steal the banana that is from your father's farm'

5.10. Focus clitics

For the sake of completeness, I mention here two discourse morphemes, *=pura* and *=nan*, which occur primarily NPs (headed by either nouns or pronouns). More precisely, these morphemes can occur with various parts of speech, including verbs, negative particles and aspectual particles. The distribution of these clitics in the noun word is not identical. The morpheme *=pura* 'focus' shows up between derivational and inflectional morphemes (153a), whereas the restrictive morpheme *=nan* 'only' appears at the end of the word, even after the postpositions (154a-b).

(153) a. *upa in=tsitsari-pa ajan tuan amira=nu*
end 1PL.IN.C=forget-CP this parent be.dead=PL.F

*kumitsa=**pura**=chasu*
language=FOC=AFF
'We end up forgetting completely this poor language of our deceased elders'

b. *imina animaru=kana yaparachi=**pura***
long.ago animal=PL.M dance=FOC
'Long ago, animals danced'

(154) a. *ya=**pura**=chasu kakiri yauti yachu=**nan***
3SG.F=FOC-AFE live stay cry=RES
'She lives/has been living only crying'

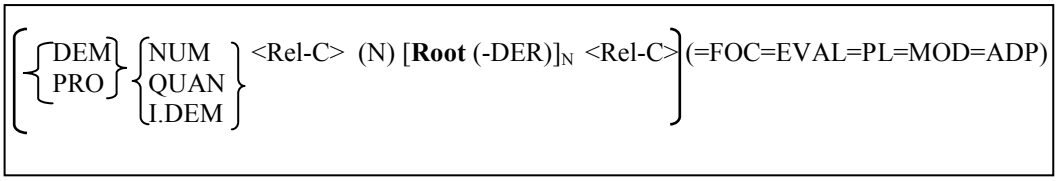
b. *amutse=tsui=**nan** rana, ra umi ikian*
far-ABL=RES 3PL.M 3M see DEM
'Only from a distance he/she sees them'

The distribution and functions of these morphemes are more fully described in Chapter XI, dedicated to the syntax-discourse interface. They have been also discussed in detail elsewhere (Vallejos 2009).

5.11. Summary

The noun and the noun phrase are summarized in Figures 5.1 & Figure 5.2, respectively. Putting together the two, Figure 5.3 provides the summary of the chapter.

Figure 5.3: The KK noun and noun phrase



In KK, a noun must include a root and, optionally, a second root if compound. The nominal word may also include derivational suffixes as part of its structure. Only category-changing morphemes operate at the noun level.

Overall, the majority of grammatical morphemes have the noun phrase as their scope of operation. These morphemes have been grammaticalized in a series of clitics. As discussed above, the evaluative morphemes (diminutive, augmentative, and affective) display an intermediate position between inflectional morphemes and phrasal clitics. While their semantic contribution appears to be directly to the noun, their distribution is that of clitic. The most complex noun phrase would consist of a head noun modified by a demonstrative or a possessive pronoun plus a quantifier and a relative clause. All the modifiers precede the head noun, except for the relative clause which can either precede or follow the head noun. Furthermore, the NP can bear up to five clitics, including focus, evaluatives, plurals, modals, and postpositions.

CHAPTER VI

POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES AND ADVERBIAL ELEMENTS

This chapter is dedicated to elements that contribute circumstantial information to the clause. Circumstantial information in KK is primarily expressed by postpositional phrases, relational nouns, and adverbial elements (ADV). Relational nouns are grammatically and phonologically speaking independent nouns, but their contribution to the clause is similar to that of postpositions. Unlike nouns and noun phrases, postpositional phrases, relational nouns and adverbial words have an adjunct relationship with respect to the verb. That is, they do not operate as syntactic arguments of the verb.

In the language, circumstantial information (CI) occurs in peripheral positions in the clause. In spontaneous speech, there is a tendency to place CI towards the beginning of the clause. With less frequency they can appear at the end of the clause. The following are the possible positions that PPs and adverbs can be placed in the clause. Examples (1) shows a pragmatically unmarked clause, and (2) a clause with a focused

object. Note in (1) and (2) that circumstantial information does not occur between S and V or V and O. The placement of relational noun phrases are identical to that of PPs.

(1) (**ADV**) (PP) S V O (PP) (**ADV**)

(2) (**ADV**) (O) S V (PP) (**ADV**)

The subsequent sections describe: postpositions (§6.1), relational nouns (§6.3), and adverbs (§6.4). Section (§6.2) focuses on an old Tupí-Guaraní postposition, *-pe*, which in today's KK, behaves differently than the other postpositions.

6.1. Postpositions

The language has a set of postpositions that attach to the last element of a noun phrase (which is usually the head noun). Schematically: PP= $[NP]_{=postposition}$. A phrase marked by a postposition has an oblique function within the sentence and appears at the peripheries of the clause. The following sections explore the functional range covered by each postposition.

6.1.1. Instrumental *=pu*

A range of semantic participants are encoded by instrumental phrases, including instrument, force, means of transport, cause, force, path, direction, as well as the semantic theme in causative constructions. All of these uses are quite frequent in discourse.

The canonical function of *=pu* is to express the instrument used by some agent/actor as an aid to accomplish some task. By canonical function I mean the one with which speakers associate an Instrumental phrase in the absence of a particular

context. It is also the first type of example speakers provide when asked to give sentences that contain the instrument marker.

(3) a. *penu* *piruka* *yawiri* ***kɨchi-kɨra=pu***
1plExF skin yucca machete-DIM-INS
'We skin yucca with a little machete' (ED)

b. ***maka-tín-pu*** *ya* *inupa=y=uy*
where-CER-INS 3SG.F hit=3SG=PAS1
'With which one he hit him?'

c. ***pɨtɨma=pu*** *ikian* *tsumi=kana* *aesta* *ini-chasu* *ɨmɨna*
tobacco-INS this wise.one=PL bewitch 1pl-AF long.ago
'A long time ago, these wise ones bewitched us with tobacco'

d. *wɨra=kɨra* *tsa* *tsemuta* ***pitani-n=pu***
bird=DIM 1SG.F feed ripen-NZR=INS
'I feed the little bird with ripened banana'

Another function closely related to the one described above, is that of the means to facilitate the achievement of an event. In this case, the referent of the instrumental phrase could be thought as an abstract tool.

(4) a. *ikian* *mui-watsu* ***taɨra=pu*** *nanin* *rana* *mɨmɨra*
DEM big-snake m'son=INS like.this 3PL.M w'son
'They get pregnant of this big snake's son'

b. ***mari=pu*** *rana* *mɨmɨra-ta* *waina=kana* *ɨmɨna*
thing=INS 3PL.M w'son-CAU woman=PL.M long.ago
'With anything they made the women pregnant long ago'

c. *na=ray* *ini=chira-t=ay* *ini* ***kumitsa=pu***
like.this=SPE 1PL.IN=name-CAU=3F.OBJ 1PL.IN saying=INS
'Like this we name it in our language' (Lit. 'with/by our saying')

Yet another frequent function of the instrumental phrase is to encode a natural force that causes something to happen.

(5) a. *etse* *aykua-pa=mia* ***tsiri=pu***
1SG.L.F sick-CPL=HYP be.cold-INS
'I may get sick with the cold'

b. ***tata=pu*** *tewe* *tata-ri*
fire=INS salt hard-PROG
'The fire is making the salt hard'
(Lit. 'With the fire/heat the salt is getting hard')

c. ***yachu=pu*** *tsa=umanu=tsui*
cry=INS 1SG.F=die=ABL
'I came to die of crying' (Lit. 'with/by crying')

d. *etse=pura* *watari* *tsa=umanu* ***yamima=pu***
1SG.F=FOC almost 1SG.F=die be.sad=INS
'I, I almost die of sadness'

e. *Ikian* *tsumi* *umanuta* *ra famiria=kana* ***tsuwiru=pu***
DEM witch.doctor die-CAU family=PL.M be.jealous=INS
'This witch-doctor killed his family because of jealousy'

The following examples demonstrate the use of the instrumental phrase to indicate means of transport.

(6) a. *eskuera=tsui* *ya* *iriwa=utsu-puka* ***irara=pu***
school=ABL 3SG.F come.back=FUT1-when canoe=INS
'When I was coming back from school in a canoe' (Lit. by canoe)

b. ***deslisaduru=pu*** *erutsu ya=tsuri* *mirafloresi-ka*
outboard.boat=INS bring 3SG.F=PAS3 Miraflores=LOC

inu *mutsanaka-tupa-ra-n=ka*
3PL.F cure-REL-PUR-NZR=LOC
'By outboard boat (they) brought him to Miraflores, where they cure'

c. … *tsiki-ari* *ukua-n* ***irara=pu***
fish.w/hook-PROG use.to-NZR canoe=INS
'… used to be fishing in a canoe' (Lit. 'by canoe)

Another frequent use of the instrumental phrase is to express path and direction.

(7) a. *ti ma* *uyari* *n=iriwa=utsu* ***uni=pu***
NEG again 2SG=come.back=FUT1 water=INS
'You won't come back again by water' (Now, there's a road)

b. *ra* *upuri* ***uni=pu***
3SG.M fall water=INS
'He falls into the water (and is washed away)'[1]

In the examples in (8), the phrases to which *=pu* attaches refer to rivers. In these cases, *=pu* clearly conveys both path and direction at the same time. For instance, (8a) entails that someone went via the river and stayed at the shore. (8b) is an invitation to move to a different area; this sentence entails traveling via the river looking for a place to stay. (8c) entails that they travelled via the Samiria River up to a community that is along this river.

(8) a. …*utsu-n-i=nu* *arutsu* *ipu-tara* ***parana=pu***
go-NZR-EV=PL.F rice shuck-PUR1 river=INS
'Who went to harvest rice by-near the river'
(...quienes fueron a cosechar arroz por el río)

b. *yapay* *ini=utsu* ***nawapa=pu***
lets 1PL.IN=FUT1 Nawapa.river=INS
'Let's go via-to the Nawapa River'
(Vamonos por el río Nawapa…)

c. *ay* *inu* *erukua=tsuri=ay* ***tsamiria=pu***
3SG.F 3PL.F take=PAS3=already Samiria.river=INS
'They took him via-to the Samiria River'
(Ellos lo llevaron por el río Samiria)

[1] Example (7e) entails that the one who falls is taken away by the water. One consultant contrasted this example with the one below, in which the inessive phrase in water entails that the one who falls into the water sinks.

ra	*upuri*	*uni=kuara*	'He falls into the water (and sinks)'
3SG.M	fall	water=INE	

An instrumental phrase also encodes the theme in the causative construction. As discussed in Vallejos (2010), in causative constructions the causer is encoded as the subject of the clause, and the causee as the object, and the theme is marked by the instrumental postposition. An extensive discussion of the encoding of theme as instrument is offered in §9.2.1.

(9) a. *upi awa yaparachi-puka ikian kurata-ta ranu* ***kaitsuma=pu***
all person dance-when DEM drink -CAU 3PL.M masato=INS
'When everybody is dancing, this makes them drink (with) masato'

b. *ra yupuni kurata-ta ra ta*ɨ*ra* ***mutsana-pu***
3SG.M start drink-CAU 3SG.M men's.son remedy=INS
'He starts to make his son drink (with) the remedy' (ED)

c.*w*ɨ*ra=k*ɨ*ra ya tsemuta* ***pitani-n=pu***
bird=DIM 3SG.F feed ripen-NZR=INS
'She feeds the little bird with ripened (banana)' (ED)

In summary, we can say that the instrumental postposition signals a wide range of semantic participants, including canonical instrument and manner. However, Croft's (2002) observation that there is a cross-linguistic tendency for instrument, manner and comitative notions to be expressed by means of one and the same postposition or case-marker only partially holds for KK. As it will be discussed in §6.1.3, comitative phrases are marked by a different postposition.

6.1.2. Instrumental =*pupe*

In addition to the instrumental marker =*pu*, there is another instrumental, =*pupe*, which in today's KK is rarely used. The morpheme =*pupe* is of Tupinamba origin (Cabral 1995:134) and is probably the source of the form =*pu*. Note that similar

phenomena are found in other areas of the grammar, such as the derivation of the dative =*tsu* from the Tupí-Guaraní postposition **tsupe* 'to, for' (Jensen 1998:598) (see §6.1.8).

Examples in (10), which were found in the texts, show the *pupe*=marked phrases indicating canonical instrument (10a), abstract tool (10b-c), means and manner (10d).

(10) a.*paniu=kɨra=**pupe**-a* *rana* *aya=ura* *ɨwati*
scarf=DIM=INS2-REP 3PL.M shoot=3M.OBJ high

wepe *uka* *[arɨwa=ka-n]=tu=kuara*
one house [above=LOC-NZR=AUG]=INE
'It is said that they throw/hit him with a little scarf, high, from inside the house that is on top (of another)' [from the second floor of a house]

b. *ra* *umi=**pupe**=nan* *ra* *era-ta-tsen* *rana*
3SG.M see=INS2=only 3SG.M be.good-CAU-PUR3 3PL.M
'In order for him to cure them only with his sight…]

c. *uri* *riay* *ra=mɨ mɨ ra-ta* *umi=**pupe**=nan*
3SG.M.L also 3SG.M=w'son-CAU see=INS2=only
'To her also he makes pregnant only with (his) sight'

d. *tɨ ma* *in-aki* *zapatu-pa-wa* *pɨ ta=**pupe**=nan*
NEG 1PL.IN-get.in shoe-CPL-GER foot=INS2=only

*pɨ ta-pay=**pupe**=nan*
foot-EMP=INS2=only
'We don't enter wearing shoes, only barefoot'

In elicitation, speakers clearly associate =*pupe* with instrumental ideas/notions. The examples in (11) are two of the ones provided by my consultants.

(11) a. *inu=tsapuki* *chiru=nu=**pupe***
3SG.PL=call cloth=PL.F=INS2
'They call [the boat] with clothes (waving clothes)' (ED)

b. *tsa* *ikana-ta* *muritsu=uy* *kuarachi=**pupe***
1SG.F be.dry-CAU ceramic.jar=PAS1 sun=INS2
'I dried the ceramic jar (Sp. *tinaja*) with the sun' (ED)

A rather different function of *=pupe* is to indicate 'state, habit, manner.' One consultant provided me the example in (12). The context the speaker gave was this: someone thinks my son looks weak and asks:

(12) Speaker-A: *mar=ikua* *na=m-m-ra* *ts=umi*
what=RSN 2SG=w'son 1SG.F=see

tin-tini-pan=nan
be.clear-be.clear-ADVR=only
'Why do I see your son so pale (Sp. *palidiento*)?'

Speaker-B: *ya=**pupe**,* *yanan* *ya* *kak-r-i* *ya*
3SG.F=INS2 like that 3SG.F live 3SG.F

uwari=tsui=ka
birth=ABL=LOC
'He is this way, he's been living like that since his birth'

In addition, *=pupe* has been found in what appears to be lexicalized forms. For instance, the verb for 'kneel' is *tseniapupe* which seems to consist of *tsenepia* 'knee' plus *=pupe* . In sum, although *=pupe* is employed for instrumental notions, it is not as productive as *=pu* and also does not cover as wide a range of semantic functions *=pu* does.

6.1.3. Comitative *=muki*

The comitative postposition *=muki* is used mainly to mark a phrase with whom the agent NP is doing something, in the sense of "together with."

(13) a. *ra* *kamata-ri* *ra* *ta-ra**=muki***
3SG.M work-PROG 3SG.M son-COM
'He is working with his son'

b. *uri* *yaparichi* *ra* *mirikua=**muki***
3SG.M dance 3SG.M wife-COM
'He is going to dance with his wife'

c. *yayti* *tsa=utsu* *na=**muki*** *tsa* *yumayari-tsen=ene*
also 1SG.F=go 2SG=COM 1SG.F help-PUR3-2SG.L
'I will also go with you to help you out'

d. *uri=**muki**=ía* *r-utsu*
3SG.L.M=COM-MOD 3SG.M=go
'It is said that with him she would go'

The =*muki*-marked phrase can be also interpreted as the companion of the actor-like participant, in the sense of "accompanied by."

(14) a. *tsa=tseta* *kak~~i~~r~~i~~=tsuri* *na=**muki***
1SG.F=want live=PAS3 2SG=COM
'I wanted to live with you'

b. *raepe* *tsa=pura* *ts=aypa=tsuri* *tsa=mama=**muki**=nan*
there 1SG.F=FOC 1SG.F=grow.up=PAS3 1SG.F=mother=COM=only
'There I grew up with only my mother'

c. *makatin-taka* *kuema* *ra=**muki***
whichone-UNC morning 3SG.M=COM
'Who may wake up with her?'

In clauses with the verb *~~i~~m~~i~~ntsara-ka* (which is translated into Spanish as *conversar* 'chat') the interlocutor is signaled by the comitative. In contrast, with the verb *kumitsa* 'say/speak/talk,' the interlocutor is generally marked with the dative =*tsui*, and only occasionally with the comitative as in (15b).

(15) a. *ay* *in-~~i~~m~~i~~ntsara-ka=utsu* *na=**muki***
already 1PL.IN.C-story-REI=FUT1 2SG=COM
'Now we'll chat with you'
(*Ahora ya vamos a conversar contigo*)

b. *ta=**muki*** *uri=kana* *kumitsa*
1SG.M=COM 3PL.M=PL.M talk
'With me they talk'

A rather marginal use of *=muki* is to signal prases which operate as a modifier of the object NP. This pattern has been attested only in elicitation.

(16) a. *Tana* *eyu* *ipira* *panara=**muki***
1SG.PL.EX.M eat fish banana=COM
'We eat fish with banana' (ED)

b. *Uri=kana* *eyu* *tsu* *tsɨta-n* *yawiri=**muki***
3PL.M=PL.M eat meat fry-NZR yucca=COM
'They eat fried meat with yucca' (ED)

Finally, another marginal use of the comitative, attested only in elicitation, is to mark the means for the theme to reach a goal.

(17) a. *yumunu* *kuatiara-n* *maria=**muki***
Send write-NZR Maria=COM
'Send a letter with Maria' (ED)

6.1.4. Dative *=tsui*

The postposition *=tsu/tsui* marks primarily recipient and beneficiary notions. This form has it source in the Tupí-Guaraní postposition **cupé* 'to, for' (Jensen 1998:514).[2] In today's Kokama, *=tsupe* is no longer productive as a dative postposition. Its main function is that of an applicative (see §7.2.2).

In (18) the noun phrase to which *=tsu* attaches refers to recipients and beneficiaries.

(18) a. *yapay* *na* *yumi* *kuatiara-n* *rana=**tsui***
lets QT1 give draw-NZR 3PL.M=DAT
'Let's go, he says, to give them this writing/letter'

[2] Cabral indicates that *-tsupi* can be traced back to the Tupinambá dative-relational noun *s-upé* (Cabral 1995:134).

b. *aytsemeka* *rana* *yumi* *upi* *mari=pura* *tana=**tsui***
truth 3PL.M give all thing=FOC 1PL.EX.M=DAT
'For real they give us all kinds of things'

a. *m-it-a-tsupe* *atere* *tsa* *m-im-ra=**tsui***
pick.off-BEN sapote 1SG.F woman.son=DAT
'Please, pick off a sapote for my son' (ED)

In sentences with speech-utterance verbs, *=tsui* marks the addressee (19).

(19) a. *raepe* *yauki-tara* *tsar-iwa* *ra* *kumitsa* *wixa=**tsui***
then make-PUR1 be.happy 3SG.M say elder=DAT
'Then to make (her) happy, she talks to the old woman…'

b. *tana* *kumitsa* *ikian* *ikua-ta-wara=**tsui***
1PL.EX.M say this know-CAU-NZR=DAT
'(Then) we talk to the teacher'

c. *riay* *ta=tseta* *-im-intsara-ra* *na=**tsui** ,* *ikua-ta-wara*
also 1SG.M=want story-VZR 2SG=DAT know-CAU-NZR
'I would also like to tell a story to you, teacher'

Because dative and ablative are homophones (see §6.1.8), there are instances like (20) in which it is difficult to tell whether the *tsui*=marked noun phrase is presented as dative or ablative. For instance, one way of analyzing (20) would be that 'your parents' are neither recipients nor beneficiaries, but the source of the fear. However, *etse* 'I' could be also thought as the location of fear from where the feeling is directed towards others.

(20) a. *ak-icha* *etse* *na=papa=nu=**tsui***
be.scared 1SG.L.F 2SG=father=PL.F=ABL
'I am afraid of your parents'

As mentioned earlier, in today's KK the dative function of *-tsupe* is no longer productive. However, in elicitation speakers can provide examples like the one in (21a-

b), which demonstrate the benefactive function of =*tsupe*. The example in (21b) was taken from Espinosa (1935:66).

(21) a. *ay* *yauki* *uka=tsuri* *tsa=**tsupe***
3F make house=PAS3 1F=DAT
'He made a house for me'

b. *wepe* *suro* *n=iumi* *Ruis-**tsupi***
one sol 2SG=give Luis-DAT
'Give a sol (Peruvian currency) to/for Luis'

For additional discussion on the syntactic status of the dative phrase, see §7.2.

6.1.5. Comparative =*yá*

The comparative[3] postposition =*yá* marks a phrase which is the referent against which another phrase is compared. As indicated in §3.3, the comparative morpheme is part of the set of morphemes that have their own stress. The language has another =*ya/ía* clitic which indicates second hand information, but the difference becomes obvious, for instance, when we contrast *ajá=ya,* which means 'It is said that this…,' against *aja=yá* which means 'like this.' Although the practical orthography does not reflect the accent, potential ambiguity is generally resolved by the context. The examples in (22) illustrate the use of the comparative.

(22) a. *ɨwɨra=**yá*** *tsuni-wa* *inu-umi=ay* *ɨpɨtsa*
tree=CMP black-GER 3PL.F-see=3F.OBJ night
'Like a tree, they see it black'

b. *ipirawira* *mai* *ay=ray* *ukua* *awa=**yá***
dolphin spirit already=SPE go.around person=CMP

[3] The term comparative here is used to indicate a notion different than what its commonly used for. KK does not have comparative constructions like 'John is taller than Mary.'

ya *tsapu-yuru*
3SG.F blow-mouth
'It seems that the spirit of the dolphin just goes around, he whistles like a person'

c. *ene* *na=papa=**yá*** *utsu*
2SG.L 2SG=father=CMP FUT
'You will be like your father'

d. *tɨma* *chita* *ya* *chɨpɨ* *ikian* *Ecuador* *kuriki=**yá***
NEG a.lot 3SG.M price this Ecuador money=CMP
'Its price is not too much (not too expensive), like this Ecuadorian currency'

The examples in (163) illustrate the use of the comparative with pronouns.

(23) a. *ene-taka* *tɨma* *ra=**yá***
2SG.L-MOD NEG 3SG.M=CMP
'Perhaps you are not like him.'

b. *ya* *ajan* *ipirawira* *tsuni-ra-pa-n=tu=nu*
already this dolphin black-VZR-CPL-NZR=AUG=PL.F

ay-ray *ini=**yá*** *awa* *tsuni-n*
already-SPE 1PL.IN=CMP person black-NZR
'These dolphins are all black; it seems that (they are) just like us, black people.'

6.1.6. Purposive =*ra*

The =*ra*-marked phrase indicates the aim of undertaking the event expressed in the utterance. The following examples (24), illustrate the main function of this morpheme.

(24) a. *ta* *kaitsa* *iwira=kana=uy* *ta* *uka=**ra***
1SG.M cut tree=PL.M=PST 1SG.M house=PUR
'I cut trees for my house'

b. *ay* *ipirawira* *tseta* *ya* *mirikua=**ra***
3F.LF dolphin want 3SG.F wife=PUR
'Her, the dolphin wants as a wife' (Lit. for his wife)

c. *ikian* *ay* *rana* *yumi-n* *tana* *tuyuka=**ra***
this already 3PL.M give-NZR 1PL.EX.M ground=PUR
'This [area] is their donation for our land'

d. *maka-tipa* *ta* *purara* *waina-mia* *ta* *mirikua=**ra***
where-Q 1SG.M find woman-IRR 1SG.M wife=PUR
'Where could I find a woman to be my wife?' (Lit. for my wife)

A second productive use of a purposive phrase is to encode the outcome of change-of-state predicates.

(25) a. *yukun* *waina=kɨra upa* *y=uwaka-pa* *puka=**ra***
DEM woman=DIM finish 3SG.F=become-CPL turtle=PUR
'This little woman became fully a turtle'

b. *ɨmɨna* *ipirawira=tua=nu* *uwaka-pa*
long.ago dolphin=AUG=PL.F become-CPL

ukua=tsuri=ay *awa=**ra***
used.to=PAS3=already person=PUR
'Long time ago, the big dolphins used to become people'

c. *yapay* *ini* *uwaka* *tsatsɨwa=**ra***
lets.go 1PL.IN become ant=PUR
'Lets become ants'

d. *utsu* *r=uwaka-ta=ura* *rupuna=**ra***
go 3SG.M=become-CAU=3M.OBJ lupuna=PUR
'He goes transforming it into a lupuna tree (*Ceiba samauma*)'

The main verb in all the examples in (25) is *uwaka* 'become.' This is an intransitive verb, so the resulting entity is not encoded as the object of the clause, but in an oblique phrase marked by *=ra*. Note that in (25d), the verb is causativized, and so the object is expressed by means of the third person pronoun *=ura*. In many utterances with the verb *uwaka*, the outcome is not explicitly expressed. If this is the case, the

predication is interpreted as ‘X has the capacity to transform himself into something else.’

Sporadically, the *=ra*-marked phrase can also encode occupation, as in the following example.

(26) a. *ay* *ch=yupuni* *uwata=tsuri* *apu* *kamata-ri*
already 1SG.F=start walk=PAS3 well work-Prog

mai=nu=muki *empleada=**ra***
mestizo=PL.F=COM maid=PUR
‘Then I started to go around working with the mestizos as a maid’

This marker also shows up with the interrogative word ‘why’ *mari-ra* ‘what-PUR.’ In the sentence below, we see that *=ra* functions as any other postposition that attaches to an interrogative word, as described in §5.7.

(27) a. *marira-ra* *epe* *yuti* *ikia-ka*
why-PUR 2PL stay here=LOC
‘Why are you here?

An additional function of the purposive morpheme is to encode the theme of the complex predicate ‘want to make X.’ The semantic relationship between the main function of the morpheme (i.e. ‘aim of the event,’ as shown in (24)) and the goal of ‘want to make’ is quite transparent. In KK, there are two strategies to express this notion: i) [*tseta* + *yauki* X] ‘want make X’ (as in (28b)); and, ii) [*tseta X-yara]* ‘want X-make’ (as in (28a)), in which case the morpheme *-yara* ‘make’ attaches to the theme. We will return to this discussion in § 7.2.3.5. In both, the desired outcome is marked by *=ra*.

(28) a. *rana* *piyata* *tuyuka […]* *rana* *tseta* *uka-yara=**ra***
3PL.M ask.for land […] 3PL.M want house-make=PUR
‘They ask for land […]. They want (it) to build a house (for house making)’

b. *rana* *tseta* *yauki* *rana* *ku=**ra***
3PL.M want make 3PL.M farm=PUR
'They want (it) to make (it into) their farm'

Finally, the morpheme *=ra* also shows up in more complex constructions. The *=ra*-marked phrase is further marked by the nominalizer *-n*. Interestingly, in all the attested examples, the nominalized phrase is the object of the main predicate, so in a sense, nominalizing *=ra* grant the purposive oblique phrase a syntactic object status. For similar phenomena, see §10.1.3.

(29) a. *raepe* *ra=yauki* *uk~~i~~r~~i~~-tupa=**ra**-n*
there 3SG.M=make sleep-place=PUR-NZR
'There he makes what will be a place to sleep'

b. *ay* *rana* *yauki* *ikua-chiru=**ra**-n*
already 3PL.M make know-nest=PUR-NZR
'They made already what will be a center to know/learn'

c. *ay* *aytsemeka* *ta=mirikua* *yauki* *t=uka=**ra**-n=chasu*
already really 1SG.M=wife make 1SG.M=house=PUR-NZR=AFF
In fact, my wife makes what will be my poor house'

d. *ta* *ikia=tsui* *yumunu* *kuriki=chasu* *[ta=mirikua*
1SG.M here=ABL send money=AFF 1SG.M=wife

yauki-tsen *t-uka=**ra**-n]*
make-PUR3 1SG.M=house=PUR-NZR
'From here I send money so that my wife makes what will be my house'

As explained earlier, oblique postpositions attach to the right edge of the NP. In (29), however, the purposive phrase appears nominalized by *-n*. The resulting syntactic unit is treated like any other NP; that is, it can be further marked by other clitics such as the affective morpheme *=chasu* as shown in (29c). In addition, the *=ra-n* marked phrase can also operate as an argument of dependent adverbial clauses, as illustrated in (29d).

To conclude this section, it should be noted that the language has several other strategies to express purpose; including three types of adverbial clauses marked by the subordinators *-tara, -mira* and *-tsen*. The relationship between the first two subordinators and the purposive marker *=ra* seems obvious. In addition, there is a morpheme *-ra* that generates verbs from nouns (i.e. *chira-ra* name-VZR 'bestow a name'). Whether the purposive marker and the verbalizer marker are related or not will be discussed in §7.2.3.

In the following paragraphs the discussion turns to directional postpositions.

6.1.7. Stative location/allative *=ka*

The locative/allative *=ka* expresses basically location with two semantic variations, either stative location or dynamic location. The interpretation has to do with the semantic content of the predicate of the clause. In other words, in constructions with static verbs, it denotes static location; in constructions with dynamic verbs it expresses the direction of the movement, also called allative.

The following examples show *=ka* encoding the place where an entity is located or an event/action takes place.

(30) a. *ta* *kakɨrɨ* *ɨmɨna* *arawante=**ka***
1SG.M live long.ago Arahuante=LOC
'Long time ago I used to live in Arahuante'

b. *yantsui* *tɨma* *uyari* *tsa=yuti=utsu* *na=**ka***
there NEG time 1SG.F=stay=FUT1 2SG=LOC
'From now on I won't stay again with you (where you are)'

c. *yapay* *ini=uk-ri=utsu* *uyarika* *t=iri-kari=**ka***
lets 1PL.IN=sleep=FUT1 again 1SG.M=net=LOC
'Let's sleep again in my mosquito net'

d. *arawante=**ka*** *patrun=muki* *tana* *kaki-ri* *i-ni-na*
Arahuante=LOC boss=COM 1PL.EX.M live long.ago
'In Arahuante, with the boss we used to live long ago'

e. *raepe* *tsa=pura* *yupuni* *ikua=tsuri* *escuela=**ka***
there 1SG.F=FOC start know=PAS3 school=LOC
'Then I started to learn in school'

The examples below illustrate the allative function of *=ka*. Here the predicate denotes movement from one place to another, and hence *=ka* conveys the place where the entity moves to.

(31) a. *ra=yawachima=utsu* *wepe* *ritama=**ka***
3SG.M=arrive=FUT1 one community=LOC
'He arrives to a village'

b. *ya=ikua* *janina* *yumunu* *penu=tsuri* *nauta=**ka***
like.this-RSN Janina send 1PL.EX.F=PAS3 Nauta=LOC
'That's why Janina sent us to Nauta'

c. *kai* *iruru-n* *asta* *ya* *tsuti-ma=**ka***
shin swell-NZR until 3SG.F thigh=LOC
'The swelling of the shin (got) up to his thigh'

d. *ikian* *utsu-n* *costarica=ka=nan*
this go-NZR Costa.Rica=LOC=only
'This (plane) goes only up to Costa Rica'

Finally, noun phrases marked with *=ka* also encode the recipient of an event of transfer. This is shown in (32).

(32) a. *uri* *t=erura=tsuriay* *ikian* *ta* *mirikua=ka*
3SG.M.L 1SG.M=bring=PAS3 this 1SG.M wife=LOC
'This I brought to my wife'

b. *ya=tut-ira* *yumunu* *kuatiaran=tsuri* *mai=kana=ka*
3SG.F=mother send letter=PAS3 mestizo=PL=LOC
'Her father in law sent letters to the mestizos' (ED)

The syntactic encoding of three-participant events is discussed at length in Chapter IX.

6.1.8. Ablative =tsui

The ablative =*tsui* has its source in the PTG postposition **cuwí* 'from' (Jensen 1998:514). This marker primarily indicates the place where the movement originates. However, many other related semantic notions are also encoded by this marker, including the point in time where an event starts, the cause or force that instigates an event, the material out of which something is made, etc. We start the discussion with the expression of the point in space from which an entity moves to another.

(33) a. *i-yatira* *ritama=**tsui*** *tana* *ichima* *parana=ka*
first village=ABL 1plM go.out river-LOC
'First, we went out from the village to the river'

b. *rakuna=**tsui*** *uri-n* *wepe* *napitsara* *ay=taka*
Lagunas=ABL come-NZR one man 3SG.F.L=UNC

ikua *mutsana=tsuri*
know cure=PAS3
'A man that came from Lagunas, perhaps he knew how to cure'

c. *aykua-pa=nan* *ra* *uri* *ra=ritama=**tsui***
be.sick-CPL=only 3SG.M come 3SG.M=village=ABL
'Totally sick he comes from his village'

d. *inu* *i-pi-ka=tupa=**tsui*** *ya* *tsu* *pua-n=pura*
3PL.F cut-REL=ABL 3SG.F meat rotten-NZR=FOC

atsɨrɨka=tsuri
go.down=PAS3
'From where they cut, his rotten muscles sank/disappeared'

There are also a few instances in which the ablative marker appears not on an NP, but on spatial adverbs such as *amutse* 'far' (34a) or *ɨwati* 'high' (34b).

(34) a. *amutse=**tsui*** *ini* *tsenu* *ipu* *avion=pura*
far=ABL 1PL.IN hear sound plane=FOC
'From far away we hear the sound of the plane'

b. *ɨwati=**tsui*** *ts=umi* *lima* *ritama=pura*
high=ABL 1SG.F=see Lima village=FOC
'From above I see Lima city'

Another function indicated by *=tsui* is that of point in time. Depending on the semantics of the predicate, the ABL-marked phrase can indicate when the temporal frame for the event indicated in the utterance occurs, or the point in time where the movement originates. Note in (35d) that *=tsui* appears in a temporal adverb *ikun* 'now, today'

(35) a. *wepe* *yatsɨ=**tsui*** *doctor* *yumunu* *penu=tsuri*
one moon=ABL doctor send 1PL.EX.F=PAS3

penu *iriwa-tsen* *penu* *uka=ka*
1PL.EX.F come.back-PUR3 1PL.EX.F house=LOC
'After a month the doctor sent us to come back to our house'

b. *mutsapɨrɨka* *kuashi=**tsui*** *ay* *ya=kɨra* *ikana* *tini*
three day=ABL already 3SG.F=DIM dry white
'After three days this thingy dries out whitening'

c. *yaepe=**tsui*** *mui* *karuta=**tsui*** *watari* *ya umanu*
there=ABL snake bite=ABL miss 3SG.F die
'From there, from the snake's bite, he escaped death'

d. *ikun=**tsui*** *t-ma=pura* *na=purepe* *awarindi=utsu*
today=ABL NEG=FOC 2SG=buy cachasa=FUT1
'From now on, you won't buy cachasa'

Perhaps example (35b) needs some discourse context to be fully understood. Here the speaker is describing how hats are made out of vines and palm leaves. He indicates that the goal is to end up with very clear product, which is achieved by drying out the woven product under the sun for three days.

An additional function of *=tsui* is to indicate the material from which something is made/prepared. For instance, in (36a), the ablative signals that fruits are the materials from which the drinks are prepared.

(36) a. *maniamaniakan=pu* *rana* *kurata-ta* *tana* *raepe*
all.kinds=INST 3PL.M drink-CAU 1PL.EX.M there

ikian *tsen=pu* *upi* *ikian* *-wria=**tsui*** *yauki-n*
DEM be.sweet=INS all this fruit=ABL make-NZR
'All kinds of things they made us drink there, this sweet (drinks) all made out of fruits'

b. *yay* *inu-umi=ay* *itaki=**tsui*** *yauki-n* *atawari-uka*
also 3PL.F-see=already stone=ABL make-NZR hen-house
'They also saw a henhouse made out of stone'

c. *uri* *t-erura* *ikian* *rana* *yauki-n*
3SG.M.L 1SG.M=bring this 3PL.M make-NZR

*elastico=**tsui***
rubber.band=ABL
'I bring this, what they make from rubber band'

Along the same lines as the semantic function illustrated in (36), the ablative can also convey the material from which something originated.

(37) a. *tsukuri=**tsui** yauki n=ikua ene tɨma yumɨra=utsu*
boa=ABL make 2SG=RSN 2SG.L NEG be.angry=FUT1
'Because you were made out of a boa, you won't be angry (will you?)'

b. *kukama=kana katupe ikian ɨpatsu tsɨma=ra-n*
kokama=PL.M show.up this lake shore=DIF-NZR

*kukuna=kana=**tsui**, ikian tsukuri=kɨra=**tsui***
cocona=PL.M=ABL this boa=DIM=ABL
'The Kokamas originated from these coconas along the shore of the lake, from this little boa'

The =*tsui* marked NP can also indicate the theme or topic of learning, knowing, discussing, etc.; phrases that are usually translated into Spanish/English as *sobre X* 'about X.' Perhaps this has to do with the fact that, according to KKs, knowledge comes from somewhere/someone. For instance, the knowledge about the curative properties of specific trees comes from the spirits of the trees themselves, as shown in (38).

(38) a. *rama=kana tɨma ikua ɨwɨra=**tsui***
other=PL.M NEG know tree=ABL
'Others don't know about (the origins/properties of) trees'

b. *rana kumitsa tuyuka=**tsui** ɨwɨtu=**tsui** kuarachi=**tsui***
3PL.M say ground=ABL wind=ABL sun=ABL
'They talk about the earth, about the wind, about the sun'

c. *in=ikua tsamuna=tsui, in=ikua uwachi=**tsui***
1PL.IN=know lupuna=ABL 1PL.IN=know catahua=ABL

*in-ikua ikian kawapuri=**tsui***
1PL.IN.C-know this huayracaspi=ABL
'We know about the lupuna, about the catahua, about the huayracaspi'

d. *ɨwɨra mai=kana uri=kana yumit=ini*
tree spirit=PL.M 3SG.M.L=PL.M teach=1PL.O

ikian *ɨwɨrati* *mama=**tsui***
this forest mother=ABL
'The spirits of the trees, they teach us about the mother of the forest'

Finally, the example in (39), cited earlier as (20), involves metaphorical transfer. Here the =*tsui*-marked phrase appears to be encoding the source of the fear.

(39) *akɨcha* *etse* *na=papa=nu=**tsui***
be.scared 1SG.L.F 2SG=father=PL.F=ABL
'I am afraid of your parents'

6.1.9. Inessive =*kuara*

The phrases marked by =*kuara* indicate location in two senses. First, with static verbs, it indicates location in a space conceptualized as a container. This is often interpreted as 'being within.' Below are the examples.

(40) a. *uri* *ikua* *r=yakɨ=**kuara***
3SG.M.L know 3SG.M=head=INE
'He knows in his head'

b. *temente =era* *ikia* *ɨpatsu=**kuara***
no.exist=MOD this lake=INE
'This tree didn't exist within this lake' [this tree just showed up magically!]

c. *uri* *ikua-ta-ka-pa* *ra=taɨra* *yakɨ=**kuara***
3SG.M know-CAU-REI-CPL 3SG.M=man'son head=INE
'He puts wisdom within the head of his son'

d. *ikian* *ritama=**kuara*** *emete* *kukama* *kukamiria*
this community=INE exist kokama Kokamilla
'Within this village there are Kokama and Kokamilla (people)'

When =*kuara* occurs with verbs expressing motion it conveys location where an entity penetrates or is immersed.

(41) a. *y=ukayma* *uni=**kuara***
3SG.F=lost water=INE
'He gets lost into the water'

b. *r=upuri* *uni=**kuara***
3SG.M=fall water=INE
'He falls into the water

With motion verbs that entail control by the agent, it indicates a location with conceptualized boundaries to which an entity enters or has access.

(42) a. *raepe* *ra* *yawachima* *wepe* *ɨpatsu=**kuara***
then 3SG.M arrive one lake=INE
'Then he arrives to a lake'

b. *tɨma=pura=ay* *na* *utsu* *ajan* *ɨpatsu=**kuara***
NEG=FOC=already 2SG go this lake=INE
'You will never go to this lake'

c. *mɨmɨra=chasu* *ukayma* *utsu=tsuri*
w'son=AFE loose go=PAS3

yaepe *nawapa=**kuara***
there river.name=INE
'My poor son went to get lost there, in the Nawapa River (in that region)

d. *ts=aki=uy* *na=ku=**kuara***
1SG.F=get.in=PAS1 2SG=farm=INE
'I entered your farm'

The origins of this morpheme can be traced back to the Tupí-Guaraní form **kwar* 'hole' (Lemle 1971:117). In fact, in today's KK, the morpheme *=kuara* retains its original meaning in certain derived nouns for body parts (43). A number of terms for body parts in the languages are created by compounding (see §5.4.3); however, given the fact that *=kuara* does no longer function as an independent noun, it is possible to say that in cases like (43), *-kuara* acts like a derivational morpheme.

(43)

jɨwa	'arm'	*jɨwa-kuara*	'armpit'
atu	'back of head'	*ata-kuara*	'nape'
tsitsa	'face'	*tsitsa-kuara*	'eye(s)'
tamatia	'vulva'	*tamatia-kuara*	'vagina'
chikuara	'buttock'	*chikua-kuara*	'anus'

6.1.10. Finalative =*rupe*

The finalative postposition =*rupe* indicates direction towards a place with some specification of successful arrival. Cabral (1995) suggests that this form consists of the Tupinamba relational prefix *r-* plus the localitive *upi* 'for, through.' Comparing =*rupe* with the allative =*ka*, the latter encodes direction but is neutral about whether or not the trajector reaches the intended goal, whereas the former entails direction and implies success in reaching the goal (44). In discourse, =*rupe* occurs rather sporadically. It is less productive than =*ka*, and some speakers show the tendency to use =*ka* almost exclusively.

(44) a. *ta* *utsu* *kamata-tara* *ikitu=**rupe***
1SG.M go work-PUR1 Iquitos=FIN
'I go to work to Iquitos'

b. *mania* *epe-uri* *ajan=**rupe***
how 2PL-come this=FIN
'How do you get here?'

c. *yantsui* *inu* *warika* *tuyuka=**rupe***
there 3PL.F go.up ground=FIN
'Then they go up (from the water) to the ground'

d. *inu* *ɨrɨrɨta* *inu* *ɨrara=pura* *inu*
3PL.F pull 3PL.F canoe=FOC 3PL.F

ukuata-tsen=ay *tuyuka-tsɨma=**rupe***
go.around-PUR3=3F.OBJ ground-shore=FIN
'To go through, they pull their canoe to the shore of the lake'

A second function of *=rupe* emerges in clauses that do not entail motion. With static verbs, *=rupe* indicates that an entity is located in the directionality/proximity of the referent indicated in the phrase.

(45) a. *tsenu* *wepe* *gallo=tua* *kumitsa=ukua=tsuriay* *ɨwati*
hear one rooster=AUG say=habitual=PAS3 high

*kuarachi=**rupe**=nan*
sun=FIN=only
'They hear a rooster that is singing up there towards the sun'

b. *ikia* *nanay=**rupe*** *riay* *kukama=kana*
this river=FIN also kokama=PL.M
'Towards the Nanay River there are also Kokamas'

c. *tsaniuri* *ikia=**rupe*** *ini=utsu,*
come.on here=FIN 1pIn=FUT1

*ikia=**rupe*** *ini=pe=kuara*
here=FIN 1PL.IN=port=INE
'Come on, let's go this way, over here/this way is our port'

d. *ta* *kumitsa* *yuti* *na=tsui* *n=ikua-tsen*
1SG.M say stay 2SG=DAT 2SG=know-PUR3

mania-taka *ay-puka* *tana* *kakɨrɨ* *raepe=**rupe***
how-MOD already-when 1PL.EX.M live there=FIN
'I'm telling you so that you know how do we live up there currently'

6.1.11. Diffuse *=ri*

The marker *=ri*[4] corresponds to locative phrases such as 'along X,' 'around X,' 'through X.' Cabral (1995:130) suggests a conection between *=ri* and the Tupinamba

[4] The progressive marker in the language exhibits the same form, *-ri*. The connection between the two seems an interesting hypothesis that we will explore in a different study.

locative partitive *-i*. In the database, the most frequent nouns fulfilling X are: *tuyuka* 'earth/ground,' *tsɨma* 'shore/edge (of the river/lake)', *ɨwɨra* 'tree, *piruara* 'bark,' *ɨwata* 'hill/mountain'. Examples that illustrate each of these semantic nuances follow.

(46) a. *r=warika ɨwɨra=**ri** raepe ra=yauki ukɨrɨ tupa=ra-n*
3SG.M=go.up tree=DIF there 3SG.M=make sleep place-PUR-NZR
'He climbs along a tree, there he makes a place to sleep'

b. *ay kuashi ɨwati-n ra uyepe tuyuka=**ri***
already sun get.up-NZR 3SG.M go.down ground=DIF

tupapenan r=utsu-ka-tsen
again 3SG.M=go-REI-PUR3
'(When) the sun is already up, he goes down to the ground to keep going'

c. *ɨwata=**ri** inu warika=tsuriay gallo chikari-tara*
mountain=DIF 3PL.F go.up=PAS3 rooster lookfor-PUR1
'They go up to the mountain looking for the rooster

d. *ipirawira=kana tseta uyari-pa ra=**ri***
dolphin=PL.M want put.together-CPL 3SG.M=DIF
'The dolphins want to get closer to her (possessing her)'

A more specific kind of location encoded by *=ri* is 'around X'.

(47) a. *tsa=ukɨrɨ arɨwa ya=tu kamata=tsuriay*
1SG.M=sleep up 3SG.F=AUG touch=PAS3

*tsa=pɨta=**ri***
1SG.M=foot=DIF
'While I was sleeping, he touched me around my foot

b. *tini=nan kaitsuma tɨyɨ=pura yuriti ra yuru=**ri***
white=only drink froth=FOC remain 3SG.M mouth=DIF
'The froth of the yucca beer sticks white around his mouth'

c. *awɨrɨ-ka=nan awa=pura=nu tuyuka=**ri***
how.many-REF=only person=FOC=PL.F ground=DIF
'There were only a few people around in earth'

d. *yararaka* *mui* *karuta* *ya=tsuri* *kaɨ* *kanuara=**ri***
snake.esp snake bite like.this=PAS3 shin bon=DIF
'The jergon snake bit him around/in the region of the bone of the shin'

Finally, *=ri* also indicates the notion 'along X.' Note in (48a) the use of a dialectal variation of the diffuse locative *=ra*.

(48) a. *ra* *purara* *ikian* *tsukuri* *wayna* *uri*
3SG.M find this boa woman come

yaparari=nan *wepe* *ɨpatsu* *tsɨma=**ra***
lie=only one lake shore=DIF
'He comes to find this female-boa lying along the shore of a lake'

b. *ta* *tɨkɨta-tsapa* *itaki* *na=tseweka=**ri*** *na=yaparari-tsen*
1SG.M tie-still stone 2SG=belly=DIF 2SG=sink=PUR3
'I'll tie really hard a stone along your belly so that you can sink

c. *ay* *yatɨrɨta* *ipia=pura* *ikian* *ɨwɨra* *ikana-n* *tsapɨta-**ri***
already put.together firewood=FOC this tree dry-NZR base=DIF
'He is collecting firewood along/around the base of this dried tree'

There is a rather marginal use of this morpheme to indicate instruments which people use to dance along. It was only attested in the speech of one speaker.

(49) a. *tana* *yaparachi* *ɨmɨna* *urutsa=**ri**=nan*
1PL.EX.M dance long.ago music.tool=DIF=only

*pijuanu=**ri**=nan*
music.tool=DIF=only
'We used to dance with only the traditional flute, with only the pijuano'

6.1.12. Combinations of directional postpositions

Three combinations of directional postpositions are possible in the language. First, *=ka=tsui* and *kuara=tsui* indicate spatial reference ('from there'), whereas the sequence *=tsui=ka* conveys temporal reference ('since then'). Strictly speaking, the

syntactic unit to which the sequence *=tsui=ka* attaches would be better described as an embedded adverbial clause, rather than a phrase. Regardless, we discuss the three patterns in this section to highlight the relationship between them.

The first pattern, *=ka=tsui,* illustrated in (50), indicates two things: i) the referent of the NP was located somewhere, and ii) the referent has moved from where it was located. Take (50a), for instance: the phrase 'the city of Lima' is where the people (expressed by the pronoun 'we') have been staying for some time, and then they leave this place. Likewise, sentence (50b) can be paraphrased as 'he came from a place, near here, where he was staying.'

(50) a. *ikian* *rima=**ka**=**tsui*** *tana* *uwe-ka*
this Lima=LOC=ABL 1PL.EX.M fly-REI
'From this (city of) Lima we fly again'
(Lit. 'From Lima, having been there a while, we fly again')

b. *ajan=**ka**=**tsui**=nan* *ya=tu* *uri=uy*
this=LOC=ABL=only 3SG.F=AUG come=PAS1
'Only from here he came'

The sequence ablative-locative, *=tsui=ka*, illustrated in (51, 52), indicates a period following a particular past time. More specifically, this combination indicates two things: i) a state of affairs is stated as the temporal reference, and ii) this is 'still the case;' that is, the state of affairs has been in effect continuously until a subsequent point in time (which tends to correlate with 'now,' but not necessarily, see (52b)). The sequence *=tsui=ka* gets usually translated into Spanish and English as *desde* 'since.' For instance, the example in (51a) was produced in the following context: the speaker is talking about how when she was a young girl someone offered her a job as a school

teacher, but she refused the offer. Since then, she has never been given another opportunity again, and so she has never been able to earn a salary.

(51) a. *tɨma* *tsa=ganashka* *tsa=kuriki=tsuri=ay*
NEG 1SG.F=earn 1SG.M=money=PAS3=*already*

*tsa=kuniati**=tsui=ka***
1SG.F=girl=ABL=LOC
'I didn't/never earn money from when I was a young girl'

b. *ra=kakɨrɨ* *parinari=ka,* *chura**=tsui=ka***
3SG.M=live Parinari=LOC be.small=ABL=LOC

raepe *r=aypa*
there 3SG.M=grow.up
'He lives in Parinari, he grew up there since when he was small/a kid'

c. *t=ɨkɨratse**=tsui=ka*** *t=umi* *rana=tsuri*
1SG.M=be.kid=ABL=LOC 1SG.M=see 3PL.M=PAS3

hasta *t=aypa*
until 1SG.M=grow.up
'From when I was a kid I saw them, until I grew up'

Note below that the sequence of ablative-locative can also attach to adverbial (52a) and deitic elements (52b).

(52) a. *ɨmɨna**=tsui=ka*** *ay* *r=ikua*
long.ago=ABL=LOC already 3SG.M=know

tana=tsuriay
1PL.EX.M=PAS3
'Since/from long ago, she knew us'

e. *yan**=tsui=ka*** *aytseme-ka* *wepe* *yatsɨ* *tsa*
there=LOC it's.true one moon 1SG.F

mɨmɨra=chasu *ukayma* *utsu=tsuri*
w'son=AFE loose go=PAS3
'Since then, in fact, my son went lost for a month'

Finally, the third pattern, *=kuara=tsui* also indicates spatial reference. In contrast with the *=ka=tsui* sequence, here the location is conceptualized as a place with limits. That is, i) the entity is located inside a location; and ii) the entity moves from that location. This is shown in the examples in (53).

(53) a. *aytseme-ka* *ya* *mɨmɨra* *iriwa=uri* *ay*
truth-REI 3SG.F w'son come.back=AUX already

*ɨwɨrati=**kuara=tsui***
forest=INE=ABL
'In fact, his son came back from inside the forest'

b. *tɨma* *uyari* *y=iriwa* *ya* *ku=**kuara=tsui***
NEG time 3SG.F=come.back 3SG.F farm=INE=ABL
'She doesn't come back again from inside her farm'

c. *tsa* *tseta* *uchima-ta* *ya=tsuri* *posta=**kuara=tsui***
1SG.F want go.out-CAU 3SG.F=PAS3 health.center=INE=ABL
'I wanted to take him out from inside the health center'

The reverse order of these two postpositions, *=tsui=kuara*, has not been attested, neither in texts nor in elicitation.

All the postpositions discussed from §6.1.1 to §6.1.12 constitute a coherent set. Syntactically, they attach to the right-most element of a noun phrase. Semantically, postpositional phrases add circumstantial information to the clause. The next section explores a form which might have been a postposition, but which no longer shares properties of the morphemes described so far.

6.2. Locative -*pe*: a postposition?

The form -*pe* is associated with location, although its function is opaque. What is clear, though, is that its distribution is different than that of all the postpositions described above. This morpheme is not productive in today's Kokama, but speakers tend to somehow link -*pe* to several forms that indicate some sort of location/direction such as -*tsupe* 'dative,' -*rupe* 'to, until', *tupapenan* 'again, in the same place.'

Consider the examples in (54), which illustrate one strategy to relativize location.[5] The structure of the embedded construction could be summarized as: [NP=postposition-***pe***-NZR]. The form -*pe* appears almost exclusively within this type of relative clauses (54a-e). The postpositions that are attested in this construction are =*kuara* 'in, inside' and =*ri* 'around.'

(54) a. *inu muna-pa panara [na papa ku=kuara-**pe**-n]*
3PL steal-CPL banana 2SG father farm=INE-LOC-NZR
'They steal banana which is from his father's farm'

b. kukuna *[tsɨma=ri-**pe**-n]*
cocona shore=DIF-LOC-NZR
'…the cocona (palm tree) that is at the shore (of the river)'

c. *tsaku=pupe ra aypa-ta ikian muiwatsu taɨra*
heat=INS 3SG.M grow.up-CAU this big.snake m'son

*[tseweka=kuara-**pe**-n]*
belly=INE-LOC-NZR
'The heat makes him grow, this son of the boa who is still inside the belly'

[5] KK makes use of nominalized structures in relative constructions (see §10.3.1.) .The most basic relative clauses of location does not include -*pe*, Schematically: [N-Postposition-NZR].

a. *n=umanu-ta ikian [tuyuka=ri-n] awa=kana=utsu*
2SG=die-CAU this ground=DIF-NZR person=PL.M]=FUT1
'You will kill these people who are in the ground/earth'

d. *chapuni-n* *ipira=pura=kana* *[parana=kuara-**pe**-n]=ya*
be.yummy-NZR fish=FOC=PL.M river=INE-LOC-NZR=CMP
'…yummy, similar to the fish that is in the river'

Note in (55) that the relational noun 'middle' can appear instead of the postposition.

(55) a. *ikian* *[ipatsu* *mi tiri-**pe**-n]=kuara*
this lake middle-LOC-NZR=INE
'This (ship) that is in the middle of the lake…'

b. *yantsui* *tsa* *umi* *wepe* *puka=tua*
there 1SG.F see one turtle.es=AUG

[ku=kuara *miti=**pe**-ya=ka* *yuti-n]*
farm=INE middle=LOC2=CMP=LOC stay-NZR
'There I see a big turtle that stays like in the middle of the farm'

In the literature on Tupí-Guaraní, there are two protoforms with the phonological form *pe*. These are the punctual locative case **-pe* 'in' (Jensen 1998:508) and the demonstrative **pe* 'that one, there'(Jensen 1998:551). The former is described as the most basic and most common within the family, so it could be hypothesized that the KK *-pe* illustrated in (54-55) is a residue of the proto Tupí-Guaraní locative **-pe*.

As for the demonstrative **pe* 'that one, there,'Jensen emphasizes, that it has not been reconstructed for Tupinambá, the Tupi-Guaraní language that is said to be the source of KK's lexicon and some pieces of its grammar (Cabral 1995) (see Chapter I, §1.4.5). In Jensen's words, "the morpheme which was **not** documented for Tupinambá, **pé*, also appears in various languages" (1998:549). However, KK has locative demonstratives that contain *pe* as part of their form, including *rae**pe*** 'there,' (and the derived forms *rae**pe**-tsui* 'from there,' *rae**pe**-nan* 'only there), *kui**pe*** 'overthere,'

*tupa**pe**nan* ‘in that same place’ (Lit. place+that+only), as well as in derived nouns such as p*ɨtsa**pe*** *‘fingernail’*(Lit. piece+that), among others. Thus, this point is worth further analysis because, if there are traces of the PTG demonstrative **pe* in KK, this would suggest that perhaps the main source of KK was not necessarily Tupinambá, but another language of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

6.3. Relational nouns

The language has a set of relational nouns. A relational noun is grammatically and phonologically speaking an independent noun, but its meaning is similar to that of a postposition. Rather than describing an entity, a relational noun indicates the spatial position of an entity with respect to another. In KK, they convey location and, occasionally, direction of movement just like some of the postpositions described above. The relational nouns attested in KK are listed below.

Table 6.1: KK relational nouns

arɨwa	‘above of, on top of’
wɨrɨ	‘underneath of, below of’
kakura	‘side of’
ɨyatɨra	‘front of’
mɨtɨrɨ	‘middle/center of’
tsapakɨrɨ	‘behind of’
tsɨma	‘edge of’
tsapɨta	‘base/bottom of’

Like postpositions, relational nouns follow the noun which is the point of reference: [N $N_{relational}$]. This pattern is given in the elicited examples in (56).

(56) a. *[yawara* ***tsapakɨrɨ****]* *napitsara*
man behind dog
'The dog is behind the man'
*'The man is behind the dog' (ED)

b. *napitsara* *[yawara* ***tsapakɨrɨ****]*
man dog behind
'The man is behind the dog'
* 'The dog is behind the man' (ED)

Examples of relational nouns as they are used in discourse are presented in (57). Note that in connected speech speakers tend to attach the relational noun to the referent noun (57b). However, when speakers are asked to repeat a sentence, for instance, they usually produce the relational nouns unbounded. This is not the case with postpositions, which always appear bounded. It was found that the relational nouns that frequently attach to the referent noun are the ones that consist of two-syllables (e.g., such as *wɨrɨ* 'underneath of,' or *tsɨma* 'edge of'), unless there is additional morphology, such as focus, as in (58e).

(57) a. *ɨwɨra* ***arɨwa*** *inu* *yapɨka-npu*
tree up 3PL.F sit-after
'After they sit on top of the tree, …'

b. *wɨratsu* *uka=****arɨwa***
sparrow.hawk house=above
'The sparrow hawk is above the house'

c. *inu* *ipia-yara=tsuri* *ajan-mia-wa*
3PL.F firewood-do=PAS3 this-MOD-GER

iriwa-ta-ka-wa *ɨwɨra=tua* ***arɨwa***
return-CAU-REI-GER tree=AUG above
'They made firewood that is piling up above the tree'

(58) a. *ikian* *yakari* *yamimi=tsuri* ***ɨwɨra=wɨrɨ***
this lizard hide=PAS3 tree-underneath
'This lizard hid underneath the tree'

b. *yura=**wɨrɨ*** *atawari* *teyupa*
floor=underneath chicken nest
'The chicken nest is underneath the floor (*emponado*)' (ED)

(59) a. *ya* ***kakura*** *yay* *yawara* *pɨta=tupa*
3SG.F side also dog foot-REL
'At his side there are dog footprints'

b. *raepe-tsui* *na* *utsu* *na=papa* ***kakura***
there-ABL 2SG go 2SG=father side
'After that you go to your father's side'

(60) a. *ni* *awa* *ɨwɨrati* ***mɨtɨrɨ***
NEG person forest in.the.middle
'No one is in the middle of the forest'

b. *upa* *r=ɨpɨka-pa* *r=yuru* ***tsɨma=pura***
AUX 3SG.M=cut-CPL 3SG.M=mouth edge=FOC
'He cuts up his lips' (Lit. He cuts up the edge of his mouth)'

c. *ikian ɨwɨra* *ikana-n* ***tsapɨta=ri***
this tree dry-NZR base=DIF
'This is at the base of the dried tree'

Beyond the function and syntactic distribution illustrated above, each relational noun displays particular behavior and collocational preferences. For instance, *tsɨma* 'edge' very often appears with nouns like river, lake, and creek. In some of those instances, *tsɨma* takes the postposition *=ri/ra* 'around' if the clause includes a dynamic predicate and gets interpreted as 'along the edge of" (see 61a-b). However, in clauses

with non-dynamic predicates, *tsima* can take *=ka* ‘in’ which gets interpreted as ‘at the edge/shore of,’ as shown in (61c).

(61) a. *ay* *uman-ari* *y=utsu-n* *y=upuka*
3SG.F die-PROG 3SG.F=AUX-NZR 3SG.F=go.out

parana ***tsima***=*ri*
river edge=DIF
‘When he is almost dying, he reaches the edge of the river’

b. *yayakati-n* *awa=nu* *ts=umi* *ajan* *uni-**tsima***=*ra*
go.up.river-REL person=PL.F 1SG.F=see this water-edge=DIF
‘I see people going up the river along the edge of the water’

c. *ikian* *awa* *purara* *uka* *misha* *ikian* *iaku* ***tsima***=*ka*
this person find house be.small this creek edge=LOC
‘This person finds a small house at the shore of this creek’

The relational noun *tsapita* ‘base of,’ has been also attested with the diffuse locative *=ri* (62b). In one instance it combines with the inessive *=kuara* and this is possible because the entity that hides ‘within the base of the banana tree’ is a spirit.

(62) a. *tapira=tu* *utsu* *raepe* *kima* ***tsapita*** *pinuri-tara*
tapir=AUG go then guava base kick-PUR1
‘Then the tapir goes to kick the base of the guava (tree)’

b. *y=ipia-ra-ra-ri* *ikian* *iwira* ***tsapita***=*ri*
3SG.F=firewood-VZR-PROG this tree base=DIF
‘He is making firewood at the base of the tree’

c. *tsa* *tsawa=pura* *yamimi* *panara* ***tsapita***=*kuara*
1SG.M spirit=FOC hide banana base=INE
‘My spirit hides inside the base of the banana tree’

Among the relational nouns, *tsima* displays the most nouny properties compared to the other members of the set. For example, in highly contextualized instances, it can

appear by itself, without its locative referent. See, for instance, (63a) where it is clear by the context that it refers to 'the shore of the river,' however only shore is made explicit. In addition, in the database there are two instances in which *tsɨma* appears bearing the instrument postposition. These particular sentences talk about a turtle that is working using the edge of its shell (63b).

(63) a. ***tsɨma***=*ra* *tana* *kakɨrɨ* *ɨmɨna*
edge=DIF 1PL.EX.M live long.ago
'At the edge (of the river), we lived a long time ago'

b. ***tsɨma***=*pu* *y=itika* *yanamata*
edge=INST 3SG.F=throw bush
'With the edge (of its shell), it (the turtle) throws the bush'

Another relational noun that shows idiosyncrasies is *mɨtɨrɨ* 'middle of.' It can take the old locative postposition *-pe* (from the *Tupi-Guaraní *-pe*), which is no longer productive with other nouns (64a). Interestingly, this sequence can be nominalized by *-n* to take the postposition *=kuara* 'inessive' (64b). However, this particular combination is very idiosyncratic, in the sense that it is the only postposition it can take.

(64) a. *ikian* *wapuru* *yawachima* *temente* *awa=tsuriay*
this ship arrive no.exist person=PAS3

ikian kuarachi ***mɨtɨrɨ-pe***
this sky middle-there
'This ship arrives where there is no one, the sun is at the middle' (at noon)

b. *ra* *yapɨma=tsuriay* *ikian* *ɨpatsu* ***mɨtɨrɨ-pe-n=kuara***
3sgM deep=PAS3 this lake middle-there-NZR=INE
'It was deep within the middle of the lake'

As for *ɨyatira* ‘in front of,’ it can also operate as spatial adverb ‘in front,’ (65a) and temporal adverb ‘first’ (65b-c).

(65) a. ***ɨyatira*** *inu* *erutsu* *inu* *urkuru*
Front.of 3PL.F bring 3PL.F basket
‘In front, they carry their baskets’

b. ***ɨyatira*** *ikian* *apu* *arutsu* *yumi-tara* *uri*
front.of this leader rice give-PUR1 come
‘First this leader comes to give (us) rice’

c. *ajan* ***ɨyatira*** *tsa* *yauki-n*
this first 1SG.F make-NZR
‘This that I made first…’

As indicated above, the main function of relational nouns is to locate an entity in space. However, when they modify words such as *kuashi* ‘day’ or *kuarachi* ‘sun’ they indicate temporal location.

(66) b. *ni* *ya=tu* *eyu=ene* *uri* *kuashi-**wɨri***
NEG2 3SG.F=AUG eat=2SG.O AUX day-under

ɨpɨtsa-tin *y=eyu=ene* *uri*
night-CER 3SG.F=eat=2SG.O AUX
‘During the day, he does not come to eat you; at night he comes to eat you’

c. *marira=ray* *tɨma* *na* *katupe-ta* *y=era*
why=SPE NEG 2SG show.up-CAU 3SG.F=MOD

*kuarachi-**wɨri*** *penu* *umi-mira*
sun-under 1PL.EX.F see-PUR2
‘Why don’t you make her appear during the day so that we can see her’

Two relational nouns, *tsapakɨrɨ* ‘behind of’ and *arɨwa* ‘above of’ can act as temporal adverbs. That is, if they do not operate as a modifiers of a noun or a noun

phrase, they are interpreted as ‘after’ and ‘while’, respectively (see §6.4.3). The role of relational nouns in locative predicates is explored in Chapter VIII.

Up to here we can conclude that KK employs postpositions and relational nouns to indicate several oblique functions within the clause. Postpositions attach to the eight-edge of the noun phrase, whereas relational nouns follow the noun phrase. While postposition must occur cliticized to the NP, relational nouns can optionally attach to the NP. The following section focuses on adverbs, which is the third strategy to add circumstantial information to the clause.

6.4. Adverbial words

Adverbial elements modify the predicate or a larger syntactic unit which includes the predicate. While adverb as a word class is convenient analytically, it still requires further work before suitable criteria for characterizing it as a set can be clearly identified. In addition to placement in the clause, prototypical adverbial elements share the following features:

a) Unlike verbs,
    - they cannot be the main predicate of the clause
    - they cannot be nominalized by *-n* to operate in attributive predication
    - they do not take any morphology associated with verbs, such as aspectual markers and valence changing devices.

b) Unlike nouns,
    - they cannot be the head of a noun phrase

- they do not take morphology associated with nouns and noun phrases, such as diminutive, affective, plurals, etc.

c) Unlike any other grammatical unit,

- they cannot be focalized by *=pura*, the focus particle that can be attached to almost any type of host, including nouns, verbs, negative particles, discourse particles, etc.

d) Positive features that identify adverbs include:

- most adverbs can be focalized by the restrictive morpheme *-nan* 'only.' In fact, *-nan* seems to be part of the phonological form of some adverbs.
- some can be emphasized by means of the augmentative *=tu*
- they can be generated from verbs by means of the morphemes *-rapa* and *-wa*
- if they occur fronted in the clause, they can take the second position modals.

In terms of semantics, adverbs in KK can be roughly organized into three sets: temporal adverbs, adverbs of location and adverbs of manner. However, a number of them could be assigned to more than one set, such as *ikumenan* 'right now, soon, quick' or *ikukume* 'often, frequently.'

6.4.1. Temporal adverbs

KK adds temporal information into the clause by means of temporal adverbs and tense clitics. However, neither temporal adverbs nor tense markers are obligatory. In

discourse, the temporal frame is usually established at the very beginning of the texts, and in this way the time frame is established for the subsequent clauses. Temporal adverbs and tense clitics can co-occur in the clause, or either one of them can appear alone. The attested combinations are provided in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Correlations between tense clitics and temporal adverbs

GLOSS	ADVERB	TENSE CLITIC	GLOSS
'long time ago'	*ɨmɨna*	*=tsuri*	PAS3
'yesterday, before yesterday'	*ikuachi*	*=ikua*	PAS2
'minutes ago, right now'	*ikumenan*	*=uy*	PAS1
'today'	*ikun*	*=uy*	PAS1
		=utsu	FUT1
'tomorrow'	*kantun/kamutuni*	*=utsu*	FUT1
		=a	FUT2

Table 6.2 shows the temporal adverbs vis-à-vis the tense clitics that co-occur in texts. Comparing both paradigms, it is obvious that these are two different sets of forms. Also obvious is the similarity between *ikuachi* 'yesterday' and *=ikua* PST2, which suggests that the tense clitic has the temporal adverb as its historical source.

In addition to the adverbs introduced in Table 6.2, there are few others that appear frequently in the texts (67).

(67)

aypuka	'currently'
ɨpɨtsaka	'early (sunrise time)'
uchiki	'immediately'
wiraka	'very early in the morning'
ikukume	'frequently'
ikuruma	'recently'
karuka	'afternoon, late'
ɨpɨtsa	'(at) night'

The examples in (68) illustrate the use of some of these adverbs.

(68) a. *piyata-ka-ta=ura* ***wiraka***
ask-REI-CAU=3M.OBJ early.morning
'Ask him again very early in the morning'

b. ***ikukume*** *n=umanu-ta ikian tuyuka=ri-n awa=kana=utsu*
frequently 2SG=die-CAU this earth=DIF-NZR person=PL.M=FUT1
'With frequency you will kill people on earth'

c. *ini itika ya=pura* ***uchiki***
1PL.IN throw 3SG.F=FOC right.now
'We throw him immediately'

d. *ni bombo=pura ini tsenu* ***aypuka***
NEG drum=FOC 1PL.IN hear currently
'No even a drum we listen nowadays'

e. *raepe,* ***ikuruma*** *ya=ti rana erutsu=ura*
then recently already=MOD 3PL.M bring=3M.OBJ
'Then, recently, they do bring him'

f. ***ipitsaka*** *ra kanata*
early 3SG.M be.clear
'It gets clear early, at sunrise time'

g. ***kantun*** *epe utsu rakuna-ka*
tomorrow 2PL go Lagunas=LOC
'Tomorrow you go to Langunas'

Many temporal adverbs can be emphasized by means of the augmentative *=tu* (69a-b) and the restrictive focus *=nan* 'only' (69b-c).

(69) a. ***aypuka****=tu ray ni=pur=ay inu ukuata*
now=AUG SPE NEG=FOC=already 3PL.F pass

yan westa
like.that celebration
'Currently they no longer have a celebration like that'

b. *aypuka tsa=pura utsu=tsuriay*
now 1SG.F=FOC go=PAS3

ɨwati ***ɨpɨtsaka****=tu=nan*
high early=AUG=only
'This time, I went up there just very early'

c. ***ikuachi****=nan* *r=utsu*
yesterday=only 3SG.M=go
'Just yesterday he left' [You missed him for a day!]

A few items listed in (67), which refer to parts of the day, can function as adverbs and nouns without taking any overt derivation. For instance, they can take the ablative postposition *=tsui* (see §6.1.8). The word *karuka* can be used as an adverb 'late/lately' (70a), as a verb 'be late' (70b), and as a noun 'afternoon' (70c). Note that in (70c) *karuka* is modified by a demonstrative. The word *ɨpɨtsa* can be used as adverb to indicate 'at night' (71a) or as a noun 'night' (71b). As a noun *ɨpɨtsa* can be modified by demonstratives and numerals (71b).

(70) a. *aytsemeka=tu-n* ***karuka*** *rana,* *ikian*
truth=AUG-NZR lately 3PL.M this

taɨra=pura=tu=kana *uri*
man'son=FOC=AUG=PL.M come
'For real, lately, they, these children come'

b.*tana* ***karuka*** *raepe*
1PL.EX.M be.late there
'We got late there'

c. *ikian* ***karuka*** *ay* *tana* *iriwa=utsu*
this afternoon already 1PL.EX.M come.back=FUT1
'This afternoon we are coming back already'

(71) a. *yawara=kana* *tsatsatsɨma* ***ɨpɨtsa*** *,* *uri* *raepe* *r=tsenu*
dog=PL.M scream night 3SG.M.L there 3SG.M=hear
'The dogs scream at night, he, there he listens (to it)'

b. *wepe* ***ipitsa*** *r=ukiri* *ikian* *iwirati*
one night 3SG.M=sleep this forest
'He sleeps one night in the jungle.'

The adverbs *kuema* 'morning' and *karuka* 'afternoon' are used in greetings (72a-b). The answer to the greeting is in (72c).

(72) a. *era* *na* ***kuema,*** *ima*
be.good 2SG morning brother
'Have a nice morning, brother'
(Lit. 'Your morning is good, brother') (ED)

b. *era* *na* ***karuka***
be.good 2SG afternoon
'Have a nice afternoon'
(Lit. 'Your afternoon is good') (ED)

c. *era* *ta/tsa* ***kuema/karuka***
be.good 1SG.M/1SG.F morning/afternoon
'My morning/afternoon is good' (ED)

As mentioned earlier, a few adverbs appear to include the restrictive morpheme *=nan* as part of its form (73).

(73)

ikumenan	'few minutes ago, very recently'
ikumikanan	'right now'
tupapenan	'again, in the same place'

We could attempt to break these forms down. For instance, it could be hypothesized that *ikumenan* 'very recently' contains *ikun-nan* 'now-only;' that perhaps *ikumikanan* consists of *ikun-ka-nan* 'now-REI-only.' In the same vein, *tupapenan* 'again, in the same place' could consist of *tupa-pe-nan* 'place-LOC-only.' Although the semantic side seems consistent, the structural side requires more work. For instance, synchronically, *ikun-ka* and *tupa-pe* do not exist. Also, recall from §6.2 that *-pe,*

although it is associated with location, does no longer act as a postposition. Examples in (74) show the use of these adverbs.

(74) a. ***ikumenan*** *tsa* *yupuni-ta* *yauki=utsu*
soon 1SG.F start-CAU make=FUT1
'Right now I'll start making (it)'

b. *ria-npu* *rana* *utsu-ka=tsuri* ***tupapenan***
like.this-after 3PL.M go-REI=PAS3 again
'After this, they went once again'

c. ***ikumikanan*** *ay* *tapɨa* *kuraka=tua* *yankata*
right.now already savage chief=AUG put

ya *rejun=tua* *yakɨ=ka* *chak*
3SG.F spear=AUG head=LOC IDEO
'At that very moment the chief of the savages sticks his spear in the (victim's) head'

6.4.2. Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner are also very frequent in texts. In (75) I give the most productive ones. Examples that illustrate their use are provided in (76).

(75)

iyati	'in vain'
amiya	'similar, like this'
ipurpani	'fast'
aytsemeka	'trully'

(76) a. ***iyati*** *inu-maynani=ay*
in.vain 3PL.F care=3F.OBJ
'They protect it (cedar) for nothing'
[Context: someone always manages to still the cedar trees]

b. ***amiya*** *ya=tu* *tsapuki=uy*
like.this 3SG.F=AUG call=PAS1
'In this way the big-ugly one called'
[Context: the speaker makes gestures with the hands]

c. ***ipurapani*** *epe* *ay* *chauta-ka-ri* *tsa=tseweka=utsu*
fast 2PL already tear-REF-PROG 1SG.M=belly=FUT1
'Fast, you guys, my belly is already tearing up'

d. ***aytsemeka*** *inu* *amutseweta* *atawari-uka* *inu-umi-tsen*
truth 3PL.F get.closer hen-house 3PL.F-see-PUR3
'For real they get closer to see the hen-house'

In (77) I give adverbs that occur only sporadically in the database.

(77)

ukuatseme	'too much'	
uriaka	'a lot, too much'	
yumati	'directly'	
era	'well, very'	'be good'
aytsewanan	'too little, a bit'	'be a little'

(78) a. ***aytsemeka****-taka* *n=erura* *tsa=tsuriay*
trully-MOD 2SG=bring 1SG.F=PAS3
'It seems for real you brought me (here)'

b. *tɨma* *mania* *tsewe-ta-n,*
NEG how salt-CAU-NZR

ukuatseme *chɨpɨrɨ-n-ka-pan=pura*
too.much bland-NZR-LOC-DER=FOC
'Nothing is salted; (the food) is extremely bland'

c. ***yumati*** *ini=chasu* *tawa-ka=ay=utsu*
directly 1PL.IN=AFF pick.up-REI=3F.OBJ=FUT1
'We go to pick it up directly'

Some words in (77) operate as both adverbs of manner and stative verbs. I give examples in (79) and (80). Stative verbs are fully described in Chapter VIII.

(79) a. ***era*** *tseweka-pura* *tɨta.*
well belly-FOC tense
'(Her) belly is very tense'

b. *ajan* *napitsara* ***era***
this man be.good
'This man is good'

(80) a. ***aytsewanan*** *ya* *katupe*
a.little 3SG.F show.up
'It shows up a little bit'

b. *tɨma* *na* *kurata,* ***aytsewanan*** *ya=pura*
NEG 2SG drink exist.little 3SG.F=FOC
'Don't drink too much, there is only a little bit (left)'

6.4.3. Adverbs of location

Compared to the temporal and manner adverbs, the set of adverbs of location is small. There are given in (81). Examples in (82) illustrate the use of some of them.

(81)

amutse	'far, out of speaker's sight'
amatsera	'close , right here'
kawa	'far away'

(82) a. ***amutse****=nan* *ta=kakɨrɨ* *raepe=tsui* *t=uri*
far=only 1SG.M=live there=ABL 1SG.M=come
'I live far away, from there I come'

b. ***amatsera*** *ya=tu* *pɨta-chiru=tu*
here 3SG.F=AUG foot-nest=AUG
'Right here his footprint is'

c. ***kawa*** *ini* *warika-ta* *ɨwatsu=pura*
be.far 1PL.IN go.up-CAU paiche=FOC
'Far from here they load the paiche (into the boats)
[Context: there is a ban in catching *paiche* (*Arapaima gigas*); so people who still catch it load the boats far from the community]

Finally, I would like to point out that some of the relational nouns described in §6.3 can also operate as adverbs. That is, if in a given clause they are not modifying a noun or a noun phrase, they are considered adverbs.

(83) From spatial information to temporal information:

tsapakɨrɨ	'behind of'	→ after
wɨrɨ	'underneath of'	→ while
arɨwa	'above of'	→ while/during
ɨyatira	'in front of'	→ forward, in front

Examples that show these functional extensions are presented below. Note the relational nouns in (84) are not associated with a noun or noun phrase. Their scope is the clause.

(84) a. *rana* *atsɨrɨka* ***tsapakɨrɨ***
3PL.M go.down.river behind
'They go down the river later' (after others)

b. *yaepe* *ya=tu* *eyu=ene* *uri* *n=ukɨrɨ* ***arɨwa***
then 3SG.F=AUG eat=2SG.O come 2SG=sleep above
'Then he comes to eat you while you are sleeping'
(Amazonian Spanish: *ahí viene a comerte en tu dormido*)

c. ***ɨyatira*** *inu* *erutsu* *inu* *urkuru*
forward 3PL.F bring 3PL.F basket
'They bring their basket in front'

As it was demonstrated in §0 - §6.4.3, KK has a significant number of adverbial words. It may have also become obvious that the structural features listed in the introduction to adverbs holds true for the members that could be considered prototypical. Perhaps the feature that is true for all adverbs is their distribution in the clause. They consistently occur at either the beginning or the end of the clause. Another crucial feature shared by most adverbs is their inability to be nominalized by *-n* to operate as predicate in attributive constructions. This does not mean, of course, that some adverbs cannot turn into nouns. For instance, one of the prototypical adverbs,

ɨmɨna ‘long ago’ can be nominalized, *ɨmɨna-n* to become ‘ancestor.’ Another salient feature of adverbs is that they can be intensified by means of either =*tu* or =*nan*, however it appears this feature does not seem to apply to all adverbs. In addition to the adverbs described so far, KK has two strategies to create more adverbs.

6.4.4. Derived adverbs

The language has two morphemes dedicated to create adverbial words. These are -*wa* (§0) and -*rapa* (§6.4.4.2).

6.4.4.1. The participle/gerund -***wa***

The morpheme -*wa* allows a verb to operate as both participle and gerund. As participle, it can modify the predicate, the verb phrase or the entire clause, and as gerund it modifies a noun. For practical reasons every instance of -*wa* is glossed here as gerund (GER). In this section I discuss the participial function of -*wa*. For its role as gerund, see §5.5.

As for the origins of this morpheme, I hypothesize that the source of this form could be the Tupí-Guaraní clause nominalizer *-***ɓ***a’é*. (Jensen 1998:542),

(85) a. **o-tsó-**ɓa’é*** ‘the one who goes’ [Ex. (357)]

b. **o-jo-pwáj-**ɓa’é*** ‘the one that commands him/it’ [Ex. (359)]

c. *i-ro’y-**wa’e*** ‘the one that is sick (As) [Ex. (360)]

Note in (85c) that the reflex in Asurini is -*wa’e*. Jensen indicates that in Tupinambá, when *-***ɓ***a’é* follows a consonant-final stem, there are two outcomes: i) the final consonant is deleted, or an epithetical vowel [ɨ] is inserted.

(86) a. *o-sém + ~~ɓ~~a'é* > osẽ-*~~ɓ~~a'é* 'the one that leaves' [EX. (362)]
b. *o-sém + ~~ɓ~~a'é* > osémy*~~ɓ~~a'é*

Within this scenario, perhaps the first output (86a) became generalized in KK, as the second (86b) did in many other languages (including Guajajára, Kayabí, Kamaiurá, etc.). Next, the consonant ***~~ɓ~~* turned into /w/ in Kokama, as has happened more generally (e.g. **a~~ɓ~~a* >/awa/ 'person', **a~~ɓ~~ati* > /awati/'corn'). Of course the functional side needs further research and explanation; although similar phenomena have been reported for Cariban languages (Gildea 1992).

In today's Kokama, *wa*-marked verbs in gerund function follow the noun they modify (87). In (87a), it is the snake who is lying down. In (87b), it is the tree which is blackened; in (87c) it is the turtles who are drunk.

(87) a. *ra* *purara* *tsukuri=tua* *yaparari-**wa***
3SG.M find snake.esp=AUG lie -GER
'He finds a big snake lying down.'

b. *~~ɨ~~w~~ɨ~~ra=ya* *tsuni-**wa*** *inu=umi=ay* *~~ɨ~~p~~ɨ~~tsa*
tree=CMP be.black-GER 3PL.F=see=3F.OBJ night
'Similar to a blackened, dark tree they see it at night'

c. *ikian* *kurata-ta* *rana,* *ay* *ikian* *yawati=kana*
this drink-CAU 3PL.M already this turtle.esp=PL.M

*tsaipura-**wa***
drink-GER
'This makes them drink; these are already drunk turtles'

Examples like (87) suggest that the *wa*-modifier and the modified noun constitute a NP. Note that in (87c), the whole object constituent —'blackened tree'— is fronted, in the OSV configuration.

Similar to the case of gerunds, the *wa*-participles modify the verb they follow, which happens to be the main predicate of the clause (88). For instance, in (88a) 'coiled' modifies 'live,' in (88b) 'no-wearing-shoe' modifies 'enter,' and in (88c) 'crossed' modifies 'show up'

(88) a. *mania ra=tu kakɨrɨ yapara-ka-**wa** ra tseweka=kuara*
how 3SG.M=AUG live coil-REF-GER 3SG.M belly=INE
'How does he live coiled within her belly'

b. *tɨma in-aki sapatu-pa-**wa**, pɨta-pupe-nan*
NEG 1PL.IN=get.in shoe-CPL-GER foot-manner-only
'We do not get in wearing shoes, only barefoot.'

c. *maka=tsui=ray ɨwɨra katupe uri=era*
where=ABL=UNC tree show.up come=MOD

*tsatsarupe-**wa** ɨpatsu-kuara*
cross-GER lake-INE
'From where, maybe, this tree could come to appear crossing within the lake'

However, the scope of the participle can go beyond the verb level; that is, very often it operates as modifier of the verb phrase or the entire clause. As such, participles occur in the peripheries of the clause, mainly in first position (89a-c), but also at the end of the clause (89d). To that extent, *wa*-marked verbs are adverbial-like elements.

(89) a. *ipama-**wa** ya-tu yuti-uy*
stand-GER 3SG.F-AUG to.stay-PAS1
'Standing up, this one waited'

b. *tsenu-**wa** ay ni=y=ukɨrɨ*
hear-GER 3SG.L.F NEG-3SG.F-sleep
'Hearing (it), he can't sleep'

c. *yumɨra-**wa** ya tsua=ay=utsu*
be.angry-GER 3SG.F take=3F.OBJ=FUT1
'Suffering, furious he is going to bring him.'

d. *rikua* *awa=kana* *yawachima* *raepe* *tɨma*
because person=PL.M arrive there NEG

*tapiara-**wa***
be.late-GER
'That's why the poeple arrive there without delay'

However, in (90) the *wa*-marked verb has its own object argument, 'tobacco.'

(90) *pɨtɨma* *tsɨki-**wa*** *inu* *warika-tsen*
tobacco inhale-GER 3PL.F go.up-PUR3
'[They put tobacco…] in order for them to go up inhaling tobacco'

6.4.4.2. The manner adverbializer *-rapa*

The morpheme *-rapa* generates adverbial-like elements from verbs, nouns, and location words. More specifically, it creates adverbs of manner. In a sense, the *rapa*-words answer the question of how something took place.

(91) a. *raepe* *t=umi* *rana* *ɨmɨna* *ya*
there 1SG.M=see 3PL.M long.ago like.this

rana=tsuri, *rana* *yaparachi* *titi-**rapa***
3PL.M=PAS3 3PL.M dance be.alone-MNR
'There I see them a long time ago, like this they were, they dance alone (not with a partner)'

b. *awa=nu* *umi-**rapa*** *wayna=kana* *yaparachi*
person=PL.F see-MNR woman=PL.M dance
'while the people watches intensively, the woman dance'

c. *uri=kana* *ɨwati* *umi-**rapa***
3SG.M.L=PL.M high see-MNR
'They are up there watching'
'They are up there, watching carefully'

d. *ikian* *animaru=pura=kana=ya=nan* *putu-**rapa***
this animal=FOC=PL.M=CMP=only swell-only
'These are like (dead) animals, swelled up, floating'

The elements derived by *-rapa* do not have nominal properties; they need to be nominalized in order to receive nominal morphology, such as diminutive (92a-b), augmentative (92c), and plural (92c-d).

(92) a. *chura-**rapa**-n=kɨra=nu* *ini* *imaki*
be.small-MNR-NZR=DIM=PL.F 1PL.IN select
'We select the really small ones'

b. *chura-**rapa**-n=kɨra=nu* *tsa* *purepe-ta*
be.small-MNR-NZR=DIM=PL.F 1SG.F buy-CAU
'The very small ones I sell'

c. *inu* *tsuni-**rapa**-n=tu=nu*
3PL.F be.black-MNR-NZR=AUG=PL.F
'They are very black (full of blackness)'

d. *ay* *rana* *uchima,* *tsaipura-pa-**rapa**-n=kana*
already 3PL.M go.out drink-CPL-MNR-NZR=PL.M

wayna=kana *riay*
woman=PL.M also
'They already leave, the women are also very drunk'

In addition to verbs, *-rapa* can also attach to location words (93a) and numerals (93b-c). Example (93c) comes from a narrative were the speaker is telling about a meeting he attended. With (93c) he makes reference to the fact that most of the people in the meeting were Kokama, only a very few were other people, non-community members.

(93) a. *ikiakati-**rapa*** *r=aypayachi,* *panara*
around.here-MNR 3SG.M=grow.evenly banana
'Up to here it grows evenly, the banana tree'

b. aja-mia *wepe-**rapa*** *ini* *yapara-ta*
this-IRR one-MNR 1PL.IN coiled.up-CAU
'one-by-one we need to fold this one'

c. *wepe-**rapa*** *awa* *ramua* *awa=pura=kana*
one-MNR person other person=FOC=PL.M
'Only a very few people are other people (non-Kokama)' (Lit. 'like one')

This morpheme can also appear in nouns and noun phrases, where its function is similar to the colloquial derivation [*en-N-ado*] in Spanish: *sombrero* 'hat' > *en-sombrer-ado* 'one wearing hat,' *corbata* 'tie' > *en-corbat-ado* 'one wearing a tie.'

(94) a. *tsaichimi-pa-**rapa*** *rana-puka*
skirt-CPL=MNR 3PL.M-when
'When they were just skirted…'
(*Cuando eran empampanillados*…)

b. *r=yara* *umi=ura,* *upa* *r=ɨpɨka-pa,* *tsai-**rapa***
3SG.M=owner see=3M.OBJ finish 3SG.M=cut-CPL, tooth-MNR
'His owner sees him; he is all cut up, just with-teeth/toothed'

c. *patrun=muki-**rapa*** *ɨmɨna-n=nu* *kakɨrɨ=tsuri*
landlord=COM-MNR long.ago-NZR=PL.F live=PAS3
'The ancestors lived under the watch of the landlord'
(Lit. With the landlord/landlorded the ancestors lived)

The discourse context for sentence (94c) is this: the speaker is describing how, in the time of the haciendas, the Kokamas didn't live in the villages but within the landlord's territory, under his supervision and often away from their families. So, this sentence is about how the ancestors use to live in the past. If the sentence were about 'with whom the elders used to live' it would not include *-rapa*, but only *patrun=muki.*

This concludes the discussion on strategies to express circumstantial information. The next chapter focuses on the verb and the verb phrase.

CHAPTER VII

VERBS AND VERB PHRASES

The present chapter is dedicated to the verb and all the elements that constitute the verb phrase. It consists of six sections: §7.1 introduces the notion of verb phrase, and the elements that occur within it. §7.2 discusses the morphemes associated with verbs, including inflection and category changing morphology. §7.3 is dedicated to the several auxiliary verb constructions, which in KK are specially dedicated to conveying aspectual distinctions. §7.4 offers a discussion about a subset of verbs referred to as descriptives or stative verbs which in the language convey adjective-like meanings.

7.1. The verb phrase

The verb phrase in KK can minimally contain just an intransitive verb [V] (1a), or a transitive verb plus its object [VO] (1b). When the object is expressed by a pronominal form, it can occur —although not necessarily— cliticized to the verb stem (1b). Beyond the simplest templates, many other elements can occur at the verb word level, as in (1c) and (1e), as well as the verb phrase level. Of particular importance are auxiliary verbs which occur in several configurations, one of which is shown in (1d).

(1) a. *yapɨka* [V]
sit
'Sit'

b. *tsapuki=ura* [V=NP]
call=3M.OBJ
'Call him/her'

c. *[[upaka-ta-ka-pa]=ura=mía]* [[V] $NP_{=HYPEALIS}$]
wake.up-CAU-MID-CPL=3M.OBJ=HYP
'… may wake him/her up completely'

d. *[yatsuka-ta-ka-p]=ura yuti=uy]* [[V] NP $AUX_{=TENSE}$]
bath-CAU-REI-CPL=3M.OBJ stay=PAS1
'… continued to make him/her take a good bath'

Recall from Chapter 6 that the language has several adverbial elements. They can occur in several positions in the clause but never within the scope of hypothetical modality, tense, etc. That is, none of them is syntactically part of the verb phrase. The verb phrase structure could be summarized as in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: KK verb phrase

V (NP) AUX {=TENSE, =MOD}

From Figure 7.1, in this chapter I explore the verb and the auxiliary. NP is discussed in Chapter V. Tense and modality operate at the clause level, thus they are discussed in Chapter IX.

7.2. Verbs

This section aims to be a comprehensive characterization of the verb word and all the morphology associated with it. The KK verb word consists of a verb root and

potentially several suffixes. Perhaps the ultimate test to determine whether a stem is a verb or not is to place it in the syntactic slot of a noun: if it is a verb, it must take a nominalizer morpheme (2a); otherwise the sentence is not accepted by the speakers (2b).

(2) a. *t=erura* *ikian* ***eyu-n****=pura*
1SG.M=bring this eat-NZR=FOC
'I bring this food'

b. **t=erura* *ikian* ***eyu****=pura*

The morphology clearly associated with verbs includes the aspectual morphemes: progressive aspect *-(a)ri,* the reflexive/reiterative *-ka*, the middle *-ka*, and the completive *-pa.* In addition, KK has two morphemes whose basic function is to increase the valence of verbs: the causative *-ta* and the applicative *-tsupe*. There is also the reciprocal *-kaka* which does the opposite; it reduces the valence of the verb. However, using these morphemes as tests to determine whether a stem is a noun or a verb is problematic. As will be shown in the sections that follow, with the exception of the progressive *-(a)ri*, all these morphemes can derive verbs from nouns roots or stems, so their occurrence on a root/stem does not imply that the root/stem host is itself necessarily verbal.

Another salient feature of most of the morphemes associated with verbs is their poly-functionality. Take the morpheme *-ka*, for instance, which is an extremely productive morpheme. In the text database, it appears in about 410 intonation units (out of about 4900 units). In addition to deriving verbs from nouns, *-ka* assumes several arguably semantically related functions: reflexive, reciprocal, inchoative (inceptive &

ingressive), and repetition (reiterative & iterative). Given such poly-functionality, to predict which function is operative in a particular utterance, we must include in the discussion the event type expressed by the verb, as well as the elements that occur in the sentence. For example, the correct interpretation of a sentence that includes *-ka* comes from: i) the type of predicate (stative/non-stative), the type of construction (intransitive / transitive), and the referent of the arguments (singular or plural subject /object). This constructional approach is relevant for other morphemes as well.

In what follows, the discussion is organized by functions. *-Ka* is discussed under aspectual morphemes (§7.2.2) and valence changing mechanisms (§7.2.3). Morphemes whose main function is to create new verbs are introduced in (§7.2.4). We close the section on verbs with a discussion of the possible combinations of morphemes and a summary of the verbal word (§7.2.5). But before we proceed with the discussion, a brief introduction to types of predicates is in order (§7.2.1).

7.2.1. Event types

To account for some morphemes, a basic classification of predicates in terms of event types proves useful. I will follow the classifications proposed by Chafe (1970) and Timberlake (2007). While Chafe's approach incorporates argument structure into the discussion, Timberlake focuses on the semantic nuances of the event scenes. Both parameters are relevant for KK.

Chafe (1970) distinguishes four basic types: states, processes, actions and action-processes. ***State*** verbs describe the state or condition of a single argument (e.g., *The tiger is big*); these state verbs hold for some period of time but lack continuous tenses

and are usually associated with Patient-like arguments. Non-state verbs are subdivided into three subclasses: processes, actions and action-processes. ***Processes*** express a change of condition or state in its argument (e.g., *The tiger died*); they co-occur with Patients. ***Actions*** describe something that a verb argument does or performs (e.g., *The bird sang*), hence Agent is associated with action verbs. ***Action-processes*** are complex semantically, being comprised of both actions and processes. They have two arguments, the performer of the action, the Agent, and the thing undergoing the process, the Patient (e.g., *The tiger killed the bird*). Chafe also draws attention to the "derivational" relations between these four basic verb types, by postulating features like inchoative, causative, decausative, resultative, etc. Thus, for example, when added to a state, the feature [inchoative] yields a process. These "derivational features," which often can be manifested morphologically, reflect the compositionality of verb meaning. As it will be shown, this seems to be the role of some aspectual morphology in KK, as well.

Timberlake's classification of predicates also distinguishes four basic types: states, processes, liminal processes (cf., Vendler's accomplishments) and liminal states (cf., Vendler's achievements). ***Stative*** predicates report situations (i.e., *be big, be dead*) that hold at all moments, in which "successive intervals do not differ, and can be expected to continue by inertia (2007:284)". ***Processes*** or *activities* present situations (i.e., *sing, work*) that "change in a continuous fashion. Processes do not continue by inertia. To continue, processes require an input of energy. […] In contrast to statives, processes are in constant danger of ceasing, and it is therefore meaningful to measure the duration of the activity (2007:284)." Some processes are cyclic, a notion that in KK

becomes relevant since they are encoded via a reiterative/iterative grammatical morpheme. ***Liminal*** predicates (telic, bounded) "have three phases: an initial phase, in which some property of the world does not hold; a transition phase, during which the property changes and comes to hold; and a final phase, in which there is no more change and the property, once established can be expected to hold by inertia (2007:285)." Timberlake goes on to say that there are two types of liminal predicates. ***Liminal processes*** describe a cumulative result of a continuous process; they entail "an intermediate phase consisting of incremental changes." Change of location is the typical example of this type of predicate. Importantly, the intermediate phase can be described by adverbs of manner, for instance (e.g., *He cut the cake aggressively*). ***Liminal states*** report the inception of a new state; they describe "a boundary on a state." In other words, this type of predicates indicates a change of condition or state in its argument (e.g., *he fall ill, the balloon popped*).

An attempt to reconcile both terminologies is presented below.

Chafe (1970)	Timberlake (2007)	EXAMPLES
States	States	*the tiger is dead*
Processes	Liminal states	*the tiger got sick, the tiger died*
Actions	Processes or activities	*the tiger scream*
Action-processes	Liminal processes	*the tiger killed the monkey*

The discussion turns now to the inflectional and derivational morphology associated with KK verbs.

7.2.2. Aspectual morphemes

The aspectual morphemes attested in the language are *-ri* 'progressive' (§7.2.2.1), *-ka* 'middle' (§7.2.2.2), *-ka* 'reiterative/iterative' (§7.2.2.3) and *-pa*

'completive' (7.2.2.5). The progressive is the least frequent morpheme among this set, but also the only one that displays inflectional-like properties. The other three would be placed towards the derivational end in the inflection-derivation continuum.

7.2.2.1. Present progressive -*(a)ri*

The morpheme -*(a)ri* suffixes to the verb stem to indicate that the event expressed in the clause is ongoing. The two allomorphs of this morpheme are not always predictable. Perhaps the most general statement could be that when a verb root ends in a vowel other than /a/, the form is -*ari* (3). However, there are examples that do not follow this pattern (4). There are also cases in which -*ari* and -*ri* seem in free distribution (5a). Yet other cases seem to be related to number of syllables and stress. For instance, when another piece of morphology attaches to the verb (such as the modality marker =*taka*) only -*ri* is possible (5b).

(3)	*uk~~i~~-**ari***	'sleeping'	* *uk~~i~~-**ri***
	*aki-**ari***	'entering'	**aki-**ri***
	*katupe-**ari***	'show up	**katupe-**ri***
	*ipe-**ari***	'getting warm'	**ipe-ri*
(4)	*kari-**ri***	'scrawing'	**kari-**ari***
	amutsewe-ri	'be getting close'	**amutsewe-ari*
(5)	a. *tsenu-**ari** ~ tsenu-**ri***	'listening'	
	b. *tsenu-**ri**=taka*	'maybe listening'	* *tsenu-**ari**=taka*

This morpheme conveys two principal meaning components: duration and incompletion. That is, -*(a)ri* encodes both the *dynamic* quality of actions that are in progress as well as the fact the subject is continuing the action. For instance, in (6a)

-*(a)ri* signals both: that the walking event is in progress and that the hunter is engaged in the action of walking continuously.

(6) a. *rama* *shiringero* *uka=ka* *uwata-**ri***
other latex.hunter house=LOC walk-PROG
'Another latex-hunter is walking in the house'

b. *y=**i**m**i**ntsara-ka-**ri*** *ra=muki*
3SG.F=story-REI-PROG 3SG.M=COM
'He is talking with him'

c. *uri-ari* *ikian* *rama* *mai=kana* *ikia=ka*
come-PROG this other mestizo=PL.M here=LOC
'These other mestizos are coming here'

Within the verbal word, *-(a)ri* closes the verbal word proper. More specifically, it occupies the last position in the verbal stem. It shows up between derivational aspectual morphemes and modal clitics. The examples in (7) show the position of the progressive within the verbal word. In (8), I show examples from texts.

(7)

*uk**i**r**i**-**ari***	sleep-PROG	'be sleeping'
*uwaka-ta-pa-**ri***	move-CAU-CPL-PROG	'be transforming'
*ts**i**r**i**-kaka-**ri***	feel.cold-MID-PROG	'be refreshing oneself'
*irua-ta-**ri**=ura*	brother-CAU-PROG=3M.OBJ	'be accompanying him/her'
*tsenu-**ri**=taka*	hear-PROG=UNC	'might be hearing'
*ikara-**ri**=nan*	sing-PROG=RES.FOC	'be only singing'

(8) e. *raepe* *rana* *umi* *ikian* *wepe* *yatiri*
there 3PL.M see this one group

westa *yauki-**ari**-n* *kai=kana*
party make-PROG-REL monkey-PL
'There they see a group of party-makink monkeys'

b. *tsenu-**ri**=taka,* *puka* *waina=tsuri* *uni=kuara=tsui*
hear-PROG=UNC turtle woman=PAS3 water=INE=ABL
'Maybe was listening, the turtle-woman from within the water'

In discourse, *-(a)ri* rarely combines with tense markers. This combination has been attested only in a very few intransitive clauses, as in (9).

(9) a. *uri* *ikara-ka-pa-**ri**=tsuri*
3SG.M sing-REI-CPL-PROG=PAS3
'He was singing and singing'

b. *ay* *rana* *chita-**ri**=utsu*
already 3PL.M be.a.lot-PROG=FUT1
'Already they will be increasing in number' [having more children]

However, the progressive has not been attested co-occurring with tense clitics in transitive clauses. The reason for this may be the fact that tense and progressive correlate with different constituent orderings. As shown in §9, in *tense-marked* clauses, allowable patterns are OSV, SVO, but *SOV. In *progressive-marked* clauses, in contrast, allowable patterns are SOV, OVS, but *OSV. For a detailed discussion of constituent orderings, see Chapter IX, §9.1.1.

The overall appearance of *-(a)ri* in discourse is low, occurring in about 3% of the total number of clauses in the database. As such, progressive-marked clauses can be characterized as pragmatically marked constructions. Interestingly, though, *-ri* combines with all types of semantic verbs. It has been claimed, for instance, that in languages such as English, progressive does not combine with mental processes (*be knowing/wanting), or states (*being dry) (Chafe 1970). In contrast, in KK we find instances of progressive with both mental processes (such as 'believe' (10a)), states (such as 'be reddish' (10b) or 'be a lot' (10c)). However, note that in the latter two cases the progressive triggers eventive interpretations.

(10) a. *ni* *ikian* *awa* *tsapia-**ri**=ura*
NEG this person believe-PROG=3M.OBJ
'Not even this person believes (is believing) her'

b. *raepetsui* *wɨra-tsa* *pɨtani-**ari***
and.then bird-leaf be.reddish-PROG
'And then, the feather is turning reddish'

c. *ay* *rana* *chita-ri=utsu*
already 3PL.M a.lot-PROG=FUT1
'They will be augmenting'

As for actions and action-processes, the progressive combines with both telic (such as 'enter' (11a) or 'come back' (11b)), and atelic (such as 'look for' (11c) or 'cry' (11d)). Again, the progressive presents punctual, telic events as having duration over time.

(11) a. *ay* *kuarachi* *aki-**ari*** *utsu-n* *tana*
already sun get.in-PROG go-REL 1PL.EX.M

yawachima *raepe*
arrive there
'When the sun was already getting in, we arrived there' (at sunset)

b. *iriwa-**ri*** *uri=kana*
come.back-PROG 3SG.M.L=PL.M
'They are coming back'

c. *pariatsu* *napitsara=nu* *wayna* *chikari-**ari*** *inu* *mirikua-ra*
suffer man=PL.F woman look.for-PROG 3PL.F wife-PUR
'The suffering men are looking for woman to make them their wife'

d. *yachu-**ari*** *etse*
cry-PROG 1SG.F
'I'm crying'

The progressive marker *-(a)ri* is also used as clause nominalizer, as illustrated in (13) and (12). Interestingly, some instances can still have both interpretations: as main-

predicate (13a, i), and as clause-nominalized construction (13a, ii). Example (13b) is especially revealing since the nominalized unit appears marked by a postposition.

(13) a. *raepe* *tana* *uchima* *upi* *rama* *avion* ***kauki-ari***
there 1PL.M go.out all other airplane wait-PROG
i) 'Then we go out, we are all waiting for another airplane'
ii) 'Then we go out to all wait for another airplane'

b. [*yanamata* ***kari****-ri]=tsui* *y=****itika****-ka* *y=utsu*
bush scrape-PROG=ABL 3SG.F=throw-REI 3SG.F=AND
'After scraping the bush, he goes to throw it'

c. *tana* ***yuriti*** *t#ma* *mari,* *mari* ***eyu-ari***
1PL.EX.M stay NEG thing thing eat-PROG
'We end up with nothing, nothing to eat'

Examples in (14) illustrate that *-(a)ri* nominalized clauses can be syntactically oblique-like arguments within the clause. First, note that in both cases the tense marker appears attached to the object, and the nominalized clause follows it. Second, in clauses with the verb *wanakari* 'command' the recipient is obligatory but the task is optional. In clauses with 'teach,' whatever is being taught is optional. However, if its encoded in a noun phrase is marked with the instrument postposition *=pu* (15a); in contrast, if it's an event, then it's marked with *-(a)ri* (14). The example in (15b) shows that while the purpose of teaching is made explicit, what is being taught (hand weaving) is clear in the discourse context.

(14) a. *tsa* *mama* *am#ra* *yumita* *tsa=tsuri*
1SG.M mother be.dead teach 1SG.F=PAS3

marawe ***yauki-ari***
fan make-PROG
'My deceased mother taught me fan making'

b. *tsa* *wanakari* *tsa* *m-m-ra=uy* *nana* ***tsak-ta-ri***
1SG.F command 1SG.F hijo=PAS1 *piña* cut-PROG
'I ordered my son to cut the pineapple' (ED)

(15) a. *etse* *yumita* *tsa* *m-m-rakunia=nu*
1SG.F teach 1SG.F woman's.daugther=PL.F

inu *yauki-tsen=ay* *aja-mia*
3PL.F make-PUR3=3F.OBJ this-MOD
'I teach my daughters so that they can make it (hand-weaving) like this'

b. *ya* *yumit=etse* *kukama=pu*
3SG.F teach=1SG.L.F Kokama=INS
'She teaches me Kokama'

In the text database, *-(a)ri* occurs mostly within auxiliary constructions, as will be shown in §7.3.

7.2.2.2. Middle *-ka*

As indicated earlier, the morpheme *-ka* 'MID' is extremely productive. It covers a range of functions, including inchoative, self-act, reciprocal and, with derived transitive stems, indirect causation. The connection among the first three functional domains has been attested across multiple languages (Shibatani (ed) 1988, Klaiman 1991, among others), and it is commonly referred as middle voice. Middle voice typified as situations in which the subject is to be construed as an entity affected by performing, not undergoing, certain actions. This morpheme in sentences with a syntactically agent-subject that is semantically affected by the action of the verb. Put it in other words, "the viewpoint is active in that the action notionally devolves from the standpoint of the most dynamic (or agent-like) participant in the depicted situation. But the same participant has patient-like characteristics as well, in that it sustains the action's principal effects." (Klaiman 1991:3). Because middle constructions retain

features of active clauses, oblique-like agents are not allowed (*It got cleaned *by me*), which differentiates them from typical passive constructions in which agents can be included as oblique phrases (*It was cleaned by me*).

As shown below, -*ka* 'MID' attaches to both transitive stems and intransitive roots. Although the meanings listed above are in play in almost all instances of the middle -*ka*, the interpretation can be generally predicted if we consider the event type expressed by the verb. The inchoative interpretation is more prominent when the morpheme attaches to stative verbs, the self-act reading is stronger when attached to active intransitive verbs, the reciprocal interpretation becomes apparent when -*ka* attaches to transitive verbs, and -*ka* in transitive stems derived by the causative licenses the self-act reading with reflexive overtones.

First I illustrate -*ka* in stative verbs with receives inchoative interpretation. Inchoative —liminal states, in Timberlake's terms— refers to the start of a new situation (cf. inceptive) or change of state. English can approximate the inchoative aspect through the verbs "to start," "to get," or "coming to be."

In examples (16a-c) we see some instances of -ka in actual utterances. Example (16a) makes reference to the custom of Kokama families to sit together late in the afternoons before they go to bed.

(16) a. *karuka-muki* *penu* *tsɨrɨ-**ka*** *tupa=ka*
late-COM 1PL.EX.F cold-MID place=LOC
'In the afternoon, we get refreshed / cool off over there'

b. *tupapenan* *ɨwatsu=kana* *yupuni* *ukayma-**ka***
again paiche=PL.M start lose-MID
'Then once again the paiches (fish) start to get lost'

c. *yapara-**ka**=nan* *ikia*
be.coiled-MID=only this
'This (snake) just coils up'

In (17) we have stative verbs where *-ka* conveys change of state. Spanish glosses are provided below the English equivalents.

(17)

STATE		INCHOATIVE	
aytse	'be bad' *(ser malo)*	*aytse-ka*	'become bad' *(malograrse)*
aykua	'be sick' *(estar enfermo)*	*aykua-ka*	'get sick' *(enfermarse)*
ɨtsɨ	'be scared' *(tener susto)*	*ɨtsɨ-kaka*[1]	'get scared' *(asustarse)*
titi	'be alone' *(estar sólo)*	*titi-ka*	'get isolated' *(aislarse)*
kɨrɨrɨta	'be standing up' *(estar parado)*	*kɨkɨrɨta-ka*	'stand up' *(pararse)*
tsupara	'be lost' *(estar perdido)*	*tsupara-ka*	'get lost' *(perderse)*
yurɨtɨ	'be together' *(estar juntos)*	*yurɨtɨ-ka*	'get together' *(reunirse)*
tsarɨwa	'be happy' (estar alegre)	*tsarɨwa-ka*	'get happy' (*alegrarse*)
ɨtsɨma	'be slippery' *(estar resbaloso)*	*ɨtsɨma-ka*	'slip' *(resbalarse)*
tsɨrɨ	'be fresh, cool' *(estar fresco)*	*tsɨrɨ-ka*	'cool one-self down' *(refrescarse)*
watsari	'be crazy' *(estar loco)*	*watsari-ka*	'get crazy' *(alocarse/enloquecer)*

[1] In this particular case the morpheme appears reduplicated to avoid the homophony with the form *ɨtsɨka* 'sticky.'

yumati	'be straight' *(ser recto, derecho)*	*yumati-ka*	'straighten out' *(enderezarse)*
iyuka	'be rotten' *(ser podrido)*	*iyuka-ka*	'get rotten' *(podrirse)*

The words listed in (18) illustrate the self-act effect of *-ka* when attached to active intransitive verbs. Self-act constructions imply doing something for one's own benefit or detriment (Klaiman, 1991). For instance, this is comparable to some of the functions of pronomimal forms in Spanish (i.e. *caer* 'fall down' vs. *caerse* 'fall down by oneself, to one's detriment'). Here, the common semantic feature is that the agent-subject is engaged in events not only by/for itself but also for its own benefit or detriment. (Spanish glosses below English, in parenthesis)

(18)

ACTIVE-INTRANSITIVE		SELF-ACT	
akɨ	'get in' *(entrar)*	*akɨ-ka*	'enter oneself' *(meterse)*
iriwa	'come back' *(regresar)*	*iriwa-ka*	'get back, step back' *(regresarse)*
wɨwɨta	'swing' *(mecer)*	*wɨwɨta-ka*	'swing oneself' *(mecerse)*
chauta	'rip' *'romper, rasgar'*	*chauta-ka*	'get torn apart' *(romperse, rasgarse)*
uwata	'walk' *(caminar)*	*uwata-ka*	'take a walk' *(pasearse)*
yaparari	'lie down' *(echarse, reposar)*	*yaparari-ka*	'roll over' *(revolcarse)*
ikua	'know a fact' *(saber)*	*ikua-ka*	'be smart' *(ser inteligente, hábil)*
tsɨki	*'go out'* *(salir)*	*tsɨki-ka*	*'pull out'* *(salirse, retirarse, sacar)*

Examples in (19) show *ka*-derived verbs in actual clauses; again, the Spanish translations are provided in order to highlight that *-ka* is translated with Spanish reflexive forms.

(19) a. *tupapenan ra iriwa-**ka***
again 3SG.M come.back-MID
'Once again he comes/steps back'
(Otra vez él se regresa)

b. *ipurapani epe ay chauta-**ka**-ri tsa=tseweka=utsu*
fast 2PL already rip-MID-PROG 1SG.M=belly=AND
'Quick, you, already my belly is ripping itself apart'
(*Apúrense Uds, ya se está rompiendo mi barriga*)

c. *pe=tsui ya=tua=nu tsapuki=ay*
port=ABL 3SG.F=AUG=PL.F call=3F.OBJ

*wɨwɨta-**ka**-ri ya=yuti-n uka-ka*
swing-MID-PROG 3SG.F=stay-NZR house=LOC
'From the port these ones call her while she is swinging (herself)'
(Del puerto la llaman esos cuando ella se está meciendo [en la hamaca])

d. *ikua-ka rana=tsuri=ay*
know-MID 3PL.M=PAS3=already
'Smart/clever/knowledgable are they'
(*Ellos son inteligentes*)

When *-ka* appears with transitive verbs that entail animate objects, it functions as reciprocal. Note that every example that receives reciprocal interpretation involves plural subject and the object is not expressed (20).[2] Thus, *-ka* functions as valence decreasing mechanism; although this function seems less frequent compared to the others.

[2] The examples below show the verbs *yumayari* 'help' and *yukuka* 'hug' operating in transitive constructions with explicit syntactic objects.

a. *n=yumayari t=uri* 'Come help me'
2SG= help 1SG.M=come

b. *y=yukuka tsa=mɨmɨr=uy* 'She hugged my child'
3SG.F=hug 1SG.F=son=PAS1

(20) a. […] *ini* *yumayari-**ka**-tsen* *na=ray* *ya* *m#ta* *wayna*
1PL.IN help-MID-PUR3 QT=SPE 3SG.F lie woman
'[…] so that we can help each other, the woman tricks him like this'

b. *yukuka-**ka**-rapa* *ya=pura=nu* *iriwa=uri*
hug-MID-only 3SG.F=FOC=PL.F come.back=VEN

pantiun=kuara=tsui
cemetery=INE=ABL
'They come back from the cemetery hugging each other'

c. *raepe=tsui* *ay* *tana* *upa* *kumitsa-**ka***
After=ABL already 1PL.EX.M finish say-MID
'After that we already finish talking to each other'

d. *raepe* *rana* *#m#ntsara-**ka***
then 3PL.M tell.story-MID/-REI
'Then they talk to each other (they chat)'

In discourse, the middle *-ka* co-occurs quite frequently with the causative (the causative morpheme is fully described in §7.2.3.1). More specifically, *-ka* acts in stems derived by the causative, so all the instances with both include a subject, the causer, and an object, the causee. The interaction of these two morphemes is interesting because, to some extent, they are functionally contrastive. That is, while the causative *-ta* conveys that the causer has control of the event, the middle *-ka* indicates that the causee has some control of the event. As a result, the combination *-ta-ka* is interpreted as indirect causation. That is, the events are depicted as if the causee retains some agentivity in the realization of the event. Traces of agentivity are found even in events with inanimate entities (21c-d). For instance, the example in (21c) describes a scenario in which force

is needed in order to stretch the rope, as if the rope would offer some resistance.[3] (21d) comes from a procedural text about fan-making. The speaker is working with palm leaves which show some resistance to be folded, and so this example could be paraphrased as 'one by one we make it fold itself even though it seems it does not want to.' Note that in (21d) there are two causative morphemes. The causative that attaches to the root derives 'fold' from 'be coiled,' while the second appears to add the indirect causation overtone.

(21) a. *ra=papa* *uk~~i~~r~~i~~-**ta-ka*** *rana=utsu* *maka-tin-taka*
3SG.M=father sleep-CAU-MID 3PL.M=FUT1 where-CER-MOD
'Her dad puts them to sleep, who knows where.

b. *upa* *ya=tsupara-**ta-ka-pa*** *ini=chasu=utsu*
end 3SG.F=lost-CAU-MID-CPL 1PL.IN=AFF=FUT1
'He will cause us to end up getting totally confused/lost'

c. *ajan puatsa* *na* *tsatsawa-**ta-ka***
this rope 2SG pull.out-CAU-MID
'Pull out/stretch this rope (make the rope stretch)'

d. *wepe wepe wepe* *na* *ini* *yapara-**ta-ka-ta**=ay*
one one one like.this 1PL.IN be. coiled-CAU-MID-CAU=3F.OBJ
'One by one, like this we fold it'

Examples in (22) show the contribution of *-ka* and *-ta* to the meaning of the resulting word side by side; the Spanish translations are included to help clarifying the point.

(22)

ak~~i~~	*ak~~i~~-ka*	*ak~~i~~-ta*	*ak~~i~~-ta-ka*
'get in'	'enter oneself'	'put something in'	'be let/induced to enter'
(entrar)	*(meterse)*	*(meter algo)*	*(ser inducido a entrar)*

[3] Presenting inanimate beings as having some control and volition over an event is common in local Spanish. Expressions such as *esta canoa no se quiere ir* 'this canoe does not want to go/move' or *este motor no quiere andar* 'this outboard motor does not want to work (start/turn on)' are frequent.

aytse 'be bad' *(ser malo)*	*aytse-ka* 'become bad' *(malograrse)*	*aytse-ta* 'ruin something' *(malograr algo)*	*aytse-ta-ka* 'let something get ruined' *(dejar que se malogre)*
aykua 'be sick' *(estar enfermo)*	*aykua-ka* 'get sick' *(enfermarse)*	*aykua-ta* 'sicken/poison' *(enfermar a alguien)*	*aykua-ta-ka* 'curse, spell' *'hacer daño, brujería)*
ɨtsɨ 'be scared' *(tener susto)*	*ɨtsɨ-kaka* 'get scared' *(asustarse)*	*ɨtsɨ-ta* 'scare someone' *(asustar a alguien)*	*ɨtsɨ-ta-ka* 'get scared by someone' *(ser asustado por alguien)*

The examples in (23) and (24) are utterances that illustrate the contrast between the middle and the causative-middle constructions. In (23a), the middle construction presents the scene in a way that the subject pronoun 'he' got into the state of being scared. In contrast, (23b) is the causative-middle construction in which the subject pronoun 'it' is which causes the object pronoun 'me' to get scared. Sentences in (24a-b) are parallel examples.

(23) a. *raepe* *ra* *ɨtsɨ-ka**ka***
there 3SG.M feel.fear-MID
'There he gets scared'

b. *ay* ***ɨtsɨ-ta-ka*** *tsa=pura=tsuriay*
3SG.F fear-CAU-MID 1SG.F=FOC=PAS3
'It manages to scare me'

(24) a. *raepe* *in-tsupara-**ka**-pa* *ɨwɨrati=kuara*
there 1PL.IN.C-lost-MID-CPL forest=INE
'There we get completely lost in the jungle'

b. *upa* *ya=tsupara-**ta-ka**-pa* *ini=chasu=utsu*
end 3SG.F=lost-CAU-MID-CPL 1PL.IN=AFF=FUT1
'He will end up causing us to get confused, lost'

From the examples presented in this section, it is possible to conclude that the interpretation of *-ka* 'Middle' as either inchoative or self-act correlates with the type of verb stem it attaches to. With stative verbs it yields the inchoative reading; with

dynamic intransitive stems, it yields the self-act reading, and with transitive stems it licenses self-act and indirect causation interpretations. Note that this function of *-ka* cannot be characterized as *reflexive* because, typically, reflexives attach to transitive verbs to indicate that the semantic agent and patient of an event are the same (e.g., *I shave myself*). As shown above, in KK the verbs to which *-ka* 'MID' attaches are not basic transitive; most of them are intransitives or transitive stems derived by the causative *-ta.*

7.2.2.3. Reiterative and iterative *-ka*

The reiterative/iterative *-ka* 'REI' indicates the repetition of punctual events. While reiterative indicates that the event expressed in the verb happens twice, iterative denotes that the event occurs multiple times. Examples in (25) illustrate the reiterative function of, *-ka* indicates. Note in (25a) and (25d) the use of *tupapenan* 'again' to reinforce the idea of 'once again.'

(25) a. *tupapenan* *ikian* *karu* *tawa-**ka*** *tana=uri*
same.place this car pick.up-REI 1.PL.CL=come
'Once again this huge car comes to pick us up.'

b. *rima=tsui* *kantun-yara* *tana* *uwe-**ka***
Lima=ABL tomorrow-for 1PL.EX.M fly-REI

tana=utsu-tsen *ikian* *ecuador*
1PL.EX.M=FUT1-PUR3 this Ecuador
'To fly again the next day from Lima to Ecuador…'

c. *tsa* *m̶i̶m̶i̶ra-ra-**ka**=tsuri,* *wepe* *napitsara*
1SG.F women.son-VZR-REI=PAS3 one man
'I had a baby again, a boy'

d. *raepe=tsui* *tupapenan* *ra* *i̶wama-**ka***
then=ABL again 3SG.M demolish-REI
'Later, once again it gets demolished'

Prior to (25a), the speaker was talking about an occasion when a group of people were taken in a bus to visit a touristic place. Then (25a) states that later that day the same bus comes to take them back to their lodge. As for (25b), in previous utterances the speaker said that she and her partner flew from Iquitos to Lima, then (25b) refers to the second flight they must take in order to get to their final destination. Without further context the reiterative function of *-ka* is clear in examples (25c) and (25d).

Iterative is often presented as a situation happening over a certain period of time. It can express activities executed in many places, on many objects or by many subjects at the same time. In KK, it can involve single subjects/objects and/or plural subjects/objects. In the case of singular subjects and objects, it also implies actions or states which last some time. The examples in (26) involve singular subjects and/or objects. (26a) presents an event of tying a sack which is done multiple times and is interpreted as 'tied very well.' (26b) refers to the event of making sounds, but ***-ka*** adds the idea of the production of consecutive sounds that last some time, so that it becomes noise/fuss. (26c) combines two strategies: reduplication of the root 'see' plus *-ka* to indicate that basket making is done by looking at the model multiple times.

(26) a. *raepetsui* *ta* *era* *tikita-**ka**=ura* *ikia-ka-tika*
after 1SG.M be.good tie-REI=3M.OBJ this=LOC-CER2
'Then I tie it very well (tie multiple times), up to here'

b. *y=ipu-ta-**ka***
3SG.F=sound-CAU-REI
'He makes noise/fuss'
(He makes consecutive sounds that became noise)

c. *ra* *yupuni yauki* *urkuru umi-umi-**ka***
3SG.M start make basket see-see-REI

ikian *yapu* *uka* *chikuara*
this paucar house base
'She starts to make the basket looking and looking at the base of paucar (Russet-backed oropendola)'s house'

Examples in (27) involve plural subjects and/or objects. Example (27a) comes from a procedural text where the speaker explains how to weave fans out of palm trees. At this point in the narrative, she specifies that the tip of every leaf has to be pulled out as she does it; that is, the pulling happens several times. In (27b), the crossing of the river is done once by each person, but since there are many people crossing, the event is presented as happening multiple times, hence the use of *-ka*. A similar scenario is presented in (27c); each person checks in at the hotel once, but since many people arrive at the same time, they must check in one after another. Example (27d) portrays a slightly different scenario. Here there are not only several people talking to 'you', but *-ka* also highlights that each speaker takes multiple turns during the conversation.

(27) a. *ajan* *y=ɨati=pura* *ini* *tsɨki-**ka*** *aja-mia*
this 3SG.F=tip=FOC 1PL.IN go.out-REI this-MOD
'We make its tip go out/we pull its tip out (multiple times)'

b. *raepetsui* *tana* *tsatsawa-**ka*** *ikian* *puyo,*
after 1PL.EX.M go.cross-REI this creek
'Then we went across this creek'

c. *raepe* *tana* *aki-**ka**=utsu* *ikian* *hotel=kuara*
there 1PL.EX.M get.in-REI=FUT1 this hotel=INE
'Then we will all check in this hotel''

d. *ay* *in=ɨmɨntsara-**ka**=utsu* *na=muki*
already 1PL.IN.C-tell.story-REI=FUT1 2SG=COM
'We'll now talk/chat with you (Sp. *conversar*)'

It should be noted that the existence of two homophonous morphemes, *-ka* 'middle' and *-ka* 'reiterative/iterative,' is grounded in both formal and semantic criteria. As illustrated in the §7.2.2.2, semantically, middle *-ka* indicates that i) the agency of the subject is not restricted, and ii) the subject is to be construed as an entity affected by performing certain actions. This second semantic component is simply not present in reiterative/iterative. Formally, as the contextualized examples in (28) demonstrate, the middle and the reiterative can co-occur (28d).

(28) [Context: I had my first husband; and after three years…]
Speaker A: a. *yaepe=tsui* *ts=itika-**ka***
there=ABL 1SG.F=throw-MID
'After that I got separated'

b. *ts=itika-**ka**=tsuri* *ya=pura-muki*
1SG.F=throw-MID=PAS3 3SG.F=FOC-COM
'I divorce him (Lit. I got separated with him)'

[Context: Then I got my second husband…]
Speaker A: c.*raepetsui uyarika tsa=itika-**ka**=tsuri* *ya=pura-muki*
after=ABL again 1SG.F=throw-MID=PAS 3SG.F=FOC=COM
'Then, again I got separated with him'

Speaker B: d. *tupapenan* *na* *itika-**ka-ka***
again 2SG throw-MID-REI
'Once again you get (yourself) separated!'

The portion in (28) comes from a narrative in which the Speaker A is talking about her several marriages. In (28a-c), she is clearly presenting the events of 'getting separated' as self-acts, something she was in control of (in fact, in this narrative she explicitly says she married many times because she could never let a man tell her what to do). So, in (28d), her interlocutor uses both *-ka* morphemes: the middle *-ka* to convey

'you got yourself separated (because you wanted to)' and the reiterative *-ka* to indicate 'once again.' Additional cases of -ka-ka sequences are discussed in §7.2.2.4.

In the database, there are a few instances where the reiterative *-ka* appears in habitual contexts. Habitual events differ from reiterative/iterative events in that they take place regularly, beyond a specific period of time. For instance, (29a) doesn't make reference to any specific walking event, but to the habit of walking around. In (29b) the speaker explains that in the past people used to interact in Kokama; since they all knew how things were named in the language, they would just go get things directly. Nowadays, however, if they want to talk in Kokama, they first have to teach the kids the name of everything.

(29) a. *apu* *ts=uwata-**ka*** *tupa-ka* *ikumenan* *tsa=purara*
well 1SG.F=walk-REI place=LOC fast 1SG.F=find
'Well, wherever I go for a walk I quickly find (man)'

b. *in=ikua* *chira-ta=ay* *yumati*
1PL.IN=know give.name-CAU=3F.OBJ directly

ini=chasu *tawa-**ka**=ay=utsu*
1PL.IN=AFF pick.up-REI=3F.OBJ=FUT1
'(since) we know how to name it, we would just pick it up directly'
'(como) sabíamos nombrarlo, de frente íbamos a recogerlo'

Although the function of *-ka* is generally transparent, there are a number of instances where it is difficult to determine the semantic contribution(s) of *-ka*. For instance, compare examples in (30a) with (30b), introduced before as (21a). These two examples come from the same procedural text on fan-making where the speaker explains how to fold the tip of the leaves, as she does it. Thus, these two sentences describe the same scene, 'folding leaves,' and involve the stem *yapara* 'be coiled.'

Note, however, that while (30a) includes one causative, (30b) has two. Another crucial difference is that while in (30a) the object of folding is expressed by means of a plural phrase (*ajan yɨatikɨranu* 'these leaves'), in (30b) the thing being folded is expressed by a singular pronoun (*ay* 'it'). All these pieces seem to contribute to the overall interpretation of these examples. Both examples entail events with multiple cycles, however, in (30a) the iterative flavor is stronger than in (30b). On the other hand, in (30b) the notion of indirect causation is strong and almost non-existent in (30a). In any event, these cases seem to suggest a functional connection between middle and iterative/reiterative. And whether *-ka* is glossed as one or the other seems to become an arbitrary decision.

(30) a. *ini* *yapara-**ta-ka*** *ajan* *yɨati=kɨra=nu*
1PL.IN be coiled-CAU-REI this tip=DIM=PL.F
'We fold these little tips/end points'

b. *wepe wepe wepe na ini yapara-**ta-ka-t**=ay*
one one one like.this 1PL.IN be. coiled-CAU-MID-CAU=3F.OBJ
'One by one, like this we fold it'

Overall, the morpheme *-ka* is extremely productive and its function and meaning is relatively consistent. Because the semantic change to the root is in many cases profound, *-ka* could be also characterized as a meaning-changing morpheme. In (31), I list a few other *ka*-derived verbs with reiterative and iterative meanings. If we look at the translations into English and Amazonian Spanish, some instances suggest the creation of new concepts.

(31)

ikua	'know a fact' *(saber algo)*	*ikua-ka*	'remember' *(acordarse)*

wakaya	'invite something' (*convidar*)	*wakaya-ka*	'share' *(compartir)*
kamika	'mix something with water using hands' (*chapear*)	*kamika-ka*	'mix again and again' (i.e., preparation of yucca beer. Sp. *chapear masato*) *(chapear repetidamente)*
tsakɨta	'cut using force' (i.e, tree)	*tsakɨta-ka*	'cut multiple times (i.e., wood for fire' (Sp. *rajar leña*)
ɨpɨka	'cut something soft, force is not involved (i.e., fabric, fish), unintentionally (one's hand)	*ɨpɨka-ka*	'cut something soft in small pieces (i.e., cilantro, onions. Sp. *picar)*
itika	'throw' *(arrojar, botar algo)*	*itika-ka*	'separate, get divorced' *(separarse, divorciarse)*

In addition, there are several verbs which have reiterative aspect as part of their lexical meaning and suspiciously end in *-ka.* However, from a synchronic point of view it is difficult to say that they are in fact derived forms since the original word is not attested. It could be hypothesized that these are lexicalized forms. Perhaps further research via internal reconstruction and comparative analysis may provide some answers.

(32) *takaka* 'get married'
yumuka 'strain (Sp. colar/cernir)'
tsapaka 'sharpen (e.g., an arrow, a pencil)'
kuitaka 'grind with a rock' (e.g., garlic)
uraraka 'boil'
pururuka 'flood with water'
piruka 'peel, skin' (Sp. pelar)
tutuka 'wash clothes by hand' (*sobar la ropa*)[4]
ayuka 'hit somebody intentionally, beat' (*golpear a alguien*)
piyuka 'clean'
turuka 'dust'

[4] Washing that does not involve folding, squeezing, wringing out the thing being washed (i.e., dishes, one's body) is *tsukuta.*

7.2.2.4. The *-ka-ka* sequence

In the database for this study there are a few verbs in which two morphemes *-ka* appear in sequence. Potentially, this sequence could be analyzed in three ways: i) reduplication of the reiterative *-ka*, ii) middle *-ka* plus reiterative *-ka*, and iii) a single morpheme *-kaka*.

As for the first hypothesis, the reduplication of grammatical morphemes is, in general, rare in the language (see §7.2.2.6). Yet some speakers appear to convey iterative meaning by reduplicating the reiterative *-ka.* Examples in (33) were provided by consultants in elicitation. While (33a) shows reduplication of the *-ka* to encode iterative meanings, the *-ka-ka* sequence in (33b) entail not only iterativity but also reciprocity.

(33) a. *uwe* 'fly'
*uwe-**ka*** 'fly again'
*uwe-**ka-ka*** 'fly and fly around' (i.e., bees) (*revolotear*)

b. *ayuka* 'hit'
*ayuka-**ka*** 'hit again'
*ayuka-**ka-ka*** 'fight (hit each other multiple times)'

Reciprocal interpretations of *-ka-ka* are also found in connected speech. In those cases, the *-ka-ka* sequence indicates that plural agents perform mutual actions on each other. As a rule of thumb, the reciprocal interpretation emerges in constructions that involve a transitive verb root plus a single syntactic argument in the clause, and this argument is plural (34).

(34) a. *raepe* *rana* *umi-**ka-ka**=utsu*
there 3PL.M see-REI-REI=FUT1
'There they will see each other'

b. *rana* *ikua-**ka-ka**,* *ikian* *rama* *shiringuero-muki*
3PL.M know-REI-REI this other latex.hunter-COM
'Then they know each other, with the other latex hunter'

c. *tupapenan* *tsa* *m-im-ra=nu* *ayuka-**ka-ka***
again 1SG.F woman'son=PL.F hit-REI-REI
'Once again my children hit each other/fight'

In constructions with transitive verbs and explicit objects, the reciprocal interpretation is not licensed. When this happens, the first *-ka* appears to be functioning as a derivational morpheme. For instance, *ikua-ka* can be interpreted as either 'be knowledgeable,' if *-ka* is the middle, or as 'remember,' if *-ka* is the reiterative. In (35a) the interpretation 'be knowledgeable' is not likely. In the discourse context, this example can be paraphrased as 'he insists on not remembering them;' thus, the contribution of the second *-ka* is to indicate continuity/iterativity. As for (35b), it could be paraphrased as 'he observes the model many times while basket-making'

(35) a. *t-ima* *ra* *tseta* *ikua-**ka-ka*** *rana*
NEG 3SG.M want know-REI-REI 3PL.M
'He doesn't want to recognize/remember them'

b. *ya* *raepe* *umi-umi-**ka-ka***
like then see-see-REI-REI
ra *yupuni* *yauki=ura*
3SG.M start make=3M.OBJ
'Then, like this, looking and looking she starts to make it.'

However, the *-ka-ka* sequence not only occurs on transitive verbs. Consider, for instance, the examples in (36) and (37). What they have in common is that these examples involve intransitive stems, which rules out the reciprocal interpretation. In other words, in all these clauses there is no valence reduction. However, the examples in (36) involve stative events, whereas the examples in (37) involve activities. While examples in (36) entail duration over time (remain sitting, keep thinking), examples in

(37) entail self-engagement and cycles (goes and goes, goes and comes). Thus, I would posit that the *-ka-ka* sequences in (36) and (37) should be analyzed as middle plus reiterative. Example (36d) illustrates a particular construction in which the interpretation of 'think' comes from [know + one's heart], that is, 'his heart' is not, strictly speaking, the object of 'know.' Note the use of pronominal verbs in the Spanish translations.

(36) a. *tsɨrɨ-**ka-ka**-ri* *ts=yuti* *yapɨka=nan* *na* *ray*
cold-MID-REI-PROG 1SG.F=stay sit=only like.this MOD
'Here I am just sitting, cooling myself off, like this'
(Aquí estoy sentada nomás enfriándome, así pues)

b. *na* *wayna* *ikua-**ka-ka*** *ya* *iya*
like.this woman know-MID-REI 3SG.F heart
'Like this the woman keeps thinking to herself'
(Lit. Like this the woman keeps thinking in her heart)

(37) a. *r=upia-**ka-ka*** *ikian* *pe=tsui*
3SG.M=go-MID-REI this way=ABL
'He goes and goes, (far) from the path'
(*El se va y se va, se aleja del camino*)

b. *raepe* *rana* *iriwa-**ka-ka***
then 3PL.M come.back-MID-REI
Then they come back again
(Entonces ellos se regresan otra vez)

7.2.2.5. Completive *-pa*

Another extremely productive morpheme is the completive aspect *-pa.* Its main function is to indicate completion of the event. However, it also adds emphasis to the event and derives verbs from nouns.

Clauses that include *pa*-marked verbs are systematically interpreted by the speakers as events 'completely done.' It could be said that *-pa* has a parallel function to the particle 'up' in English.

(38) *eyu=ura* eat=3SG.F 'eat it'
*eyu-**pa**=ura* eat-CPL=3SG.F 'eat it up'

It should be noted that the morpheme *-pa* conveys that the event continued until its completion —it is not only used when the agent of the event simply stops at the end of the event— which emphasizes the affectedness of the theme argument of the verb. In this study, the morpheme *-pa* is not characterized as a more general perfective, which is understood as "the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up the situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation" (Comrie 1976:16). Several instances of *-pa* allow the speaker to conceive of the situation as having internal phases. For instance, with action verbs, it can be presented as done over and over until the event is completely executed, hence its frequent co-occurrence with the reiterative *-ka* in discourse.

(39) a. *erutsu* 'carry something (Sp. *traer*)'
b. erutsu-ka 'carry something more than once (Sp. *acarrear*)'
*c. erutsu-ka-**pa*** 'carry something away completely (Sp. *arrasar*)'

The completive suffix has an absolutive interpretation. In transitive clauses it indicates that the action has been performed on all possible objects, as shown in (40). In (40a), *-pa* adds that the eating event was completely done. More specifically, it conveys that the food is completely finished, hence they stop eating. In (40b), the speaker is describing that the rain caused the collapse of river shore, and this carried away the rice

farm he had. In addition, in some instances *-pa* highlights that the theme object is affected. Utterance (40c) without *-pa* would express that 'the tapir leaves them'; however with *-pa* it is interpreted as 'the tapir abandons them,' that is, it portrays 'them' as being affected by the departure of the tapir. In (40d), *-pa* on *ikara* 'shamanic singing' entails being 'enchanted through shamanic singing'.

(40) a. *inu-eyu-**pa*** *ya=pura*
3PL.F-eat-CPL 3SG.F=FOC
'They eat it up'

b. *ikian* *ɨwama=pura* *erutsu-ka-**pa*** *ikian*
this collapse=FOC bring-REI-CPL this
'This collapse carries this away'
(Sp. *Este derrumbe arrasa con ésto*)

c. *tapira=tu* *ichari-**pa*** *inu*
tapir=AUG leave-CPL 3PL.F
'The tapir abandons them'

d. *y=ikara-**pa*** *rachi=ene* *n=ukɨrɨ* *ni-na-upaka*
3SG.F=sing-CPL if=2SG.O 2SG=sleep NEG-2SG=wake.up
'If he sings you up (enchants with his singing), you sleep and don't wake up'

In intransitive clauses, *-pa* conveys that all possible subjects have performed the action or undergone a change of state. In (41a-d), the single core argument is the one being affected. In example (41a), the subjects reach the limit in their growing process (Sp. *entonces terminan de crecer*). In (41b), the sentence indicates a complete, although temporal, transformation. (41c) is describing a dead dolphin which was found floating in the water all swelled up. (41d) refers to the fact that people forgot how to speak the language entirely when they attended school.

(41) a. *aypa-**pa*** *raepe* *rana*
grow.up-CPL then 3PL.M
'Then they finish growing up'

b. ***ɨm ɨ**na* *ipirawira=tua=nu* *uwaka-**pa*** *ukua=tsuriay* *awa-ra*
long.ago dolphin=AUG=PL.F become-CPL used.to=PAS3 person-PUR
'Long time ago, these huge dolphins used to get transformed into people'

c. *ya* *putu-**pa*** *upi* *ya* *tseweka-muki*
3SG.F swell-CPL all 3SG.F belly-COM
'He swells up, all including his belly'

d. *escuela-ka* *raepe* *inu* *tsitsari-**pa**=uy*
school=LOC there 3PL.F forget-CPL=PAS1
'At the school, there they forgot [the Kokama language]'

The completive *-pa* can readily combine with the causative *-ta*. Clauses with the sequence CAU-CPL are extremely frequent in the database; however, the sequence *CPL-CAU is not attested. Since the causative derives transitive verbs from intransitive verbs, the function of the completive here is similar to what has been described for basic transitive clauses (as in (40)), that is, *-pa* expresses a completed event, in which a theme argument is completely affected.

(42) a. *inu* *aytse-ta-**pa*** *awa=nu*
3PL.F bad-CAU-CPL person=PL.F
'They damage/hurt the people completely'
(*Ellos hacen daño a la gente*)

b. *apu* *animaru=tua=nu* ***ɨ**nta-ta-**pa*** *ene*
PRT animal=AUG=PL.F complain-CAU-CPL 2SG.L
'Well, the big animals really annoy you'

On stative verbs, *-pa* operates as an intensifier, adding emphasis on the state or particular property of an entity. It could also answer the question about to which degree of state?

(43) a. *era* ‘be good’
b. *era-**pa*** ‘be very beautiful, really good, delicious’

(44) a. *era-**pa**-ka=nan* *n=eyu-n=pura*
good-CPL-REI=only 2SG=eat-NZR=FOC
‘Your food is very good, delicious’

b. *ray inu akɨcha-**pa***
PRT 3PL.F be.scared-CPL
‘Like this they get totally scared’

c. *ay-puka* *epewatsu-**pa**-ti* *pe=pura=tu*
now be.wide-CPL-CER way=FOC=AUG
‘Nowadays the road is certainly wide’

In the database for this study, *-pa* does not show up with verbs of movement such as *utsu* ‘go’, *uri* ‘come’, *uwaka* ‘walk,’ *ukua* ‘go around,’ *atsɨrɨka* ‘go down the river,’ *yayakati* ‘go up the river,’ among others. However, it appears that *-pa* can show up with verbs of movement in utterances that entail telic events. Telic verbs and verb phrases are conceptualized or presented as complete or having endpoints.[5] Although some verbs may be atelic, the phrases in which they occur can behave as telic. For example, while in English *walked home* is telic, *walked around* is atelic.[6] An example of an event presented as telic is given below.

(45) *raepe kuin=pura, upi=nan ra=tu=kana warika-**pa** raepe*
Then that=FOC all=only 3SG.M=AUG=PL.M go.up-CPL there
‘Then that one, all those go up to there’

[5] In contrast to atelic verbs and verb phrases which are presented as incomplete or lacking endpoints.

[6] The argument to say that *walked home* is telic is because *John walked home in an hour* is fine, while *John walked home for an hour* is bad. In contrast, *walked around* is atelic *because John walked around in an hour* is bad, while *John walked around for an hour* is fine.

Finally, the completive *-pa* also shows up in combination with the modal *-ti* 'certainty' to indicate some sort of augmentative, emphatic (46). It has been attested mostly in stative verbs, and entails intensification.

(46)

eretse	be strong, loud	*eretse-pa-ti*	'very strong, loud'	*bien fuerte*
tua	be big	*tua-pa-ti*	'very big'	*bien grande*
ipuku	be long	*ipuku-pa-ti*	'very long'	*bien largo*
yumɨri	be angry	*yumɨri-pa-ti*	'very angry'	*bien molesto*
yachu	cry	*yachu-pa-ti*	'crybaby'	*muy llorón*
yamimi	hide	*yamimi-pa-ti*	'very hidden'	*bien escondido*

At some point of the analysis I entertained the hypothesis that the sequence *-pa-ti* is a grammaticalized unit with augmentative functions. However, there are instances in which the aspectual particle *ya* 'already' can appear between *-pa* and *-ti* (47b) which shows that this sequence is not a unit.

(47) a. *ay-puka* *epewatsu-pa-ti* *pe=pura=tu*
already-when be.wide-CPL-CER way=FOC=AUG
'For real, nowadays the path is very wide'

b. *r=ipuku-pa-ya-ti*
3SG.M=be.long-CPL-already-CER
'It got already very long'
(*ya se hizo bien largo*)

Although marginally, the completive *-pa* also operates as a category changing morpheme to generate verb-like words from nouns. The meaning of the resulting stem is difficult to generalize; that is, it is idiosyncratic and depends on the noun it attaches to. An attempt to captures the meaning of the *pa*-derived word would be something like 'become full of X'. In (48) and (49) are some examples; the Amazonian Spanish translations are also included.

(48)

wɨrakɨra-pa	pigeon-CPL	become bird	*transformarse en pajarito*
yanamata-pa	bush-CPL	fill a place with bushes	*remontar, llenar de monte*
Carretera-pa	road-CPL	go deep into a road	*internarse/adentrarse en una carretera*

(49) a. *uri* *yamimi-ini,* *yanamata-**pa*** *ini=pe=kuara=pura*
3SG.M.L hide-1PL.O bush-CPL 1PL.IN=path=INE=FOC
'He hides from us, filling completely our path with bushes'
(Nos hace esconder, remonta --llena de monte-- nuestro camino)

b. *piripiri-**pa*** *yuka* *ɨtsɨwatsu,* *tɨma legitimo* *ɨtsɨwatsu* *r=era*
herb-CPL that deer NEG legitimate deer 3SG.M=HYP
'That deer has been totally cured/bewitched with piripiri, he is not a real deer''
(*Ese venado tenía su piripiri -- completamente piripireado-- no era un venado legítimo*)

c. *wepe* *carretera-**pa*** *r=utsu*
one road-CPL 3SG.M=go
'He goes through/immerses into a road'
(*Se larga/se interna por una carretera*)

Example (49a) comes from a narrative about evil spirits that try to get the hunters lost in the jungle. In this particular utterance, the speaker says that the spirit places bushes on the tiny roads so that the hunters cannot find their way out of the jungle. (49b) is about a deer which has been bewitched by means of *piripiri* 'umbrella flat-sedge' (*Cyperus articulatus*), a powerful curative plant.

There are also a few examples of nouns marked by the sequence *-pa* and the participle/gerund *-wa*. In those examples it is clear that [N-*pa*-*wa*] is a modifier of the verb.

(50) a. *ta* *yaparachi* *tutu-**pa**-**wa***
1SG.M dance drum-CPL-GER
'I dance with my drum/I dance drumming'

b. *tɨma* *in-aki* *zapatu-**pa**-**wa*** *pɨta=pupe=nan*
NEG 1PL.IN-get.in shoe-CPL-GER foot=INS=only

*pɨta-**pa**=ay* *pupe=nan*
foot-CPL=already INS=only
'We do not enter shoe-wearing, with foot only, just barefoot'
(No entramos enzapatados, con pie nomás, sólo descalzos)

In §7.2.5, dedicated to the combination of aspectual morphemes, we will see that the completive *-pa* appears in several sequences. In addition, this morpheme is arguably a part of two other derivational morphemes, *-pan* and *-rapa*, whose main functions are the generation of words with adverbial-like meanings. The first derives nouns from nouns adding the meaning 'full of X', where X is the noun root (cf. §5.6). The second is more pervasive in terms of word classes to which it can be applied (cf. §6.4.4.2).

7.2.2.6. Reduplication

As explained in Chapter IV, in KK reduplication takes place mainly within verb stems to indicate various aspectual nuances. As a rule, reduplication is partial. Two types of reduplication have been identified: i) initial reduplication, in which the first two syllables are reduplicated; and, ii) internal reduplication, where the second syllable is reduplicated (for details, see §3.4.2). Since there is no correlation between types of reduplication and semantic functions, this chapter does not distinguish the two again.

The meanings associated with reduplication of stems are duration or continuity (51), emphasis or intensification (52), iterativity (53), and distribution (54).

(51) CONTINUITY:

chikari	'look for'	*chika-chikari*	'keep on looking for'
tsapuki	'call'	*tsapu-tsapuki*	'keep on calling'
pariatsu	'suffer'	*paria-pariatsu*	'constant suffering'
ipama	'stand up'	*ipa-pa-ma*	'stand up for a while'
yuti	'stay'	*yut-yuti/ yututi*	'stay for a long time, remain'

(52) INTENSIFICATION:

yaparari	'sink'	*yapa-pa-rari (-ka)*	'sink very deep'
ɨyɨ	'grill'	*ɨyɨ-yɨ -ka*	'grill something well done, turning it over several times'
maynani	'take care of'	*may-maynani*	'protect'

(53) ITERATIVE:

tsakamɨka	'cross'	*tsaka-tsakamɨka*	'intertwine, interweave'
michiku	'rinkle'	*michi-michiku-ka*	'rinkle, fold'
kupetaka	'limp'	*kupe-kupetaka*	'hobble, be lame'
kakɨrɨ	'live'	*kakɨ -kɨ- rɨ (-ka)*	'live in various places, move constantly'

(54) DISTRIBUTIVE:

arɨwa	'be on top'	*ar-arɨwa-ka*	'be in a pile, one on top of the other'
itika	'throw/leave'	*iti-tika-ka*	'get separated, divorce'

The forms from (51) to (54) are extremely common in discourse, and actual utterances containing reduplication are on display throughout this dissertation. Note also that the reiterative *-ka* not only combines with reduplication, but in some instances seems required. For instance, in *ka.kɨ -kɨ.rɨ(-ka)* 'live in various places' (see (51), last row) *-ka* seems optional, but in *i.ti-ti.ka-ka,* the reiterative marker is not likely to get dropped. Speakers have conflicting intuitions about this phenomenon though. Synchronically, reduplication requires adding *-ka* for a subset of verbs, but it is still optional for many others. In those cases, the pragmatic context plays a role in whether speakers add *-ka* or not. Since partial reduplication of the roots also conveys iterative meanings, the combination of these two mechanisms emphasize that the event has been repeated several times.

Only rare cases of total reduplication of the root have been attested, as illustrated in (55).

(55) a. *ra* *yupuni* *yauki* *urkuru* ***umi-umi-ka***
3SG.M start make basket see-see-REI

ikian *yapu* *uka* *chikuara*
this paucar house base
'She starts to make the basket looking and looking at the base of the paucar's house'

b. *ta* *yatɨrɨta* *ikian* *kuchi* *tsu*
1SG.M put.together this pig meat

e*ra-pa-ka* ***ɨyɨ-ɨyɨ-ka****-n*
good-CPL-REI grill-grill-REI-REL
'I pick up this pork meat which has been grilled over and over (very well done)'

c. *enteru-ra-pa-n* *puka=tua=nu* *y=erura*
whole-VZR-CPL-NZR turtle.es=AUG=PL.F 3SG.F=bring

arɨwa-arɨwa-ka
on.top-on.top-REI
'He brings whole turtles one on top of the other'

d. *tapɨa=tua* *alcanza-shka=ay* *ɨwɨra-ka* *ya=****pariatsu-pariatsu***
savage=AUG reach-VZR=3F.OBJ tree=LOC 3SG.F=suffer-suffer

arɨwa *ɨwɨra* *ya=warika* *arɨwa*
on.top tree 3SG.F=go.up on.top
'The savage reaches him on the tree while he is in intense suffering while climbing the tree'

In (55a), repeated from (26c), the verb *umi* 'see' is repeated to indicate that in the process of basket-making the manufacturer observes the model over and over. In (55b), *ɨyɨ* 'grill' is repeated to add intensity and iterativity to the event. The idea is that the pork meat is well done; it has been grilled by turning it over many times. In (55c),

reduplication of *arɨwa* ‘on top’ conveys that the turtles are brought one on top of the other without care; for instance they are transported whole without disemboweling or cutting and cleaning them up as it should be done. In, (55d) reduplication of *pariatsu* ‘suffer’ indicates that the suffering is intense. Note that the reiterative *-ka* co-occurs with reduplication in almost every example (55a-c), except when the verb root is a stative verb (55d). Recall that *-ka* on stative verbs is interpreted as inchoative, which somehow conflicts with continuous and/or iterative events. Although this is the dominant pattern in discourse, again speakers disagree on whether reiterative *-ka* is required with full reduplication. For some, *-ka* is optional, but “just sounds better” in these contexts.

As was mentioned already, reduplication of grammatical morphemes is not a productive mechanism in the language, beyond a few cases of *-ka-ka* that could be interpreted as the reduplication of the reiterative *-ka*.

7.2.3. Valence-changing morphemes

KK does not have any type of passive construction. The morphology introduced in this section deals with rearrangement of arguments; that is, with voice in an extended sense. It includes the causative *-ta* in §7.2.3.1, and the applicative *-tsupe* in §7.2.3.2. But of the two, only the causative is actually productive. While the reciprocal *-kaka* is relatively productive, the applicative *-tsupe* plays only a minor role in the grammar of KK.

7.2.3.1. Causative *-ta*

The causative is extremely productive in discourse. It has two main functions: i) it adds a participant in the scene of the event expressed by the verbal base; and ii) it derives transitive verbs from nouns. In what follows, I discuss its function as a valence increasing morpheme. The derivational function of *-ta* (from nouns to verbs) receives its own treatment, in §7.2.4.1.

The causative *-ta* can be applied to all types of predicates: descriptive-stative, intransitive, transitive and three-place predicates. However, its frequency with the first two is much greater compared to its frequency with the last two. In fact, in the database, *-ta* on transitives and semantic three-place predicates is almost rare. Some examples of each category follow.

(56) Causative with descriptive-stative predictaes

era	'be good, okay'	*era-ta*	'fix, clean, arrange (i.e., the house), preserve'
tini	'be clear, white-like'	*tini-ta*	'bleach, whiten'
pɨtani	'be reddish (Sp. *colorado*)'	*pɨtani-ta*	'turn something reddish-like, ripen (i.e., banana)
ɨpɨ	'be soft'	*ɨpɨ-ta*	'make something soft (i.e., aguaje)'
charu	'be dirty'	*charu-ta*	'stain, get something dirty'
kaniu	'be weak'	*kaniu-ta*	'weaken, defeat'
timi	'be of a different type, apart'	*timi-ta*	'separate, classify'
irawa	'be bitter-flavor'	*irawa-ta*	'brew, ferment' (e.g., *masato* (yucca beer))
chinta	'be silent'	*chinta-ta*	'silence someone'

(57) Causative with intransitive predicates

umanu	'die'	*umanu-ta*	'kill'
aki	'get in, enter'	*aki-ta*	'put something in'
ichima	'get out'	*ichima-ta*	'take out'
yawachima	'arrive'	*yawachima-ta*	'reach'

ɨnda	'complain'	*ɨnda-ta*	'annoy'
pewa	*'* lie down'	*pewa-ta*	'flatten, smooth down/out (Sp. *extender, aplastar, aplanar'*
amatsika	'be able to'	*amatsika-ta*	'tolerate'
ukua	'go around'	*ukua-ta*	'pass something'

(58) Causative with transitives predicates

ikua	'know a fact'	*ikua-ta*	'be acquainted with, notify, teach'
itika	'throw something'	*itika-ta*	'cause someone to go, expel, fire'
tsapuki	'call'	*tsapuki-ta*	'call someone'
uki	'burn something'	*uki-ta*	'burn someone, cause him to burn'
uyari	'put together, gather'	*uyari-ta*	'attach, stick'

(59) Causative with three-place predicates

purepe	'buy'	*purepe-ta*	'sell'
yumi	'give'	*yumi-ta*	'teach' (lexicalized)
tsemuta	'feed'	**tsemu*	
memuta	'show'	**memu*	

With respect to the syntactic encoding of arguments, the causative introduces an agent-causer participant in subject position. It only adds a syntactic argument when applied to intransitive verbs; in all the other cases, the causative only produces a rearrangement of arguments. More specifically, with intransitive verbs, *-ta* produces transitive clauses where the causer is the subject and the causee (old subject) is the object.

(60) a. *wepe* *ɨpɨtsa* *r=**ukɨrɨ*** *ikian* *ɨwɨrati=kuara*
one night 3SG.M=sleep this jungle=INE
'He sleeps one night in this forest'

b. *yatiu=kana* *tɨma* ***ukɨrɨ-ta**=ura=uy*
mosquito=PL NEG sleep-CAU=3SG.OBJ=PST
'The mosquito didn't let him sleep'

(61) a. *ɨmɨna* *ta* ***ichima*** *ritama=tsui*
1SG.M get out town=ABL
'A long time ago I got out of/left from my village'

b. *ra=papa* ***ichima-ta**-ka* *rana=utsu* *maka-tin-taka*
3SG.M=father get.out-CAU-REI 3PL.M=FUT1 where-CER-UNC
'His father will make them get out again who knows where'

However, the causative on transitive verbs does not establish a third syntactic argument; what happens instead is a reorganization of the semantic participants vis-à-vis the syntax: the causer becomes the subject, the causee (old subject) becomes the object, and the old object becomes an instrumental oblique (60-62).

(62) a. *inu* ***kurata*** *uwakɨra* *tɨa*
3PL.F drink sugar.cane liquid
'They drink juice of sugarcane'

b. *itsatsuni,* *ikian* *kurata-ta* *ra=nu* *kaitsuma=pu*
black.monkey this drink-CAU 3SG.M=PL.F yucca.beer=INS
'The black monkey (*Saguinus nigricollis*), this makes them drink (with) yucca beer'

(63) a. *ts=**ikua**=ay*
1SG.F=know=3SG.O
'I know it'

b. *na* *ts=**ikua-ta*** *tsa=mama* *ya=pu*
like.this 1SG.F=know-CAU 1SG.F=mother 3SG.F=INS
'Like this I let my mother know about/with it'

(64) a. *raepe* ***t-eyu*** *r=utsu* *na* *kumitsa*
there 1SG.M=eat 3SG.M=go QT talk
'Then I'll eat you', like this (he) says'

b. *aytsemeka* *era* *rana* ***eyu-ta**-ini* *ipira-pu*
truth be.good 3PL.M eat-CAU-1PL.O fish-INS
'For real they make us eat well with fish'

Similar to causatives on two-place predicates, the causative on semantically three-place predicates does not add a new syntactic argument either. For instance, in

(65a) the buyer is encoded as the subject and the theme as the object, while the seller is implicit. In (65b), the seller is the subject, the theme remains the object, and the buyer is expressed as a locative, but could be also left unexpressed (implicit).

Examples in (66) show what happen when the causative occurs in the prototypical semantically three-place predicate 'give'. In KK, it gets interpreted as 'teach.' It should be added that some speakers analyze this word as containing a root plus the causative, *yumi-ta*, while some others think of it as a lexical unit. It should be also noted that in one variety, 'teach' is a causative notion derived from 'know': *ikua-ta* 'teach' (cf. 61b).

(65) a. *awa=nu* ***purepe*** *chura-n=kɨra=nu*
person=PL.F buy be.small-NZR=DIM=PL.F
'The people buy the cute-small ones'

b. *awa-ray* ***purepe-ta*** *ɨrara=uy* *maniri=ka*
who-SPE buy-CAU canoe=PAS1 Manuel=LOC
'Who may have sold the canoe to Manuel'

(66) a. *tsa=**yumi*** *ajan* *n=ɨmɨntsara* *tsa=tsenu-tsen*
1SG.F=give this 2SG=story 1SG.F=hear-PUR3
'I give (you) this in order to listen to your story'

b. *etse* ***yumi-ta*** *tsa* *mɨmɨrakunia=nu*
1SG.F give-CAU 1SG.F woman's.daugther=PL.F

inu *yauki-tsen=ay* *aja-mia*
3PL.F make-PUR3=3F.OBJ this-MOD
'I teach my daughters so that they can make it (hand weaving) like this'

In the database, no instances of double causatives have been attested. However, in elicitation speakers were willing to produce a few structures (67c-d). Interestingly, a double causative gets interpreted as indirect causation. This is evident when we

compare (67b) against (67c-d). While in (67b) the causer himself did the burning, in (67c-d) the causer only induced the event. For instance, in (67c) the causer did not directly burn the farm, she asked her son to do it for her. When the causee is agentive (67d), the sentence gets interpreted as 'letting someone get burned.' Although (67e) is syntactically similar to (67c), it is not accepted by speakers because it is semantically odd to ask 'the farm' to burn someone.

(67) a. *ya=pura* *uki=tsuri*
3SG.F=FOC burn=PAS3
'It burned'

b. *tsa* *uki-**ta*** *ku=uy*
1SG.F burn-CAU farm=PAS1
'I burned the farm' (ED)

c. *tsa* *uki-**ta-ta*** *ku=uy* *tsa* *mɨmɨra=pu*
1SG.F quemarse-CAU-CAU chacra=PAS1 1SG.F hijo=INS
'I burned the farm with my son's help' (he did it for me) (ED)

d. *tsa* *uki-**ta-ta*** *tsa* *mɨmɨra*
1SG.F quemarse-CAU-CAU 1SG.F hijo
'I let my son get burned' (I did nothing to prevent him for doing it) (ED)

e. **tsa uki-ta-ta tsa mɨmɨra=uy ku=pu*
(I made my son burn (with) the field)

When a true instrument participant needs to be explicitly stated, the causative *-ta* is not used. In (68a) we have the configuration in which the theme participant is expressed as an instrumental oblique. In this clause, the semantic instrument 'with the machete' cannot occur. To include the instrument, a periphrastic causative with the predicate 'command' is used (68b).

(68) a. *tsa* *tsakɨta-**ta*** *tsa* *mɨmɨra=uy* *nana=pu* *(*kɨchi=pu)*
1SG.F cut-CAU 1SG.F son=PAS1 pineapple=INS machete=INS
'I made my son cut the pineapple' (ED)

b. *tsa* *wanakari* *tsa* *mɨmɨra=uy* *nana*
1SG.F ordené 1SG.F hijo=PAS1 piña

tsakɨta-ri *kɨchi=pu*
cut-PROG macheteINS
'I ordered my son to cut the pineapple with the knife'

As shown in several places already, once a stem is derived by the causative, it can take all the morphology associated with underived verbs. For instance, it can take the reiterative *-ka* (69), the middle *-ka* (70), completive *-pa* (70b-c), and the progressive *-(a)ri* (71). Example (70c) is on those cases in which *-ka* could be interpreted by speakers as either the middle ("the rheumatism causes the shin to get twisted, but the shin kind of do it on its own") or the reiterative ("the rheumatism twists it little by little, in cycles, until it ends up totally curved").

(69) a. *y=uyupe-**ta-ka*** *ya=carga* *timitsama-ta-n*
3SG.F=go.down-CAU-REI 3SG.F=cargo full-CAU-REL
'He takes down again his cargo/load which has been filled up'

b. *yakari* *tsatsawa-**ta-ka*** *rana*
lizard go.across-CAU-REI 3PL.M
'The lizard takes them all across' (It acts as their canoe and transports them one by one)

(70) a. *ay* *ɨtsɨ-**ta-ka*** *tsa=pura=tsuriay*
3SG.F fear-CAU-MID 1SG.F=FOC=PAS3
'It scared me (it caused me to get scared)'

b. *ikian* *upaka-**ta-ka-pa**=ura=mía*
this wake.up-CAU-MID-CPL=3M.OBJ=HYP
'This may wake him up completely'

c. *kapukiri* *uri* *yapara-**ta-ka-pa*** *ta=kaɨ*
rheumatism 3SG.M.L twist-CAU-MID/REI-CPL SG.M=shin
'The rheumatism, it twisted my shin completely'

(71) a. *chiru* *charu-**ta-ri*** *epe,* *ipam=epe*
cloth be.dirty-CAU-PROG 2PL get.up=2PL
'You are getting your clothes dirty, get up!'

There are two instances in the database in which the causative does not occur close to the verb root but after the completive and the middle (72). These examples involve the same verb *mɨta* 'lie', and were produced by the same speaker. Note that *mɨta* is a transitive verb who does not need to be derived in order to take an object.

(72) a. *aypuka* *kunumi=kɨra* *ay=pura* *kuniati-n=uy,* *utsu=pura*,
currently boy=DIM already=FOC girl-NZR=PAS1 go=FOC

*ra=mɨta-**pa-ka-ta**=ura*
3SG.M=lie-CPL-MID-CAU=3M.OBJ
'[that's why], nowadays the boy, still, to the girl, he always lies to her [and she keeps believing him]'

b. *raepe=ura,* *yapichika* *yukan* *upa=pura,*
there=3M.OBJ catch that AUX=FOC

*ra=mɨta-**pa-ka-ta**=ura*
3SG.M=lie-CPL-REI-CAU=3M.OBJ
"There it is, grab this one (the pig's tail)", he lies to him [who totally believes the prank]'

The consultant glossing and translating this particular text pointed out that in (72a-b) *-ta* is optional, which suggests that the causative is doing something other than increasing the valence of the verb. Recall that in example (21d) there were two causative morphemes in a clause. While the first causative derived 'fold' from 'be coiled,' the second appeared to be adding the indirect causation overtone. So, it could be thought that perhaps also in (72) *-ta* is playing the same role. The last point I want to mention about examples in the (72) is that they also constitute the only examples with

the sequence completive-middle. We will come back to this point when looking at the combinations of verbal morphemes in §7.2.5.

7.2.3.2. Applicative *-tsupe*

In contrast to the causative, the applicative appears quite sporadically, and its distribution is restricted to true intransitive verb roots. To be more precise, *-tsupe* does not occur with transitive roots in declarative sentences, but only in polite requests.

The origin of this suffix can be traced back to the Tupí-Guaraní benefactive postposition **cupé* (Jensen 1998: 515). In today's KK, the dative function of *-tsupe* is no longer productive, although in elicitation speakers can provide examples like the one in (73a), which demonstrates the dative function of *=tsupe*, similar to example (73b) taken from Espinosa (1935:66). (These examples were introduced earlier in §6.1.4, (18)).

(73) a. *ay yauki uka=tsuri tsa=**tsupe***
3F make house=PAS3 1F=DAT
'He made a house for me'

b. *wepe suro n=iumi Ruis-**tsupi***
one sol 2SG=give Luis-DAT
'Give a sol (Peruvian currency) to/for Luis'

From a synchronic perspective, the morpheme *-tsupe* has primarily an applicative function. In discourse, it consistently introduces an benefactive-like participant as the object of the clause. *-tsupe* appears sporadically and only with the verbs *yumɨra* 'be angry', *kumitsa* 'speak' and *ɨmɨntsara* 'tell stories.' In terms of properties, note in (74b) and (75b) that *-tsupe* attaches to the verb, rather to the

recipient-like nominal. In addition, the recipient participant now exhibits properties of objects —i.e., it follows the verb and the tense marker, when one occurs, must attach to it, as seen in (74a).

(74) a. *ra* *papa* ***yumɨra***
3SG.M father be.angry
'His father is angry'

b. *raepe-a* *ra=papa* ***yumɨra-tsupe***=*pa* *yuka* *kunumi=tsuri*
then-hear.say 3SG.M=father be.angry-APP=CPL DEM young=PST3
'It is said that, then, his father scolded completely this young guy'

(75) a. *naray* *tsa* ***kumits***=*uy* *ya=tsui*
like.this 1SG.F speak=PST 3F-DAT
'Like this I talked to her'

b. *naray* *ya* *mama* ***kumitsa-tsupe*** *ya=mɨmɨra*
like.this 3SG.F mother say-APP 3SG.F=woman.son
'Like this, the mother talks to her son'

However, with transitive verbs -*tsupe* is only allowed in some syntactic constructions. For instance, speakers use it in directive speech acts, such as requests (76a-d), but they do not like it in declarative sentences (76e). Importantly, when -*tsupe* appears on transitive verbs, it does not operate as an applicative. That is, none of the elicited examples below include a recipient or benefactive object; -*tsupe* only adds an implied benefactive.

(76) a. *yauki-**tsupe***=*ay*
make-BEN=3SG.F
'Please, do it (for me)' (ED)

b. *yauki-**tsupe*** *ts=uka*
make-BEN 1SG.F=house
'Please, make my house (for me)' (ED)

c. *uni-pu (na) kurata-ta-**tsupe**=ay*
water=INS 2SG drink-CAU-BEN=3F
'Please (you) help him to drink the water'
[he is unable to do it by himself] (ED)

d. *m#i#a-**tsupe** atere (tsa m#im#ra=tsui)*
pick.off-BEN sapote 1SG.F woman.son=DAT
'Please, pick off a sapote (for my son)' (ED)

e.**ay m#i#a-**tsupe** atere (tsa m#im#ra=tsui)*
3F pick.off-BEN sapote 1SG.F woman.son=DAT (ED)

In (76a), *-tsupe* adds an implied benefactive, which is the speaker himself, 'me'. In (76b) the benefactive 'me' coincides with the possessor of the object 'house'. Example (76c) shows that *-tsupe* adds a benefactive flavor to the causee which is the object of the clause. Example (76d) shows that the benefactive can be expressed via a DAT-marked NP; however, if it is not explicitly stated, the default recipient would be the speaker, 'for me'. (76e) shows that *-tsupe* on declarative sentences is unacceptable. A speaker explains that to "correct" (76e) *-tsupe* needs to be removed from the verb and *=tsui* replaced by *=tsupe* on 'my son.' (See (73) for a similar pattern).

7.2.4. Category-changing strategies

KK exhibits a few morphemes that derive verbs from nouns, as well as some strategies to generate other adverbial-like words that act at the verb and verb phrase level. This section is dedicated to those word formation processes, including zero verbalization (§7.2.4.6), and the derivational properties of the causative *-ta* (§7.2.4.1), the reiterative *-ka* (§7.2.4.2), the verbalizer *-ra* (§7.2.4.3), and the verbalizer *-yara* (§7.2.4.4).

7.2.4.1. Causative *-ta* as category changer

One important function of the causative morpheme *-ta* (previously seen in §7.2.3.1) is to derive verbs from nouns. Interestingly, all the resulting verbs are transitive, that is, the clauses in which they appear include a subject and an object. Examples (a) in (77), (78) and (79) demonstrate the noun function of the words *tsewe* 'salt', *tawa* 'color,' and *mɨmɨra* 'a woman's son'; the (b) counterparts show the predicate function of each of them when they bear *-ta*.

(77) a. *ikia-ka* *erura* ***tsewe***
this-LOC bring salt
'Bring here the salt'

b. ra ***tsewe-ta*** *ipira*
3SG.M salt-CAU fish
'I salt/put salt on the fish'

(78) *a. tana* *yauki* ***tawa=kana*** *yanamatakana=pu*
1PL.M make color=PL vegetable=INS
'We make colors out of plants'

b. tana ***tawa-ta*** *muritsu*
1PL.M color-CAU ceramic
'We paint the ceramic'

(79) a. *ra* ***mɨmɨra=kana*** *utsu* *ɨwɨrati=kuara*
3SG.M woman.son=PL.M go jungle=INE
'Her sons go to the jungle'

b. *r=umi=pupe=nan* *ra=****mɨmɨra-ta*** *ta=mama*
3SG.M=see=INS=only 3SG.M=women.son-CAU 1SG.M=mother
'With only his sight he makes my mother pregnant'

The causative suffix is perhaps the most productive mechanism for generating verbs from nouns. A representative sample is presented in (80).

(80)

tɨa	juice	*tɨa-ta*	wet
chikuara	buttock	*chikuara-ta*	follow
mɨmɨra	woman's.son	*mɨmɨra-ta*	make a woman pregnant
tewe	salt	*tewe-ta*	add salt (i.e., to the food)
irua	brother	*irua-ta*	make friends with someone
tawa	color	*tawa-ta*	color something
uka	house	*uka-ta*	provide housing to someone
chira	name	*chira-ta*	bestow a name
kuatiara	design, drawing	*kuatiara-ta*	'draw, write'
kaitsuma	yucca.beer	*kaitsuma-ta*	'provide yucca beer'
ɨrara	canoe	*ɨrara-ta*	'make someone a canoe'

In (81) there are additional examples of *ta*-derived words operating as predicate within clauses. In (81a) from the noun 'house' the CAU derives the verb 'provide with a house, housing,' in (81b) from 'yucca beer' comes 'provide yucca beer,' and in (81c) from 'woman's son' comes 'make someone pregnant.'

(81) a. *ra=yara* *uka-**ta*** *ra* *mɨma* *atawari*
3SG.M=owner *house-CAU* *3SG.M* *pet* *chicken*
'Its owner provides his chicken with house/makes a house for his chicken'

b. *tsa* *kaitsuma-**ta*** *tsa* *yaych=uy*
1SG.F *yucca.beer-CAU* *1SG.F* *mother.in.law=PAS1*
'I made my mother in law yucca beer'

c. *ɨmɨna* *muiwatsu* *mɨmɨra-**ta*** *wayna-kana*
long.ago boa son.of.woman-CAU woman=PL
'Long ago, the boa got the women pregnant'

7.2.4.2. Reiterative *-ka*

The reiterative *-ka* also has category-changing properties. Although less productive compared to the causative, it generates verbs from nouns with the idea of repetition. Below are some examples, highlighting the contrast between *ka*-verbs with *ta*-verbs.

(82)

mutsana ‘medicine’ *(remedio)*	*mutsana-ka* ‘cure someone’ *(curar a alguien)*	
petse ‘piece, slice’ *(trozo, cortar)*	*petse-ka/petse-ta* ‘slice into two/big pieces (i.e., watermelon, bread for sandwich)’ *(partir, cortar en pedazos grandes)*	*petse-ka-ka /petse-ta-ka* ‘slice into several pieces (i.e., cake, meat, watermelon for fruit salad, firewood, etc.). *(trozar, cortar en muchos pedazitos)*

The examples that follow illustrate the nominal function of *mutsana* ‘(vegetarian / traditional) medicine’ (83a), and the verbal function of *mutsana-ka* ‘cure someone (83b).’

(83) a. *yauki-n* ***mutsana***=*pu* *ya* *kurata-ta*
make-REL medicine=INS 3SG.F drink-CAU

ya *m-m-rakunia=tsuriay*
3SG.F daughter.woman=PAS3
‘The prepared remedy/medicine, he makes his daughter drink’

b. *ta* ***mutsana-ka*** *na=utsu*
1SG.M medicine-REI 2SG=FUT1
‘I’ll cure you’

7.2.4.3. Verbalizer *-ra*

It is clear that the suffix *-ra* changes a noun root into a verb. Beyond this, it is difficult to generalize what the meaning of *-ra* is. Overall, this morpheme is not very productive. In (84) I give examples attested in texts. Consider the first six examples in (84). The resulting verbs could be characterized as liminal predicates, in the sense of Timberlake (2007). They convey some sort of ‘to produce/generate X,’ where X is the

noun stem. However, neither *putura* 'to float because of swelling' nor *timupura* 'to fish with barbasco' follow this pattern.

(84)

ipia	'firewood'	*ipia-ra*	'to cut firewood' (*leñar*)
westa	'party, celebration'	*westa-ra*	'to celebrate'
ɨmɨntsara	'story'	*ɨmɨntsara-ra*	'to tell a story'
akɨcha	'fear, to have fear'	*akɨcha-ra*	'to provoke, induce to fear'
chira	'name'	*chira-ra*	'to name oneself' (*llamarse*)
mɨma	'offspring'[7]	*mɨma-ra*	'to raise, take care' (*criar*)
irua	'mate'	*irua-ra*	'to accompany someone (*acompañar*)
putu	'puffiness, to swell'	*putu-ra*	'to float as a result of swelling (i.e., dead fish, balloons)
timu=pu	'barbasco[8]=INS'	*timupu-ra*	'to fish with barbasco'

The examples in (85) exemplify the use of these morphemes in sentences. In terms of order, the derivative *-ra* attaches to the root followed by additional morphology, such as reiterative (85c) and progressive (85b).

(85) a. *menta* *tsa* *mɨma-**ra*** *yukuchi* *iyuka-kuara*
mint 1SG.F offspring-VZR pot worn-INE

yura-tsɨma-ka
palm.floor-edge-LOC
'I raise mint in the old pot at the edge of my palm-floor'

b. *toooj* *ajan-ka* *etse* *ipia-**ra-ri***
cutting.sound this=LOC 1SG.F firewood-VZR-PROG
'Toooj, here I am cutting firewood' (Sp. *leñando*)

[7] Actually *mɨma* is a complex notion. It refers to anything that is protected and cared for because it will serve a purpose. It includes domesticated animals (chicken, dogs, parrots, etc.), herbs and plants cultivated in pots within the house, among others. Children or elders are not *mɨma*.

[8] Barbasco (*Lonchocarpus urucu),* part of the Fabacea or Leguminosae family, is toxic to insects, fish, and other pets. The use of barbasco was one of the traditional fishing techniques of the Kokamas, but to avoid contamination nowadays this technique is no longer employed. Now they use primarily nets and hooks.

c. *rana* *irua-**ra-ka**.*
3plM mate-VZR-REI
'They make each other company, they become friends'

d. *ikun* *ta* *ɨmɨntsara-**ra**=utsu* *ipira-kana* *mama kakɨrɨ*
today 1s story-VZR=FUT fish=PL mother live
'Today I am going to talk about how the mermaids live'
(Lit. Now I am going to tell a story about how the fishes' mother lives)

In a previous work, Faust (1972:190) claims that the function of *-ra* is to generate transitive stems with the idea of purpose. While there is a purposive marker *-ra* which operates as a postposition (see Chapter 6), it is clear that the postposition is distinct from this verbalizer. For instance, from the list in (84), only two —*akɨchara* 'to scare someone,' and *mɨmara* 'to raise'— occur in transitive clauses (85a). All the others do not require an object, as shown in (85b-d). As for the notion of purpose, it appears that none of the derived verbs presented here entails that notion.

Examples in (86) contrast *ra*-derived verbs with *ta*-derived verbs in order to see the contribution of each morpheme to the resulting verb. The Spanish equivalent is offered in parenthesis.

(86)

irua-ra	brother.buddy-VZR	'to accompany someone' (Sp. *acompañar*)
irua-ta	brother.buddy-CAU	'to friend someone' (Sp. *hacer amistad*)
chira-ra[9]	name-VZR	'to name oneself' (Sp. *llamarse*)
chira-ta	name-CAU	'to bestow a name' (Sp. *llamar, nombrar*)
mɨmɨra-ra	woman's son-VZR	'to have a baby' (Sp. *embarazarse, esperar un bebé*)
mɨmɨra-ta	Woman's son-CAU	'to make a woman pregnant' (Sp. *embarazar*)

[9] Note that the root chira 'name' does not take the middle *-ka* to indicate the self-act to call oneself — **chira-ka.*

7.2.4.4. Verbalizer -*yara*

The suffix -*yara* is another morpheme that shows poly-functionality. It derives verbs from noun roots with two main semantic realizations: [to have X] and [to make X], where X is the noun. In Faust (1972), -*yara* is reported as an intransitivizer (1972:111). Cabral (1995:182) claims that *yara* is an auxiliary with 'desiderative' meaning, but no examples are offered. The only explanation I could think of is that perhaps the verb *iyara* 'feel, wish, think,' which is a complement taking verb, was analyzed as auxiliary.

In what follows I explore the main functions of -*yara*, and close this section with a brief discussion on the possible source of this morpheme.

The examples in (87) illustrate the derivation of verbs with the notion of [to have X]. In (88) are examples of sentences where the *yara*-derived verbs operate as the main predicate of the clause.

(87)

yuwa	'thorn'	*yuwa-yara*	'to have thorns' (to be vertebrate)
mirikua	'wife'	*mirikua-yara*	'to have a wife'
iwaru	'hate, despise'	*iwaru-yara*	'to dislike, reject'
yamɨma	'sadness, be sad'	*yamɨma-yara*	'to feel sadness'
tsariwa	'happiness, be happy'	*tsariwa-yara*	'to feel happy'

(88) a. *ay* *ra* *taɨra-**yara***
already 3SG.M man's.son-HAVE
'He already has a son'

b. *ay* *tana* *karetera-**yara***
already 1PL.EX.M road-HAVE
'We already have a road'

c. *wepe* *kuniati* *tɨma* *mena-**yara***
one girl NEG husband-HAVE
'One girl doesn't have husband'

d. *maniá-taka* *ra* *ta=ra=kana* *kuatiashira-**yara**=utsu*
how-MOD 3SG.M man'son=PL.M lastname-HAVE=FUT1
'How will his children get their last name'

e. *upi* *maniamaniakan=pura* *raepe,* *chipi-**yar**=ura*
all all.kinds.of.things=FOC there price-HAVE=3M.OBJ
'All kinds of things are over there, (but) it costs / has a price'

In addition to derived verbs with the meaning of 'to have X', *-yara* also derives verbs with the meaning 'to make X'. Examples are provided in (90). In (90) are examples of these verbs in sentences. Instances with this meaning are less frequent in the database, but can be readily obtained in elicitation.

(89) Examples of *yara*-derived verbs with the notion of [to make X].

irara	canoe	*irara-yara*	'to make canoe / to have canoe'
ipira	fish	*ipira-yara*	'to fish'
imintsara	story	*imintsara-yara*	'to narrate stories'
kaitsuma	'yucca beer'	*kaitsuma-yara*	'to prepare yucca beer'
westa	'celebration'	*westa-yara*	'to organize a celebration'

(90) a. *uchiki* *ray* *kaitsuma-**yara*** *penu* *kauki=ay*
right.now PRT yucca.beer-MAKE 1PL.EX.F wait=3F.OBJ
'Soon we prepare yucca-beer to wait for him'

b. *nan* *imina-n=nu* *westa-**yara*** *ukua=tsuri=ay*
like.this long.ago-NZR=PL.F party-MAKE used.to=PAS3=already
'Like this, the ancestors used to throw parties'

Like any other verb, the *yara*-verbs also appear in progressive constructions (91), as well as take the morphology associated with verbs, such as completive aspect *-pa* (92) and reiterative aspect *-ka* (93). In addition, it needs the relativizer/nominalizer *-n* in order to operate in nominal syntactic slots (94).

(91) a. *ipia-**yara**-ri* *ta*
firewood-HAVE-PROG 1SG.M
'I'm cutting firewood' (ED)

b. *tsa* *m-m-ra* *muta-**yara-ri***
1SG.F son bear-HAVE-PROG
'My son is growing bear'(ED)

c. *ya* *chiru-**yara-ri***
3SG.F clothes-HAVE-PROG
'He is dressing up' (ED)

d. *tsa* *maria-**yara-ri***
1SG.F virgin.Mary-MAKE-PROG
'I'm praying' (to the Virgin Mary)

(92) a. *ajan* *kuniati* *m-m-ra-**yara-pa***
this girl son-HAVE-CPL
'Rosa is totally pregnant'

b. *ay* *tsar-wa-**yara-pa***
3SG.F happyness-HAVE-CPL
'It gets totally happy'

(93) a. *raepetsui* *yay* *tsa=-k-ratsen-**yara-ka**,* *mukuika*
after also 1SG.M=child-HAVE-REI two
'Later I have a child again, two (children).

(94) *ajan=nu* *tin* *t-ma* *yuwa-**yara**-n*
this=PL.F MOD NEG thorn-HAVE-REL
'These ones that do not have thorns…'

In addition, *yara*-verbs appear within embedded clauses, including relative clauses (94), conditional clauses (95a), and adverbial clauses of purpose (95b).

(95) a. *t-ma* *ch-p-**yara**-ra* *utsu-taka* *ini=erura* *ra=mia*
NEG price-HAVE-COND go-MOD 1PL.IN=bring 3SG.M=MOD
'If it wouldn't cost anything, we could bring it'
(Quizás si no costara / tuviera precio le traeríamos)

b. *yantsui* *ya=mutsana-ka* *tsa=mama=tsuriay*
then 3SG.F=remedy-REI 1SG.M=mother=PAS3

ya=ikua *m-m-ra-**yara**-tsen*
3SG.F=know w'son-HAVE-PUR3
'Then, he cured my mother to know how to have children'

Finally, *yara*-verbs also appear as complement clauses without any additional morphology, as any other complement clauses in the language. This is shown in (96).

(96) a. *ay* *ta* *tsetsa* *mirikua-**yara**-mia*
already 1SG.M flower wife-HAVE-MOD
'I would like to already have my wife'

b. *t-ma* *ya=pura* *iya-**ra*** *m-m-rakunia-**yara**=tsuriay*
NEG 3SG.F=FOC heart-VZR daugther.woman-HAVE=PAS3
'She did not think of/feel like having a daughter'

c. *ya* *tsukuta* *ya* *mena* *chiru*,
3SG.F clean 3SG.F husband cloth,

yauki *ya* *-y-ta-n-**yara***
make 3SG.F cook-CAU-NZR-MAKE
'She cleans her husband's clothes, makes her own cooking/dishes'

The examples and patterns presented so far indicate that -*yara* is a productive verbalizer. However, in the database, -*yara* appears to be employed for other purposes as well. In a few instances, -*yara* does not change the syntactic category of the noun; rather it seems to be part of a compound. For instance, in (97), *uka-yara* is not interpreted as 'this has a house,' but as 'the owner of the house.' As such, in (97a) *uka-yara* is the predicate NP of a predicate nominal construction. This construction is described in more detail in §8.3.

(97) *ikian* *uka-**yara**=tsuriay*
this house-owner=PAS3
'This was the house owner'

As for the origin of this morpheme, clearly, the source of this morpheme is the Tupinamba form **jár-a* 'owner' (Jensen 1998:507). Faust (1972:161) reports for Kokama the independent word *yara* 'owner, lord', although no examples are provided. In the database for this study, *yara* is never employed to indicate 'lord.' In today's KK the word for 'lord' is the loan term *patrun*, from Spanish *patrón*. However, as mentioned before, it does occur in a couple of compound-like structures in which is interpreted as 'owner' (cf. §8.3).

Most likely, the two meanings of *yara* —'have X' and 'make X' — are related. More specifically, I propose a directionality in the grammaticalization path, from: [X *yara*] 'owner of X' > [X-*yara*] 'X-owner' > 'to have X' > 'to make X.' It does not seem difficult to imagine the first portion of the process: if one is the owner of something, one has it. Although the genesis of the grammatical meaning 'to make something' from 'to have something' seems more difficult to explain, there are several specific examples that could constitute bridging contexts, in the sense of Heine (2002). For instance, from 'one has a party' one can infer that 'one organizes a party.' Also, within the cultural context, 'having yucca beer' necessarily entails 'producing yucca beer;' as well as 'having a house' entails 'building a house' or 'having a farm' entails 'making a farm.' The connection between 'having X' and 'making X' is further illustrated in (98a-b), two elicited examples that were given multiple interpretations by speakers:

(98) a. *uri* ***ɨ**rara-**yara***
3SG.L.F canoe-VZR2
i) 'He is the owner of a canoe'
ii)'He has a canoe'
iii) 'He makes a canoe'

b. *emete mukuika atawari, urian wepe tsupia-**yara**-n*
exist two chicken but one egg-VZR2-REL
i) 'There are two chickens, but one has an egg' (is ready to lay an egg)
ii) 'There are two chickens, but one produces eggs' (the other is young)

Additional cases of bridging contexts occur when *-yara* combines with words that refer to emotions such as happiness, sadness, guilt, etc. The resulting meaning is metaphorical possession (99); however, one might only possess the feeling of happiness after one produces or generates it.

(99) a. *ene ucha-**yara***
2SG.L guilt-HAVE
'You have guilt/it's your fault'

b. *tsar+wa-**yara**-wa in-ukuata westa*
happyness-HAVE-GER 1PL.IN.C-pass party
'With the rondadora (musical instrument), very happy we have a celebration'

b. *yachu-rapa ya=pura=nu warika asi yam+ma-**yara***
cry-only 3SG.F=FOC=PL.F go.up like.this sadness-HAVE
'Crying they go up, like this, sad (with sadness)'
(*Llorando suben, tristes, con pena*)

The examples above show the semantic connections between 'have' and 'make,' and could constitute the necessary context for the grammaticalization of *-yara*. This topic will be further investigated in future research.

7.2.4.5. Verbalizer *-shka*

This morpheme is a borrowing from Quechua *-shka* 'past perfect' (Weber 1989:108). It is restricted to loans, mainly importing infinitive verbs from Spanish. As shown in (100), the only change done to the Spanish form is the deletion of the final consonant. To some extent, this is a strategy to readily incorporate loan words as the speaker talks, and to flag these words as foreign. The resulting verbs do not take any

other morphology associated with KK verbs (such as reiterative, completive, progressive, tense, modality, etc.), but only personal clitics for object (100a) and/or subject (100d).

(100) a. *tapɨa=tua* *alkansa-**shka**=ay* *ɨwɨra-ka*
savage=AUG reach-VZR=3F.OBJ tree=LOC
'The savage reaches him in the tree'

b. *ria=ray* *ini* *papa* *kondena-**shka*** *r=ɨmɨna*
like.this=SPE 1PL.IN father condemn-VZR3 3SG.M=long.ago
'Like this, it seems, our father condemned him long ago'

c. *ya=tu* *meti-**shka*** *yua=pura=tu=kuara*
3SG.F=AUG get.in-VZR thorn=FOC=AUG=INE
'He gets into a thorn-tree area (Sp. *espinal*)'

d. *ikia=tsui* *ni* *y=eskapa-**shka***
this=ABL NEG 3SG.F=escape-VZR
'From this one he doesn't escape'

e. *ni* *rana* *senti-**shka*** *ikia* *mari*
NEG 3PL.M feel-VZR3 this thing
'They don't feel this thing'

In (100a), *alkansa* comes from the Spanish *alcanzar* 'reach', in (100b) *kondena* comes from Spanish *condenar* 'condemn', in (100c) *meti* comes from Spanish *meter* 'enter', in (100d) *eskapa* from Spanish *escapar* 'escape' and in (100e) *senti* from Spanish *sentir* 'feel'.

7.2.4.6. Zero derivation?

The language has a set of words that can operate as verbs and nouns that could be analyzed as instances of zero derivation. Zero derivation is understood as the extension of an existing word to take on a new syntactic function without any change in

form. In other words, in KK some lexical items can be used as either noun or verb, without bearing any overt derivation. However, in these cases there is a significant semantic shift, towards the semantic class prototypically associated with the function.

As mentioned in §5.4.1.4, the fact that KK does not have much morphology makes it tricky to determine whether nominalization or verbalization is taking place in examples like the ones presented in (101) and (102). Examples of potential zero nominalization presented in (102) are repeated from §5.4 to facilitate the comparison among the two sets.

(101) Zero Verbalization?

yatukupe	'back'	'carry on the back'
ɨtsɨma	'slime'	'be slimy'
mɨtɨrɨ	'middle, half'	'be in the middle of a place
tupita	'drop'	'leak'
amana	'rain'	'be raining'

(102) Zero nominalization?

ikua	know	knowledge
yamɨma	be.sad	sadness
kumitsa	speak, say	language, saying/word
amɨra	be.desceased	Ancestor, elder

The fact that there are no formal criteria makes it difficult to determine whether it is a noun that is being used like a verb, or the other way around. Nonetheless, I consider two pieces of information to posit whether a form shows zero nominalization or not: its frequency in either verbal syntactic slots or nominal syntactic slots, and its interpretation without any context. The words included in (101) are more frequently used in nominal syntactic slots, and when speakers are asked for their translation out of

context, they provide a noun. If the opposite is the case, they are considered zero nominalization, as in (102).

Examples (a) in (103) to (105) demonstrate the use of some words as nouns; the (b) counterparts show the same words acting as verbs, with no derivational morphology.

(103) a. *ta* ***yatukupe*** *tsachi*
1SG.M back pain
'My back hurts' (ED)

b. *ta* ***yatukupe*** *urkuru*
1SG.M carry.on.back basket
'I carry the basket (on my back)'

(104) a. *epe eruratsen karamina epe* ***amana*** *tsakari-tara-n*
2PL bring corrugated.iron 2PL rain break-PUR1-REL
'You bring the corrugated iron to protect yourselves from the rain'
(lit. to break the rain)

b. *ini yapana* ***amana****-puka*
1PL.IN run raining-when
'We run when it is raining'

(105) a. *tsa tsukuta ipira* ***itsim=uy***
1SG.F clean fish slime=PAS1
'I clean/took away the slime of the fish'

b. *pe* ***itsim=uy***
port slimy=PAS1
'The port is slimy' (ED)

7.2.5. Combinations of morphemes

This section deals with the interaction of morphemes described in §7.2, and presents the word-formation patterns of verbs. Based on the distribution of morphemes, it will be possible to determine which morphemes belong to a paradigm. That is, if they co-occur, they do not belong to the same paradigm. As seen in this section, there are a number of possible combinations of morphemes within the verbal word (Table 7.1).

But, it is possible to say that there is a particular morpheme ordering favored in KK verbs? If there is, what word formation patterns are the most frequent (number of tokens), and which the most productive (number of verbs they combine with)? Is there any order that should never be found? In the following paragraphs it will be shown that suffix ordering in KK verbs is not random.

Table 7.1: Combinations of morphemes in the verb

	COMBINATIONS		EXAMPLES
a.	*V-ta-ri*	CAU-PROG	(7), (69a)
b.	*V-ta-ka*	CAU-MID	(21a, c), (23b)
c.	*V-ta-ka*	CAU-REI	(26b), (59b), (69a-b)
d.	*V-ta-pa*	CAU-CPL	(40a-b), (10b)
e	*V-ta-ka-pa*	CAU-MID-CPL	(23b), (70b)
f.	*V-ta-ka-pa*	CAU-REI-CPL	(68c?)
g.	*V-ta-pa-ri*	CAU-CPL-PROG	(10b)
h.	*V-ka-pa*	REI-CPL	(9a), (38b)
j.	*V-ka-pa-ri*	REI-CPL-PROG	(9a)
k.	*V-ka-pa*	MID-CPL	(24a)
i.	*?V-ta-ka-ta*	CAU-MID-CAU	(21d)
l.	*?V-pa-ka-(ta)*	CPL-REI-CAU	(72a-b)

From the list in Table 7.1, the first observation is that there are a few unattested orderings: *CPL-CAU, *CPL-MID and ?CPL-REI. The pattern (i), in Table 7.1, is marked with a question mark because occurs only once in the database. Similarly, the pattern ?CPL-REI could be inferred from (l); however, it was produced twice by only one speaker.[10] These two patterns need to be confirmed with additional consultants.

A second observation from Table 7.1 is that the aspectual markers completive, reiterative, middle and progressive can combine, so they do not constitute a paradigm.

[10] As mentioned before, there are two instances of [*V-pa-ka-ta* 'V-CPL-MID-CAU'], with the same verb, *mɨta* 'lie', and produced by the same speaker. This would be the only counter example to the generalization regarding the distribution of morphemes within the verbal word.

However, middle and reiterative co-occur in only a few instances. If one of them occurs in the word, it must follow the completive and precede the progressive.

In terms of frequency, one of the most productive and frequent combinations is [*V -ka-pa* 'V-REI-CPL']. When reiterative and completive co-occur, they complement and reinforce each other. The overall meaning of the construction is that the action is repeated as many times as necessary until the point of achieving completeness of the event. That is, an action is repeated multiple times until all the subjects or objects are done with the action. The examples in (106) illustrate this.

(106) a. *upa rana mɨɾɨa-**ka-pa** r=iya=pura,*
end 3PL.M take.out-REI-CPL 3SG.M=heart=FOC
'They finally finish taking out his heart'

b. *temente ya=mena=pura upa inu-eyu-**ka-pa** ya=pura*
no.exist 3SG.F=husband=FOC finish 3PL.F-eat-REI-CPL 3SG.F=FOC
'His husband is no more, they have eaten him up'

c. *y=yamimi-**ka-pa** ini=pe=pura ni-mania ini upuka*
3SG.F=hide-REI-CPL 1PL.IN=path=FOC NEG-how 1PL.IN go.out

*raepe in-tsupara-**ka-pa** ɨwɨrati=kuara*
then/there 1PL.IN.C-lost-REI-CPL forest=INE
'He hides our path, there's no way to get out; and then we get lost in the forest'

d. *ni-mari ya=tseta upaka aunque*
NEG-thing 3SG.F=want wake.up even.though

*ya=karuta-**ka-pa** wɨrɨ*
3SG.F=bite-REI-CPL under
'He doesn't want/can't wake up, although/while he is being bitten up'

Example (106a) talks about a group of people that is trying to kill an evil creature. They work hard until they take out his heart, which finally guarantees the

death of the creature. Along the same lines, (106b) highlights the fact that someone has disappeared without leaving a trace because was eaten up. Interestingly, (106c) has both gnomic and a completive interpretation at the same time: it states a fact that is essentially a gnomic truth, 'evil creatures hide a hunter's path,' but at the same time it also states that they did it again and again and as a consequence this group of people is totally lost. In (106d) the repetition of the biting action is clear, and in fact, the body of the one being bitten is almost gone.

As shown in 7.2.2.6, is also very common for both *-ka* 'reiterative' and *-pa* çompletive' to co-occur with partial reduplication (see, for instance, (52), (53) & (54)) and full reduplication of roots (in (55)).

These two morphemes also appear on stems derived by the causative, so the sequence [V-*ta-ka-pa* 'V-CAU-REI/MID-CPL'] is very common (107a, c). Progressive aspect follows any other aspectual marker in the verb (107b), although its overall appearance is rare. If the object of the clause is encoded by a pronoun, it cliticizes to right the verb (107a, c). Finally, if either modality or tense occur, they must follow the object (107b-c), so that sequences such as [V-*ta-ka-pa=ura=mía*] (107c) are frequent.

(107) a. *upa* *ya=tsupara**-ta-ka-pa**=ini*
AUX 3SG.F=lost-CAU-REI-CPL-1PL.O
'He ends up making us totally lost'

b. *uri* *ikara-**ka-pa-ri**=tsuri*
3SG.M sing-REI-CPL-PROG=PAS3
'He was singing and singing'

c. *uruputini* *upaka**-ta-ka-pa**=ura=mía*
condor wake.up-CAU-MID-CPL=3M.OBJ=HYP
'The condor may wake him up completely'

Figure 7.1 summarizes the structure of the KK verbal word, including all the elements discussed in this section. On the basis of the distribution of forms discussed here, it is possible to conclude that there are four suffixal positions within the verbal word. In addition, there are three positions for clitics that can potentially appear attached to the verb: the proclitics for subject, the enclitic for object, and the tense or modal clitics.

Figure 7.2: Positions within the verbal word

SBJ=	[**VRoot**	(-DER)	(-ASP1)	(-ASP2)	(ASP3)]	(=OBJ)	{ =MOD/TNS }
PRO		*-ta* 'CAU' *-ra* 'VZR1' *-yara* 'VZR2'	*-ka* 'REI' *-ka* 'MID'	*-pa* 'CPL'	*-ari* 'PROG'	PRO	*=mía* 'HYP' *=era* 'APPR' *=uy* 'PAS1, etc.'

7.3. Auxiliary constructions

This section deals with the auxiliary constructions attested in the language. Based on the order pattern they follow, the auxiliary constructions in KK belong to two sets: *non-progressive auxiliary constructions* (NPAC) (§7.3.3), and *progressive-marked auxiliary constructions* (PAC) (§7.3.4). In discourse data, no example of auxiliary construction that includes both the progressive marker and tense clitics at the same time has been attested.

The set of verbs that serve as auxiliaries are discussed in (§7.3.2). In the last subsection, some problematic cases are presented; they could be analyzed as compound verbs, serialized verbs, and/or auxiliaries (§7.3.5). But before we proceed, a brief introduction to the terminology relevant for this section is in order (§7.3.1).

7.3.1. Terminology

Auxiliary verb constructions consist of a combination of an auxiliary and a verb. The auxiliary is an item from a closed subclass of verbs and the verb is from a large open class. Typically, the auxiliary takes the person, number, gender, aspect, tense, and modality specifications; and contributes a modal or an aspectual meaning to the whole construction (see Anderson 2006, Adelaar and Muysken 2004, Payne and Payne 1990: 413-16). In some languages auxiliaries bear inflectional markers for verbs which cannot take inflection directly.

Other types of complex constructions acting as one predicate include: serial verbs (two or more verbs that can function by themselves), light verb constructions (a non-verbal element —support verb— and a verb), coverbs (an adposition-like verb from an open class which contributes the bulk of the meaning to the construction and an inflected verb from a closed class), and bipartite stems (two morphemes, at least one of which marks manner, means or location/direction, and cannot occur on its own) (Anderson 2006, DeLancey 1999, Guillaume 2004, Zavala 2000).

Cross-linguistically, the parameters of variation diferentiating these constructions include: (i) semantic and morphosyntactic classes of verbs involved in the formation of a multi-verb structure; (ii) argument structure of components and of the whole multi-verb construction (this is particularly relevant for serial verbs); (iii) reinterpretation and potential lexicalization; (iv) functions and meanings; and (v) polyfunctionality (i.e., the same verb occurring as an auxiliary and as a light verb).

Different types of complex predicate constructions occupy points on a range of form-function continua, from verb plus its complement and serialized constructions to tense, aspect, and mood particles (Anderson 2006). Notice that under this definition, tense particles in KK (as described in §9.1.2) could be also considered auxiliary-like elements undergoing grammaticalization from temporal adverbial elements towards tense markers.

7.3.2. Auxiliary verbs

Considering that KK does not exhibit any obligatory marking on the verb, for the purposes of this study "auxiliary" will be defined morpho-syntactically and semantically. From a semantic-functional perspective, auxiliaries in KK consistently express aspectual categories. In terms of syntax, there are two subtypes of auxiliary constructions: Non-Progressive auxiliary constructions (NPAC) and Progressive-marked auxiliary constructions (PAC). In NPAC constructions, the main verb takes all the morphology described in the previous section (see §7.2.2), while the auxiliary takes the clitics for object and tense if they occur. In PAC it is the opposite situation, here the auxiliary takes the morphology and the main verb the tense clitics. In what follows each type of auxiliary construction will be properly characterized.

Faust (1972:56) offers the following paradigm which neatly shows which verbs can work as auxiliaries (translation and orthography adaptation is mine). It should be pointed out that in my database *iyara* 'wish' (108e) doesn't have the same behavior as the other auxiliaries. As such, I treat it in §10.2, as a complement taking verb.

(108) a. *rana* *eyu* ***uts***=*uy* 'They end up eating'
b. *rana* *eyu* ***uri***=*uy* 'They came to eat'
c. *rana* *eyu* ***yuti***=*uy* 'They stayed eating'
d. *rana* *eyu* ***ukua***=*tsuri* 'They used to eat'
e. *rana* *eyu* ***iyar***=*uy* 'They wished to eat'

The verbs that participate in various types of auxiliary constructions are: *utsu* 'go,' *uri* 'come,' *ukua* 'go around,' *yuti/yuriti* 'stay.' In addition to the verbs listed by Faust, *upa* 'finish' also functions as an auxiliary in KK. This set of lexemes operates as both main predicates and auxiliaries. As auxiliaries, they consistently express the aspectual and directional categories indicated in the right column in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Auxiliaries and their sources

V	>	AUX
'go'	*utsu*	'andative' (AND)
'come'	*uri*	'venitive' (VEN)
'go around'	*ukua*	'habitual' (HAB)
'finish'	*upa*	'completive' (CPL2)
'stay'	*yuti/yuriti*	'durative' (DUR)

Andative and venitive serve to locate the target of a process or action relative to a deictic center (the speaker or the speaker's adopted viewpoint). If the target is seen as distinct from the deictic center, the andative is being used, if it coincides with it, it is the venitive which is being used. Habitual indicates that an event occurs frequently during an extended period of time, to the point that the situation becomes the characteristic feature of the whole period. Completive present the event as totally completed and durative expresses action continuing unbroken for a period of time.

As indicated above, all these verbs still function as main predicates in the language, as shown in (109); however, not all of them participate in all the auxiliary constructions.

(109) a. *ikian* *shiringuero* ***utsu****=tsuriay* *ɨwɨrati*
this latex.hunter go=PAS3 forest
'This latex-hunter went to the forest'

b. *ikian* ***uri****=tsuriay* *yapɨtuka-tara* *r=uka=ka*
this come=PAS3 rest-PUR1 3SG.M=house=LOC
'This came to rest at his house'

c. *ay-nan* *tsa* *ɨmɨntsara* ***upa***
PRT-only 1SG.F story finish
'Up to here my story ends'

d. *kaitsuma* *tɨyɨ=pura* ***yuriti*** *ra* *yura=ri*
drink foam=FOC stay 3SG.M mouth=DIF
'The drink's foam stays around his mouth'

e. *ɨmɨna* *ikian* *animaru=kana* ***ukua****=tsuri* *iwirati=kuara*[11]
long.ago this animal=P.ML go.around=PAS3 forest=INE
'A long time ago the animals used to go around like that in the forest'

As for the sources of these forms, *utsu, uri,* and *upa* are derived from Tupinamba forms o-*só* 'he goes', o-*úr* 'he comes', and o-*páb* 'he/it finishes,' respectively (Cabral 1995:183, Footnote 5). Interestingly, the form **-*páb* is reconstructed for Tupinambá as a completive marker with the meaning 'all or everything.'

(110) a. **o-tsú-pab* 'They all went' [Jensen 1998:537, Ex. (284)]

b. **o-'ú-pab* 'He/they ate it all' [Jensen 1998:537, Ex. (285)]

[11] There are few instances in which the verb *ukua* shows up in the main predicate slot but seems to have an auxiliary function. For instance, in (a), below, *titi-ka* 'be all alone' is semantically heavy verb.
a. *tsa=ukua=tsuri* *titi-ka*
1SG.F=go=PAS3 be.alone-REI
'I used to go around all alone'

Among its reflexes is the independent form *upa*, for example in Urubú-Kaapor (111) and Chiriguano, two languages of the Tupí-Guaraní family (Jensen 1998:537).

(111) a. *wyrahu* ***upa*** *u-ʻu* (Ur) [Jensen 1998:537, Ex. (292)]
King.hawk CPL 3-eat
'The king hawk ate it all'

The auxiliaries in Table 7.2 behave differently in some respects. For instance, only some of them occur in all the auxiliary constructions. That is, some are most commonly attested in particular constructions. Of these, *upa* 'finish' has clearly turned into a verbal suffix *-pa* 'Completive.' This has consequences for the distribution of the auxiliary *upa*, as will be shown below.

7.3.3. Non-Progressive auxiliary constructions (NPAC)

There are two types of NPAC. In the first construction, the auxiliary follows the main verb (if the latter is intransitive) or the object (if the main verb is transitive). It could be summarized as: [S V (O)=AUX (=TNS)]. This is by far the most productive and frequent construction in the database. In the second construction, the auxiliary occurs in first position, and could be summarized as: [AUX S V (O)(=TNS)]. In this construction, only two of the five auxiliary verbs have been attested.

7.3.3.1. [S V (O)=AUX (=TNS)]

In this construction, the main verb can be either intransitive or transitive. In the intransitive construction, the AUX follows the main verb; in transitives, it follows the object. If the object appears focalized in first position, the AUX follows the main verb. Pronominal object and tense clitics, if they occur, attach to the AUX.

In (112) there is a set of elicited examples with the intransitive verb ‘take a bath.’ This group of examples shows the contrast between the set of auxiliary verbs filling the position AUX. All the auxiliaries, except *upa* ‘Completive,’ work in this configuration.

(112) a. *inu* *yatsuka=**yuti***
3PL.F bath=DUR
‘They are taking a bath’ [remain playing in the water]

b. *inu* *yatsuka=**ikua***
3PL.F bath=HAB
‘They go around taking a bath’ [wherever they see water they take a bath]

c. *inu* *yatsuk(a)=**utsu***
3PL.F bath=AND
‘They go to /will take a bath’

d. *inu* *yatsuk(a)=**uri***
3PL.F bath=AND
‘They came to take a bath’

e. **inu* *yatsuk(a)=**upa***

As for the unacceptability of (112e), what happens is that, because the *upa* has been grammaticalized into the completive suffix *-pa,* only the latter is allowed. Notice that if the auxiliary were allowed, the main verb would lose its final vowel, and the output would be **yatsuk=upa*; however, only *yatsuka-pa* is accepted. However, there is another auxiliary construction that allows the combination of the auxiliary *upa* and the completive suffix *-pa* within the same clause (see §7.3.4)

In this auxiliary construction, the main verb takes any aspectual morphology, including the completive (113a) and the reiterative (113b). If this is the case, the AUX

can optionally attach to the verbal word or appear as an independent word; either way tense markers attach to the auxiliary. Examples in (113) are also elicited data.

(113) a. *inu* *yatsuka-pa (=)**yuti**=uy*
3PL.IN bath-CPL(=)DUR=PAS1
'They took a bath until getting really clean'

b. *inu* *yatsuka-ka (=)**yuti**=uy*
3PL.IN bath-REI(=)DUR=PAS1
'They kept taking baths, repeatedly, one after another'

The examples in (114) show this construction in examples from texts. For instance, in (114a), the main verb is 'go down', and the auxiliary is the venitive 'come.' Example (114d) is especially revealing, showing *yuti* as both, the main verb 'stay' and as the durative auxiliary.

(114) a. *tupapenan* *na* *tuan=nu* *uk~~i~~ri* *ay* *n=**uyupe-uri***
again 2SG parent=PL.F sleep already 2SG=go.down-VEN
'When your parents are again sleeping, you come down (to the port)'

b. *ya* ***uwata-ukua**=tsuriay* *tuyuka-ri*
3SG.F walk-HAB=PAS3 earth=DIF
'He used to walk around the earth'

c. *karuara=pura* *uni=kuara=tsui* *ya=tu* ***tsapuki-yuti***
aquatic.being=FOC water-Ine=ABL 3SG.F=AUG call-DUR
'The yacuruna, he keeps calling from the water'

d. *ikia-ka* *t=**yuti-yuti*** *~~i~~rara* *yauki-ari*
this=LOC 1SG.M=stay-DUR canoe make-PROG
'Here, I keep staying making a canoe'

As mentioned earlier, this construction is also employed with transitive verbs. The elicited examples in (115) show *eyu* 'eat' as the main verb. The verb *eyu* is one of those ambivalente verbs that can function with or without an object (see (108) for its

intransitive counterpart). Note that the auxiliary can optionally attached to the pronominal object, or occur independently and be clitiziced by the tense marker.

(115) a. *rana* *eyu=ura* *(=)**uts**=uy* 'They go to eat it'
3PL.M eat=3M=OBJ AND=PAS1

b. *rana* *eyu=ura* *(=)**uri**=uy* 'They came to eat it'
3PL.M eat=3M=OBJ VEN=PAS

c. *rana* *eyu=ura* *(=)**yuti**=uy* 'They stayed eating it'
3PL.M eat=3M=OBJ DUR=PAS1

d. *rana* *eyu=ura* *(=)**ukua**=uy* 'They use to eat it'
3PL.M eat=3M=OBJ HAB=PAS1

In (116) are examples with transitive verbs from texts, with the main verb and the auxiliary in bold. Note that if the object is a NP it occurs independently; that is, it does not attach to the auxiliary (116a-b). When the object is fronted, the auxiliary immediately follows the main verb (116c). However, when the object is a pronominal it can appear prefixed to the auxiliary (116d). Tense clitics also attach to right edge of the auxiliary (116d).

(116) a. *ay* *ta=**purara*** *ritama* ***utsu**=tsuriay* *ay* *era*
already 1SG.M=find community AND=PAS3 already good
'I went to find my community in good condition'

b. *tsa=mama* ***tseneta*** *kanata* ***ukua**=tsuri* *penu=yaki=ka*
1SG.F=mama turn.on fire HAB=PAS3 3PL=head=LOC
'My mother used to turn on the light close to our heads'

c. *avion* *t=**umi*** ***utsu**=tsuri* *raepe*
airplane 1SG.M=see AND=PAS3 there
'I went to see the airplane there'

d. *rian-ka* *t=**umi*** *r=**ukua**=tsuri* *arawante=ka*
like.this-MOD 1SG.M=see 3SG.M=HAB=PAS3 Arahuante=LOC

ria=nan *t=**umi**-ka* *r=**ukua**=tsuri* *upi*
like.this=only 1SG.M=see-REI 3SG.M=HAB=PAS3 all
'The same kinds of things I used to see in Arahuante, like this I've seen it again, everything.'

As indicated earlier, the constructiton [S V (O)=AUX (=TNS)] is the most frequent in the database, and also the most productive in the sense that, in theory, any verb (intransitive, stative, and transitive) can operate as the main predicate within the construction.

7.3.3.2. [Aux S V (O)]

This second NPAC is quite frequent in discourse. However, out of the five auxiliaries under discussion, only two —*upa* 'finish' and *utsu* 'go'— have been attested in this construction. When the AUX is *upa,* the main verb carries the completive marker *-pa* (117a-d). However, the completive aspect is not required when the AUX is the andative *utsu* (119). The main predicate could be an intransitive verb as in (118) & (119), or a transitive verb as in (120).[12]

(118) a. ***upa*** *y=**aykua**-ta-pa=ay*
CPL2 3SG.F=be.sick-CAU-CPL=3F.OBJ
'He makes her totally sick'

b. ***upa*** *rana* ***umanu**-pa*
CPL2 3PL.M die-CPL
'They all end up dying'

c. *r=yara* *umi=ura,* ***upa*** *r=**ipi**ka-pa*
3SG.M=owner see=3M.OBJ CPL2 3SG.M=cut-CPL
'His owner sees him, he is all cut up'

[12] Faust reports that even nouns can operate as predicates in this construction. In (a) the example provided by her, where *karuara* refers to a mythical creature (cf. §7.2.2.5 on *-pa* as a derivational suffix).
a. ***upa*** *ra* *karuara-**pa***
CPL2 3SG karuara-CPL
'He has been totally transformed into a karuara (creature)' (Faust 1972:111)

d. ***upa*** *rana* *juane* ***upa****-pa*
CPL2 3PL.M tamale finish-CPL
'His tamale/food is all gone'

Example (118d) shows the form *upa* in all three of its functions: in first position as the completive auxiliary (CPL2), after the subject NP as the main verb 'finish', and as the completive aspect marker suffixed to the main verb.

(119) a. ***utsu*** *rana* ***warika*** *kuarachi-ka*
AND 3PL.M go.up sun=LOC
'They are going up to the sun/sky'

b. ***utsu*** *r=****aki*** *r=~~ir~~ikari=kuara*
AND 3SG.M=get.in 3SG.M=mosquito.net=INE
'He goes to enter into his mosquito net'

c. *raepe* ***utsu*** *ra=pura* ***utsu***
then AND 3SG.M=FOC go
'Then he goes away'

d. ***utsu*** *r=****upaka****=ay*
AND 3SG.M=wake.up=already
'He is already going to wake up'

Note in (141c) that *utsu* appears twice: as an auxiliary in front of the subject, and as the main verb following the subject. It should be pointed out that in (141d) the 'andative' is not indicating spacial deixis, that is, direction away from the speaker. It rather conveys temporal deixis towards the point of reference, which is away from the moment of the utterance.

Examples with transitive main verbs are in (120); schematically, the structure in place is: [AUX S V (=)O].

(120) a. ***upa*** *inu* ***tsitsari****-pa=ay*
CPL2 3PL.F forget-CPL=3F.OBJ
'We end up forgetting it completely'

b. ***upa*** *ya=**tsupara**-ta-ka-p(a)-ini*
CPL2 3SG.F=lost-CAU-REI-CPL-1PL.O
'He ends up making us lost'

c. ***upa*** *ra=**menu**-pa* *ra=taira=pura=kana*
CPL2 3SG.M=make.love-CPL 3SG.M man's.daughter=FOC=PL.M
'He$_i$ ends up having sex with all his$_j$ daughters'

This construction also work with fronted object; in which case the configurations is: [O AUX S V]

(121) a. *mai-tsuni* ***utsu*** *r=**umanu**-ta*
mestizo.black AND 3SG.M=die-CAU
'He goes to kill the black man'

7.3.4. Progressive-marked auxiliary constructions (PAC)

In contrast to NPAC, in PAC constructions, the main verb must be marked by the progressive. Recall that the main progressive-marked constituent orders are SOV and VS. This also applies to auxiliary constructions. There are two PAC constructions; in the first, the main predicate can be either intransitive or transitive. If an object is involved, the auxiliary appears between the subject and the object (§7.3.4.1). In contrast, in the second construction only intransitive verbs occur. In this case, the main verb appears fronted and the auxiliary follows the subject (§7.3.4.2).

7.3.4.1. [S Aux (O) V-*ri*]

In contrast to NPAC constructions (7.3.3.1), the O — if any — precedes the main verb and the auxiliary occurs between the subject and the O argument. In this construction, all auxiliaries are attested except the completive *upa*.

(122) a. *tana* ***yuriti*** *kaukia-**ri***
1PL.M DUR wait-PROG
'We keep/stay waiting'

b. *tsa* ***yuriti*** *awati* *yat-ma-**ri***
1SG.F DUR corn sow-PROG
'I stay there sowing corn'

c. *tua-n-nu* ***utsu*** *inu=aya-mira-n* *chikaria-**ri***
be.big-NZR-PL.F AND 3PL.F=hunt-PUR-NZR look.for-PROG
'The adults go looking for meat'

d. *awa=nu* ***ukua*** *kaukia-**ri***
person=PL.F use.to wait-PROG
'The people used to be waiting' [i.e. to cross the street]

7.3.4.2. [V-*ri* S Aux]

In this construction, the main verb appears in initial position and is marked by the progressive. In general, the only circumstance under which verbs can occur in first position is when they are marked by *-ri*. The AUX comes at the end, and if the subject is a clitic, it attaches to the AUX (123).

(123) a. ***karaka**-ri* *r=**utsu***
hard-PROG 3SG.M=AND
'It is getting hard' (Espinosa 1989:278)

b. ***ts-r-kaka**-ri* *ts=**yuti***
refresh-PROG 1SG.F=DUR
'I keep refreshing (myself)'

. *ay* ***umana**-ri* *ra=mama=pura* ***utsu***
already die-PROG 3SG.M=mother=FOC AND
'His mother is dying'

d. ***puá**-ri* *ya=ka-**i*** ***utsu***
rot-PROG 3SG.F=shin AND
'His shin is getting rotten'

Examples in (124) are somehow problematic. In terms of grammar, they basically illustrate the same construction as in (123). Notice, however, that from a semantic point of view, the first element seems to be the auxiliary: it is semantically

bleached and the major lexical content is in the second verb. Importantly, this happens only with the verb *utsu* 'go' and has been attested with only one speaker.

(124) a. ***uts-ari*** *ya=kaɨ* ***upa*** *kakuara-wa*
AND-PROG 3SG.F=shin finish hole-GER
'His shin is getting finished full of holes'
[the infection is damaged the shin]

b. ***uts-ari*** *ya* ***umanu*** *kaɨ* *puá-pu*
AND-PROG 3SG.F die shin rot-INS
'He is dying with his rotten shin'

c. ***uts-ari*** *tsa* *mɨmɨra* ***umanu***
AND-PROG 1SG.F son die
'My son is dying'

d. ***uts-ari*** *tsa=pura* ***yawachima***
AND-PROG 1SG.F=FOC arrive
'I am arriving [at 60 years old]'

7.3.4.3. Nominalized progressive clause: [S (O) V-*ri* AUX-*n*]

In this construction, the auxiliary follows the main verb. This is an important pattern in terms of productivity. About 40% of the cases of clauses containing a progressive-marked verb, the construction in place is this auxiliary construction. This pattern could be analyzed as a nominalized progressive-marked clause. Here, the role of the auxiliary, besides adding aspectual information, is to bear the nominalizer.

In terms of function, progressive-marked clauses in general signal descriptive information. This is consistent with the function of the construction under discussion. Its function is that of an adverbial clause, which is systematically interpreted as a *while/when*-clause that provides the temporal frame of the event expressed in the main clause. The auxiliaries attested in this construction are andative, habitual, and durative.

In (125) are examples with intransitive main verbs. The structure of this construction is [S V-*ri* AUX-*n*]

(125) *a. ya=tua=nu tsapuki=ay [**wɨwɨta-ka-ri** ya=**yuti-n**]*
3SG.F=AUG=PL.F call=3F.OBJ swing-REI-PROG 3SG.F=DUR-NZR
'Those ones call her while she is swinging'

b.. *awa tsawanu **umanu-ri** **utsu-n**-nu*
Person spirit die-PROG AND-NZR-PL.F
'While the soul of the people is dying…'

b. *ya ku=kuara **kamata-ri** **yuti-n***
3SG.F farm=INE work-PROG DUR-NZR
'While he is working at his farm…'

c. *ay kuarachi **aki-ari** **utsu-n***
'When the sun is hiding (at sunset)...'

In (126) there are examples with transitive verbs. The structure is: [S O V-*ri* AUX-*n*]

(126) a. *wepe kunumi waina **tseta-ri** **ukua-n***
one youn.boy woman want-PROG HAB-NZR
'When a young man is looking for a woman…'

b. *ikian wiju kaitsuma **kurata-ri** **yuti-n***
this elder yucca.beer drink-PROG DUR-NZR
'While this elder is drinking yucca beer…'

7.3.5. Problematic cases

One of the most difficult forms to analyze is (=)*utsu* 'go.' It can be a full verb, the auxiliary 'andative (AND),' or the tense marker 'future proximate (FUT1).'

Consider the following examples:

(127) a. *ikian shiringuero **utsu**=tsuriay ɨwɨrati*
this latex.hunter go=PAS3 forest
'This latex-hunter went to the forest'

b. *ria-npu rana **utsu**=**utsu**=tsuriay*
like.this-after 3PL.M go=**AND**=PAS3
'After that they left (that place)'
(Después se largaron (de ahí))

c. *in=**yapana=utsu,*** *ikia=tsui* *ini=**uchima=utsu***
1PL.IN=run=**AND/FUT1** this=ABL 1PL.IN=go.out=**AND/FUT1**
i) '[When they shoot] we run; we escape from here'
ii) '[When they shoot] we're gonna run; we're gonna escape from here'

In (127a), *utsu* 'go' is the main predicate of the clause. Example (127b) contains two instances of *utsu*. Full reduplication is ruled out because the notion of 'iterativity or continuity' is not likely in this context. Future tense is also impossible given the fact that the clause is explicitly marked for past. Then, the only possible analysis is that the auxiliary *=utsu* 'andative' must be attached to the verb 'go.' However, example (127c) is problematic because it could have either interpretation. That is, from a semantic perspective *=utsu* can be either the auxiliary (first interpretation), or the future marker (second interpretation). Both interpretations are accepted by my consultants, but what is more revealing is that, in the discourse context, they found these two interpretations someway equivalent.

A parallel situation is found with the form *uri*: it can be the verb 'come' or the auxiliary 'venitive' (VEN). Examples (128a) and (128b) could be interpreted as compounding or verb plus the venitive auxiliary. Note in (128c), however, that the verb 'speak' has the reiterative morpheme *-ka*. This is a piece of evidence to rule out the compounding interpretation.

(128) a. *ya=pura=nu* ***iriwa-uri*** *pantiun=kuara=tsui*
3SG.F=FOC=PL.F return-come/VEN cemetery=INE=ABL
'They come back from the cemetery'

b. *ya=tua=nu* ***uchim(a)-uri*** *ajan-ka,* *ya=tsitsa=ka*
3SG.F=AUG=PL.F go.out-come/VEN this=LOC 3SG.F=face=LOC
'They (come and) get out there, at her face' (right in front of her)
(Ellos vienen a salir ahí, en su cara)

c. *rana* ***kumitsa****-ka=****uri*** *tana-muki*
3PL.M speak-REI=VEN 1PL.EX.M-COM
'They came to talk to us' (they approach us)

Examples (129b) and (129c), which are imperative constructions, are problematic in a different sense. Example (129a) demonstrates that 'leave' can operate as the single main predicate. In (129b-c), however, there is no grammar that tells us whether these are two verbs making reference to a single event or whether they constitute a single word (compound). Perhaps the only argument that favors the compounding analysis is that there is lack of temporal iconicity in both cases. That is, 'leave' happens before or simultaneously with 'sink' in (129b), and with 'eat' in (129c). However they occur in the opposite order.

(129) a. *tsa* ***ichari*** *n=utsu*
1SG.F leave 2SG=FUT1
'I'll leave you'

b. ***yaparar****(i)****-ichari***
sink-leave
'Leave it sinking/leave it so that it sinks'

c. ***ey****(u)****-ichari****=ay***
eat-leave=3SG.F
'Leave him eating/leave him so that he eats'

Examples in (130) involve a reduced form of the verb *ichari* 'leave.' The initial vowel is deleted. Thus, from a phonological perspective, these examples seem more integrated than the ones in (129), which points towards compounding. However, here iconicity is clear in every example: 'going up' (130a) and 'running' (130b) take place before 'leaving.'

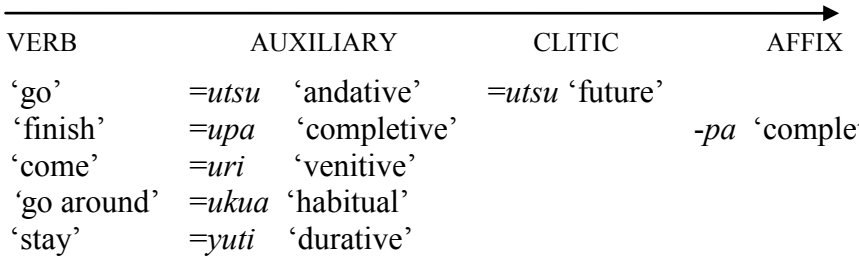
(130) a. *akɨchan* ***warika-chari*** *ya=chir=uy* *pe=ka*
scare-NZR go.up-leave 3SG.F=cloth=PAS1 port=LOC
'The scared one went up leaving her clothes at the port'

b. *r=utsu,* *r=**yapana-chari*** *r=ukua*
3SG.M=go,3SG.M=run-leave 3SG.M=HAB
'He goes, he runs and leaves him/he leaves him running'
(That's what he usually does)

c. *r=**yapana-chari**-ka* *r=utsu*
3SG.M=run-leave-MID 3SG.M=AND
'He runs and leaves him/he leaves him running'
(He goes away)

To close this section, it is possible to say that grammaticalization as a slow gradual process proves relevant to explain auxiliary constructions in KK. Auxiliaries show different stages in the grammaticalization continuum from verbs to affixes. A number of units could be located at several points on this chain (Figure 7.3). This is an ongoing process since both the source verbs and the grammatical units are still very productive in the language.

Figure 7.3: Grammaticalization in KK



7.4. Stative verbs: adjectival al meanings

In KK, there is a considerable number of stative verbs, which also often referred to as descriptive words (cf. Vallejos 2004). They express typical adjectival meanings, but they do not have a set of unique behaviors that would justify calling them

adjectives. Instead, I categorize them as a subset of verbs. Stative verbs share a number of properties with other verbs.

a. They can be the main predicate of the clause (159a-b)
b. They take the nominalizer *-n* to become the predicate in attribute constructions (132a)
c. They can be relativized by means of the morpheme *-n* (132b)
d. They must be nominalized to take on any morphology associated with nouns(133a-b)
e. They can take the progressive morpheme to convey processes (134a, c)
f. They can become transitive by means of the causative (134b, c, d)
g. Most of them can take completive and middle aspect, a few can take reiterative (134d)

In contrast to non-stative verbs, stative verbs:

h. Can appear in the order [V SUBJ] without the progressive marker (135a-b). Recall that typical verbs do not occur in first position unless they are marked by the progressive.

A meticulous check of each element to determine if there is a subset with unique features is beyond this dissertation. The examples in (131)-(135) illustrate the properties listed above.

(131) a. *ra* *tseweka=pura=tu* ***tua***
3SG.M belly=-FOC -AUG be.big
'Her belly is big/huge'

b. *ajan* *kaitsuma* ***tse***
this yucca.beer be.sweet
'This yucca.beer is sweet'

(132) a. *ini=ya* *awa* ***tsuni**-n*
1PL.IN=CMP person black-NZR
'The people are black/dark like us'

b. *kaitsuma* ***tse**-n* *upa-p=uy*
yucca.beer be.sweet-REL finish-CPL=PAS1
'The sweet masato is gone'

(133) a. ***misha**-n-kɨra=kana*
be.small-NZR=DIM=PL.M
'The small-cute ones' (kids)

b. ***tua**-n=kana*
be.big-NZR-PL.M
'The big ones' (monsters)

(134) a. *ikian panara* ***pɨtani-ari***
this banana be.red-PROG
'This banana is getting rippen/ready to eat'

b. *tsa* ***pɨtani-ta*** *ajan* *panara*
1SG.F be.red-CAU this banana
'I'm ripening this banana' (placing it close to the fire)'

c. *tsa* ***ɨpɨ-ta-ri*** *mɨrɨti*
1SG.F be.soft-CAU-PROG aguaje
'I'm softening aguaje (softening palm fruit with warm water)'

d. *ay* ***ɨtsɨ-ta-ka*** *tsa=pura=tsuriay*
3SG.F fear-CAU-MID 1SG.F=FOC=PAS3
'It scared me (it caused me to get scared)'

(135) a. ***pɨtani*** *ya=tua*
be.red 3SG.F=AUG
'It (the injury) is red'

b. *ikun-tikua* ***uti*** *ini=utsu*
today-RSN embarrasment 1PL.IN=FUT1
'Because of today, I'll be embarrassed'

c. *aypuka* ***epewatsu**-pati* *pe=pura=tu*
currently be.wide-INT path=FOC=AUG
'Nowadays, our road is very wide'

The following are the most common descriptives attested in the language, organized by semantic categories:

(136) Human Propensities (values)

aykua	'be sick'
era	'be/feel good-healthy/ be good person'
aytse	'be bad/be sick'
ɨra	'be lier' (*mɨta* 'to lie')
uti	'be embarrazed'
tsariwa	'be happy'
ɨtsɨ	'be scared'
tapiara	'be late'
wɨka	'be strong'

(137) Colors

pɨtani	'be pink-red-orange' (fruit that is ready to eat)
ɨkɨra	'be green' (fruit that isn't ready to eat)
teweyu	'be yellow'
tini	'be white'
tsuni	'be dark/black'
tsawe	'be gray-like/claudy'
karatsuma	'be purple-like'
tsenepuka	'be dark-blue'
kanata	'light/fire/clear'
tsenepuka kanata-n	'blue light (Lit. blue lighten)'

(138) Dimensions / size

misha	'be small'
nua	'be big' (incomenssurable, like river)
tua	'be big' (messurable, like house, clothes)

(139) Physical characteristics and shape

ɨpɨ	'be soft'
yapua	'be rounded

(140) Flavors

tse	'be sweet'
irawa	'be bitter'
chapuni	'be delicious'

Other adjectival notions are generated by compositions:

(141) *nua* + *iyati* = *nuayati* 'medium'
be.big + false

nua+ *utseme* = *nuatseme* 'super big'
be.big + really

misha + *nan* = *mishanani* 'smaller than usual (a fruit, a baby)'
small + like.this

Words related to age, which is another typical category lexicalized as adjectives in many other langauges, are nouns in KK. They are nouns in the sense that they can take the plural marker directly, *wiju=kana, wija=kana , kunumi=kana, kuniati=kana*. The first pair in (145) is borrowed from Spanish including their gender inflection

(142) *wiju/wija* 'old.man/old.woman' ← Sp. *Viejo/vieja*
kunumi/kuniati 'young.man/young.woman'

To conclude this chapter, it is possible to say that, in KK, the verb phrase proves to be a useful syntactic unit to account for several grammatical phenomena, such as the distribution of tense clitics, modality clitics and auxiliaries to convey aspectual nuances (cf. Figure 7.1). As for verbs, although no element is obligatory besides the verb stem, in spontaneous discourse verb word can be quite complex, taking up to four suffixes (cf. Figure 7.2). In the next chapter I explore the several non-verbal predicates constructions KK possesses.

CHAPTER VIII

NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Non-verbal clauses can be defined as a clause type whose base of predication is not a verb. This chapter is dedicated to describing the non-verbal predicate constructions that KK uses to express semantic functions such as equation, proper inclusion, existence, attribution, location, and possession. The analysis presented here draws extensively on Vallejos 2004; the main results provided in that earlier work have been confirmed by looking at a new body of text data, except for minor points which will be appropriately indicated within the relevant sections below. The present version, though, introduces additional examples from texts and new discussion with respect to the expression of modality in non-verbal predicates, and the expression of location through relational nouns, as well as additional discussion of structures with stative verbs.

Crosslinguistically, it is common that equation, proper inclusion, existence, attribution, location, and possession are conveyed by clause constructions without prototypical verbs. This is also the case in KK. Following Payne (1997), *equative*

predicates can be defined as expressing a one-to-one relationship between a referent and what is expressed by the predicate. In other words, equatives assert that a given entity is identical to the one specified in the predicate (e.g., *Alvaro is my father*). *Proper Inclusion* refers to a predicate that creates a relationship that includes the referent in a category, naming the referent as one of a set specified in the nominal predicate (e.g., *Alvaro is a soccer player*). *Existential* predicates are understood as asserting the existence of an (usually indefinite) entity. Frequently, these predicates include reference to a location in which the entity is said to exist; however, this information is not required (e.g., *There is a soccer game*). It is well attested cross-linguistically that the main function of existential constructions is to introduce participants in the discourse. *Attributive* predicates are defined as those that assign a property or attribute to the referent (e.g., *Soccer is exciting*). *Locative* predicates describe (usually a definite) entity as being in a specific location; the located entity is the subject and the location is the predicate (e.g., *The next World Cup is in Brazil*). *Possessive* predicate constructions express a relationship of possession; that is, these predicates create a relationship between two NPs, such that one of them (usually the subject) refers to the possessor, and the other (usually the predicate) to the possessed (e.g., *Brazil has a great soccer team*).

KK is one of those languages that uses non-verbal predicate constructions to express all of the functions introduced above. It has been found that one semantic function can be expressed by several constructions, yet the same formal strategy may be used to convey more than one semantic function. Importantly, no copula has been

identified in any of these constructions. This chapter is organized according to major formally distinct construction types: juxtaposition (§8.1), existential constructions (§8.2) and postpositional constructions (§8.3). Internal to each section I explore various construction subtypes, several of which serve to convey possession.

8.1. Juxtaposition: attributive, equative & proper inclusion functions

The juxtaposition construction consists of a sequence of two elements without any relational or copular element between the two. The fist element is a NP subject, whereas the second element, the predicate, can be a simply NP (§1), a *yara*-marked NP (§8.1.2) a nominalized stative verb (§8.1.3) and more marginally a purpose phrase (§8.1.4). From a functional perspective, these constructions are associated primarily with attributive, equative and proper inclusion meanings. An additional construction that serves equative and identificational purposes is discussed in (§8.1.5).

8.1.1. Juxtaposition of noun phrases: [NP NP]

The juxtaposition construction consists of an NP naming a referent, followed by a second NP, which is the predicate, without any relational element. The order is subject-predicate. Examples (1a-c) give equative predicates.

(1) a. *[uri]* *[ta* *ami]*
3SG.M 1SG.M grand.father
'He is my grandfather' (ED)

b. *[ajan]* *[ya* *mena]*
DEM 3SG.F husband
'This is her husband' (ED)

c. *[mijiri]* *[tsa* *mɨmɨra]*
Miguel 1SG.F woman's.son
'Miguel is my son' (ED)

Note that the first NP could be a pronoun (1a), a demonstrative (1b) or a full NP (1c). As for the NP predicate, they are all full noun phrases; examples (1a-c) include a possessor pronoun as modifier of the head noun.

Examples (2a-c) illustrate proper inclusion predicates.

(2) a. *[etse]* *[kukama* *wayna]*
1SG.F Kukama woman
'I'm a Kukama woman' (ED)

b. *[ajan* *wayna]* *[kukama]*
DEM woman kukama
'This woman is Kukama' (ED)

c. [*Paskuar]* *[ikuatawara]*
Pascual teacher
'Pascual is a teacher' (ED)

When a speaker was asked for a construction like 'I am a woman', she gave (2a). It is possible to take out *kukama* in this context; but according to the speaker, the sentence makes more sense with it. Compare (2a) and (2b) noting the difference with respect to word order. When *kukama* is the modifier of 'woman', it goes before the modified element (2a). However, when *kukama* is the predicate, it goes after the noun as an independent constituent (2b). In this type of construction it is possible to reverse the order of NPs; however, the structure, juxtaposition of NPs, remains the same. Thus, in (3a) and (3b) we have the reversed order of (2b) and (2c), respectively. While in (2) they were proper inclusion predicates, for the semantics of (3) now they seem equatives. This is because the order subject-predicate still holds.

(3) a. *[kukama] [ajan woman]*
kukama DEM woman
'The kukama is this woman'(ED)

b. *[ikuatawara] [Paskuar]*
teacher pascual
'The teacher is Pascual'(ED)

8.1.1.1. Tense and aspect in juxtaposition constructions

When grammatical tense needs to be added to the juxtaposition constructions, the tense marker is attached to the second noun phrase, which is the predicate. Examples in (4) demonstrate the mechanism used for applying tense information. The resulting structure is: [NP $NP_{=T}$]. All the tense clitics work similarly in both equatives (4a-b) and proper inclusion (5a-b) constructions.

(4) a. *ajan tsa mena=**tsuriay***
DEM 1SG.F husband=PAS3
'This was my husband' (ED)
b. *ikian wituriu yawara=**uy***
DEM Victor dog=PAS1
'This was Victor's dog' (ED)

c. *ay ya wayna-k#ra=**tsuri***
3SG.F 3SG.F woman-DIM=PAS3
'She was his little woman'

(5) a. *tsa ami era tsumi=**tsuriay***
1SG.F g.father good shaman=PAS3
'My grandfather used to be a good shaman'

b. *Paskuar ikuatawara=**ikua***
Pascual teacher=PAS2
'Pascual was (the) teacher' (ED)

A woman talking about her ex-husband would say sentence (4a). The example with immediate past (4b), could work, for example, when talking about a dog that died a

few minutes ago. If yesterday the teacher was absent from school and Pascual replaced him, example (5b) could be used.

However in future tense, some restrictions have been detected. In general, attribute predicates are not frequent in the future. As discussed in §9.1.2.4, the morpheme *=a* 'FUT2' is generally less frequent than *=utsu* 'FUT1'; nominal predicates seem to be one of the most restricted contexts for *=a*, as only *=utsu* is attested in juxtaposed predicate nominals.

(6) *ikian muiwatsu taɨra ra mɨmɨra=**utsu***
DEM big.boa son.of.man 3SG.M son.of.woman=FUT
'This son of the big boa is going to be her son'

Example (6) comes from a folk story where the big boa makes a woman pregnant. The son of the boa, which so far has only been a spirit, will become a person via this woman.

Of the many aspectual distinctions available to verbal predicates, I have found only the completive marker *-pa* attached to the noun phrase predicate, as in (7a).

(7) *ay wayna-pa(=tsuri)*
3SG.F woman-CPL
i) 'She becomes (became) a woman' (talking about a young girl) (ED)
ii) 'He turns (turned) into a woman' (talking about a gay man) (ED)

Note that example (7a) can receive two interpretations, 'young girl' and 'a gay man.'

8.1.1.2. Negation and juxtaposition constructions

As introduced in §4.6.1, one of the main strategies of negation in KK is the use of the independent particle *tɨma*. In verbal constructions, this particle usually goes in the

first position of the sentence, and in this way the whole predicate is negated. However, when we want to change the scope of negation, this particle can be moved to some other slots. The negative version of equative and proper inclusion predicate constructions is formed simply by adding the particle *tima* between the two NPs. That is: [NP NEG NP]. In text, the negative particle has not been attested in first position .

(8) a. *ajan* ***tima*** *tsa* *mena*
DEM NEG 1SG.F husband
'This is not my husband' (ED)

b. *maniri* ***tima*** *tsumi*
Manuel NEG shaman
'Manuel is not a shaman' (ED)

c. *tsa* *yuwama=pura=taka* *uwaka-pa,*
1SG.F daughter.law=FOC=MOD change-CPL,

ay ***tima*** *wayna*
3SG.F NEG woman
'Maybe my daughter in law has transformed completely; she is not a woman'

This pattern is also employed to negate constructions marked by tense. For instance, to negate a past tense juxtaposition clause, the negative particle goes between the two NPs and the tense marker attaches to the second NP. Example (9b) comes from a story that talks about some kind of magical entity that long ago was just a spirit; however at present, he shows up from time to time looking like a person and can get you into trouble.

(9) a. *ajan* ***tima*** *tsa* *mena=**tsuri***
Dem NEG 1SG.F husband=PAS3
'This wasn't my husband' (ED)

b. *imina* *yukan* *tua-tu* ***tima*** *awa=**tsuriay***
Long.ago DEM spirit-AUG NEG person=PAS3
'Long ago, that spirit was not a person'

8.1.1.3. Left dislocated NP: [NP_i, $NP=Pro_i$]

In a previous work, (Vallejos 2004), I described a pragmatically marked version of the NP juxtaposition construction as left-dislocation. In this case, the fronted NP is coreferential with an object pronoun. The structure of the construction is: [NP_i, $NP\text{-}Pro_i$] (10).

(10) a. *joan* *wayna=ay /=**ura***
joan woman=3SG.F/3SG.M
'Joan is (a) woman' [Lit. Joan, woman she is] (ED)

b. *jack* *napitsara=ay /=**ura***
Jack man=3SG.F/ 3SG.M
'Jack is man' [Lit. Jack, man he is] (ED)

According to typological studies, left dislocation constructions are supposed to have a separate intonation contour for the dislocated NP and a resumptive pronoun coreferential with the dislocated NP (Givon 2001:266). The elicited examples in (10) include an anaphoric pronoun, but the whole expression seems to occur under a single intonational contour. However, a pause can be placed after the first NP, Joan (10a), and Jack (10b).

To negate this left-dislocation construction, similar to the cases described above, the negative particle *t=ima* is placed in front of the predicate noun phrase; that is, right after the dislocated NP. However, in these cases there is a clear pause between the dislocated NP and the negative particle. In (11a-b) that pause is expressed by a comma.

(11) a. *Joan, t=ima* *napitsara=ay*
Joan NEG man=3F.OBJ
'Joan, she is not a man' (ED)

b. *yukun wayna-kɨra, tɨma uyari awa=ay*
DEM woman-DIM NEG again person=3F.OBJ
'That little woman, she is no longer a person' (she got transformed again)

In terms of their function, this type of sentence is used in more marked contexts than the simple juxtaposition of two NPs. For examples, these constructions were used when the speakers failed to identify the sex of the referents after hearing their names. In those cases I explained the situation like this: "Joan is a woman, Jack is a man" and, after this clarification, the speakers said the examples in (10).

Another case when such a construction was given is when the speakers were asked for negative proper inclusion like this:

(12) a. *tɨma maninpiara=ay*
NEG hook=3SG.F
'It is not a hook' (ED)

b. *tɨma maninpiara=ura, ra ɨwa=pura-nan* ***ura***
NEG hook-3SG.M 3SG.M stick=FOC-only 3SG.M
'It is not a hook; it is only its stick' (ED)

It is interesting to notice that in the second part of example (12b) it is possible for a pronoun to show up before the predicate nominal, 'only a stick.' When it occurs, note that the pronoun is not interpreted as the subject; instead it creates a genitive relationship, so it is interpreted as the possessor of the predicate NP. Again, the subject referent is expressed via the pronoun that follows the nominal. This time as a free form, *ura,* rather that the clitic.

8.1.2. [NP NP(-)*yara*]

This construction links two noun phrases by means of the morpheme -*yara* optionally attached to the second NP. In Chapter 7, -*yara* was characterized as a

derivational morpheme that generates verbs from nouns with the meaning ‘have’ and ‘make’. Thus, strictly speaking, constructions in which -*yara* attaches to a noun, [NP N-*yara*] would not be considered a non-verbal predicate *per se*, but an intransitive verbal construction with the configuration [NP V] (see §7.2.4.4).

However, there are instances in which -*yara* appears optionally attached to a NP rather than a noun that could not be accounted for by the verbalizer derivational analysis. Those cases are analyzed here as non-verbal predicate constructions in which -*yara* indicates that the second NP is a property ⎯ that of possessor — of the first NP. Consider examples in (13).

(13) a. *mijiri* *ɨara-**yara***
Miguel canoe-owner
‘Miguel is the owner of a canoe’
(Lit. Miguel is canoe-owner’) (ED)

b. *ikian* *uka-**yara**=tsuriay*
this house-owner=PAS3
‘This was the owner of the house’
(Lit. This was the house-owner) (ED)

c. *ajan wayna* *mɨmɨra-**yara***
this woman woman’son-owner
‘This woman is a mother’
(Lit. ‘This woman is son-owner; she has a child’)

d. *rutsa* *mɨmɨra-**yara**,* *wepe-nan*
Rosa son-owner one-only
‘Rosa’s own child is only one’ (Lit. Rosa is son-owner of one only) (ED)

First, in (13) -*yara* does not change the category of the noun. In terms of grammar, no other verbal suffixes can added after -*yara*. In contrast, *yara*-derived verbs can take the morphology associated with underived verbs, including the progressive, the

causative, the completive, and with less frequency the reiterative/reflexive (see §7.2.4.4). In terms of meaning, NP-*yara* is not interpreted as 'have N,' but as 'the N's owner.' For instance, in (13), *uka-yara* is not interpreted as 'this has/makes house,' but as 'this is the house owner/owner of the house.' Thus, I argue that sentences (13) illustrate non-verbal predicate constructions, where *uka-yara* is the predicate NP.

Further evidence that the sequence *uka-yara* in (13) is a noun phrase rather than a derived verb is provided in (14). In the examples below, the NP-*yara* operates as the subject NP of a typical verb, such as *kumitsa* 'speak' (14a), and *yawachima* 'arrive' in (14b).

(14) a. *raepe* *uka-**yara*** *kumitsa*
then house-owner talk
'Then, the house owner talks'

b. *raepe* *ikian* *uka-**yara*** *yawachima*
then this house-owner arrive
Then, this house owner arrives'

Structures in (14) suggest a compound like behavior of *-yara* that appear to be remnants of its source, the Tupinamba form **jár-a* 'owner' (Jensen 1998:507) (see 7.2.4.4).

8.1.2.1. Tense in constructions with *-yara*

When we want to add tense information to this construction, tense clitics are added after *(-)yara*. Note in (15a-b) that *(-)yara* appears unbounded from the preceding noun, but attached to the tense clitic

(15) a. *tana* *[tuyuka* *nua-n* ***yara]=tsuriay***
1PL.EX.M ground be.big-NZR owner=PAS3
'We used to be the owners of a big territory'

b. *tana* *karetera* ***yara-utsu,*** *na* *rana* *kumitsa*
1PL.EX.M road owner=FUT1 QT 3PL.M talk
'We are going to have a road, they say'
(Lit. 'We will be road owners')

c. *juria* *mena-**yara=uy***
Julia husband-owner=PAS1
'Julia has got a husband'
(Lit. 'Julia had her own husband')

8.1.2.2. Negation in constructions with *-yara*

The negative version of possessive constructions with *-yara* is presented in (16). The particle *~~t~~ima* usually occurs between the possessor and the possessed. If the negative predication is in focus, the possessor subject is no longer in first position, but rather the predicate. But the particle *~~t~~ima* still precedes the possessed element (16b).

(16) a. *ikian* *tua-tu* ***~~t~~ima*** *tai~~r~~a-**yara***
DEM spirit-AUG NEG son-owner
'That spirit does not have a son'
(Lit. 'That spirit is not a son-owner')

b. ***~~t~~ima*** *kuriki-**yara*** *juria-chasu*
NEG money-owner Julia-AFE
'Poor Julia does not have money'
(Lit. 'Not a money-owner is poor Julia') (ED)

c. *ikian* *uka* ***~~t~~ima*** *yara-**yara***
DEM house NEG owner-owner
'This house does not have its own owner'
(Lit. 'This house is not owner-owned') (ED)

If in a community there were a house that did not have an individual owner (i.e. one that is used for assemblies), sentence (16c) would be used. It refers to the fact that the community has the ownership of the house. This example is interesting because the two types of *yara* co-occur: one as a noun and the other as the marker possessed status.

The following examples display negation and tense. The negative particle *tima* occurs between possessor and possessed and the tense markers go after *-yara*.

(17) a. *juria* ***tima*** *mena-yara=**tsuriay***
Julia NEG husband-possess=PAS3
'Julia did not have a husband'

b. *iminan=tsui=ka* *kokama=kana* ***tima*** *pitsa-yara=**tsuriay***
long.ago-ABL=LOC kokama=PL NEG fish.net-possess=PAS3
'(From) a long time ago, the Kokama people did not use to have fishnets'

Finally, I would like to mention that the subject of *yara*-construnctions can be relativized by means of the nominalizer *-n* (18a-b).

(18) a. *juria* *urkuru-yara-n*
Julia basket-owner-NZR
'Julia, who is one that has a basket,…'
(Lit. Julia, who is a basket-owner…')

b. *juria* *tima* *kuriki-yara-n*
Julia NEG money-owner-NZR
'Julia, who is one who has no money, …'
(Lit. Julia, who is not a money-owner…)

8.1.3. Constructions with nominalized stative verbs : [NP V_{sta}-*n*]

As described in Chapter 7, in KK adjectival meanings are expressed by stative verbs. Also called descriptive words, these verbs refer to notions such as human propensities (*aytse* 'be sick,' *ira* 'be dishonest,' *uti* 'be embarrased,' etc.), colors (i.e., *pitani* 'be reddish,' *ikira* 'be greenish,' *tini* 'be clear, white,' etc.), dimensions (i.e., *misha* 'be small,' *nua/tua* 'be big'), physical characteristics (i.e., *ipi* 'be soft', *yapua* 'be round'), and flavors (i.e., *tse* 'be sweet,' *irawa* 'be bitter'). For a complete list of the attested stative verbs and the constructions in which they occur, see §7.4.

As seen in §7.4, stative verbs already are capable of serving as attributive predicates, but they occur nominalized in non-verbal predicates. The difference between these two constructions is one of temporal stability, with the verb predicating a temporary or unexpected property, and the nominalization a permanent and/or inherent property. Consider (19a-b), offered by a speaker when asked to explain the difference between the configurations [NP V_{sta}] and [NP V_{sta}-*n*] :

(19) a. *tsa* *mɨmɨra* ***wika****(=tsuri)*
1SG.F son be.strong(=PAS3)
'My son is (was) strong'(ED)
(He knows how to be strong /behaves like a strong person when necessary)

b. *tsa* *mɨmɨra* ***wika-n****(=tsuri)*
1SG.F son be.strong-NZR(=PAS3)
'My son is (was) a strong one' (ED)
(He was just born like that; he has always been healthy)

The speaker's intuitions reveal that the intransitive verbal construction (19a) has a temporary interpretation, whereas the nominalized construction bears a permanent attribute (19b). The first example was explained like this: "my son may not look like a strong person but in fact he is." In Amazonian Spanish: *él sabe ser fuerte,* which can be roughly translated as 'he always rises to the occasion.' In contrast, (19b) does not have all these implications; this person just has the attribute of being strong.

A parallel example is provided in (20). While (20a) implies that the seed was not necessarily black, but could have become black by effect of the sunlight, for instance. However, (20b) entails that this particular seed is always black.

(20) a. *ra=tsuwɨri* *tsuni*
3SG.M=seed be.blak-NZR
'Its seed is black'
[it became black with the sun] (ED)

b.*ra=tsuwɨri* *tsuni-n*
3SG.M=seed be.blak-NZR
'Its seed is black'
[that's just the color of the seed of this fruit] (ED)

As a general observation, in the corpus stative verbs occur more frequently in nominalized constructions than in verbal constructions. In Vallejos (2004) this phenomenon was described as resembling relative constructions. In (21a-d), the subject noun phrase comes in first position followed by the nominalized stative verb.

(21) a. *Puka* *wayna* ***yumɨra-n,*** ***uti-n***
turtle woman be.angry-REL embarrassment-NZR
'The turtle woman is (lives) angry, embarrassed'

b. *tsa* *mɨmɨra* *mukuika* ***wika-n****-nu*
1SG.F woman.son two strong-NZR=PL.F
'My children are two strong ones'(ED)

c. *ajan* *wija* ***aytse-n***
this old.lady be.bad-NZR
'This old lady is mean'

d. *eyu-n=pura* *tɨma* *era,* ***tse=n****=nan*
eat-NZR=FOC NEG be.good be.sweet=only
tɨma *tewe-yara-n,* ***chɨpɨrɨ=n****=pura*
NEG salt-HAVE-REL be.bland=NZR=FOC
'The food is not good; it's sweet only; it doesn't have salt; it's bland'

I would like to call some attention to the last example (21d). The first portion, 'the food is not good' includes the stative verb *era* 'be good' which appears in a verbal clause; however, 'it is sweet' and 'it is bland' are expressed via nominalized

constructions. Note also that the word 'salt' is a noun, so it needs the verbalizer *-yara* 'have' before it can take *-n* to express that 'the food has salt,' That is: **tewe-n* 'salty' is ungrammatical.

With less frequency, the reverse order is also possible. That is, the nominalized stative verb comes in first position followed by the NP.

(22) a. ***kuyana-n*** *tsa=m-i-rakunia*
be.thing-NZR 1SG.F=woman.daughter
'The thin one is my daughter' (ED)

b. ***ikira-n*** *ikian* *kaitsuma*
be.fresh-NZR DEM drink
'This masato is fresh' (ED)

c. **aytse-n** na tua-n=nu[1]
be.mean-NZR 2SG parent=PL.F
'Mean are your parents'

d. ***chapuni-n*** *anaru*
be.delicicious-NZR wrapped.food
'This wrapped food (i.e., tamale) is delicious'

Negative construction with nominalized stative verbs are formed by symply placing the negative particle *tima* before the nominalized stative verb. That is: [NP *tima* V_{sta}-n] (23a-c).

(23) *a. raepe* *rana* ***tima*** ***uti=n***
there 3PL.M NEG embarrasment=only
'There, they are not embarrased'

b. *mararina* ***tima*** ***takaka-n***
Magdalena NEG be.married-REL
'Magdalena is not married' (ED)

[1] Because of morphophonological rules, the sequence *tua-n=nu* is produce as [*tuaminu*]

c. *tsuitini* *mui* ***tɨma*** ***tua-n***
rattlesnake snake NEG be.big-NZR
'The rattlesnake is not that big' (compare to the boa) (ED)

The following examples illustrate the placement of tense clitics. They attach to the predicate noun phrase, [NP V_{sta}-$n_{=TNS}$] (24).

(24) *tsa* *yakɨ* ***tsuni-n=tsuri,*** *aypuka upa* *ya* *tini-pa*
1SG.F head be.dark-NZR-PAS3 now AUX 3SG.F be.clear-CPL
'My head (hair) was black, nowadays it's totally white' (ED)

8.1.4. Attribute function via the purposive construction: [NP NP-*ra*]

There is a construction to indicate attribution that commonly receive future interpretation. The postposition of purpose =*ra* is attached to the second noun phrase (25). This construction is very productive and has a slightly specialized reading; it generally bears a sense of transformation, or 'becoming.' If a tense clitic is not present, it has future reading; however, tense can be made explicit by attaching one of the clitics to the predicate NP. Note the future marker =*utsu* (25b) and the past =*tsuri(ay)* in (25c).

(25) a. *[amaniu* *ts=uka* *tsapɨtari* *yatɨma-n]* *[mutsana=**ra**]*
cotton 1SG.F=house behind plant-NZR remedy=PUR
'The cotton planted behind my house is for remedy/medicine'

b. *[ajan]* *[tsa* *mena=**r**=**utsu]***
Dem. 1SG.F husband-PUR=FUT
'This will become/will be my husband'

c. *tsa* *purara* *wepe* *napitsara*
1SG.F find one man

[ajan] *[ɨyatira-n* *tsa=mena=**ra**=pura=tsuri]*
DEM first-NZR 1SG.M=husband=PUR=FOC=PAS3
'I find one man; this became my first husband'

To negate this construction, *t=ima* shows up between the NP subject and postpositional phrase (26). Note that *t=ima* cannot be sentence initial in (26), which is additional evidence that the morpheme =*ra* is not the denominal verbalizer. In verbal predicate constructions, *t=ima* in sentence initial position is the privileged pattern.

(26) a. *ajan* ***t=ima*** *tsa* *mena=**ra***
Dem. NEG 1SG.F husband-PUR
'This won't become my husband' (ED)

I would like to mention that there is a homophonous verbalizer suffix -*ra*, described in §7.2, which could be confused with the purposive postposition. The examples below show that the verbalizer generates denominal verbs out of nouns, with a completely different syntactic structure. Both examples exhibit SV structure; in (27a), the *ra*-derived verb is the main predicate of the clause; in (27b) the *ra*-derived verb is within a relative clause that is operating as the modifier of the subject 'woman.'

(27) a. *[ajan* *wayna]* *m=m=ra-**ra***
DEM woman woman.son-VZR
'This woman is pregnant'
*This will become the son of the woman

b. *[wayna* *m=m=ra-**ra**-n]* *uman=uy*
woman woman.son-VZR-NZR die=PAS1
'The woman who was pregnant died'
*the one to be the son of the woman died

8.1.5. Identificational construction : NP=Pro

The equative function can also be expressed by encliticizing a third person subject pronoun to the predicate. This construction consistently conveys identification

functions. The person marker has the object form but it is the notional subject, while the NP operates as the predicate (28a-c).

(28) a. *ta* *ta-ra=**ura**,* *inan*
1SG.M m'son=3M.OBJ watch.out
'He is my son. Watch out!

b. *ni* *epe* *kuniada=**ura***
NEG 2PL sister.in.law=3M.OBJ
'She is not your sister in law'

c. *epe* *kuniada=**ura***
2PL sister.in.law=3M.OBJ
'She is your sister in law'

In (28a), the predicate NP is 'my son' and the subject is the pronoun *ura* 'he'. Example (28b) shows how this construction is negated. In this particular utterance, the negative particle *ni* is placed in front of the predicate NP, 'your sister in law.' Example (28c), which was elicited based on (28b), shows the affirmative counterpart.

The examples in (29) involve interrogative words. They also illustrate the employment of modal particles within this construction. In (29a), the second position clitic that conveys uncertainty, *=taka*, attaches to the predicate NP, and then the pronominal subject enclitic follows. In (29b), the modal *era* occurs at the end of the construction, as it does for verbal predicates.

(29) a. *mari=ki-ra=taka=**ura***
thing=DIM-UNC=3M.OBJ
'What little thing might it be?'

b. *mari* *i-wi-ra=tua* *ikia=**ura**=era*
thing tree=AUG here=3M.OBJ-MOD
'What (kind of) tree could the one here be'

This concludes the discussion of the juxtaposition constructions which express the equative, proper inclusion and attributive functions. We now turn to constructions that express a new function, the existential.

8.2. Existential constructions

In KK, existential constructions are based on the word *emete* which could be translated as 'exist.' Existential constructions are formed by putting *emete* in several configurations.

The word *emete* exhibits an idiosyncratic behavior; it has particular features that make it different from a typical verb. From a morphological perspective, it does not take any of the morphology associated with verbs, such as aspectual and derivational suffixes. From a syntactic point of view, it can occur in first position in the sentence, whereas other verbs cannot occur initially unless the construction is in progressive aspect. In specific configurations, it could also be interpreted by some speakers as 'have' which turns the utterance into a possessive construction (see §8.2.2.3).

8.2.1. Basic existential : [*emete* NP]

This construction consists of putting *emete* in front of the NP of which existence is being predicated.

It is well documented that the main function of existential constructions across languages is to introduce participants in the discourse. This does not seem to be the case in Kokama-Kokamilla, however. Only on rare occasions do existential predicates

introduce new participants, as in (30). The main function of this construction is to truly assert the existence of an entity, as in (31a-b).

(30) ***emete*** *ikian* *wayna,* *kuatiashira-yara-ra* *arirama*
exist this woman last.name-possessed-VZR last.name
'There is this woman, her last name is Arirama.'

(31) a. ***emete*** *tana* *kara,* *yawiri,* *upi* *mari=pura* *tana* *yatima*
exist 1PL.EX.M w.potato yucca all thing=FOC 1PL.EX.M grew
'There is our sachapapa, yucca; we grew all kinds of things.'

b. ***emete*** *kokama=kana,* *parara-ka-rapa* *rana*
exist 3.PL.M=PL.M disperse-REI-MNR 3PL.M
'The Kokamas exist, (but) they are totally dispersed'

c. ***emete*** *rana* *tsatsawa-ka-tupa*
exist 3PL.M cross-REI-place
'There is a place through which they cross (the river)'

Example (31a) comes from a text where the speaker is describing life in his new community. According to him, they used to suffer for lack of food, but now there are many products because they are able to grow all kinds of plants. In (31b), the speaker is discussing the fact that people think the Kokama people no longer live/exist in this particular area of the Amazon. In the same text, in (31c) the speaker talks about how they get to a neighboring village, which happens to be on the other side of the river.

Existential constructions can optionally include a locative LOC phrase. Often LOC come in first position, as seen in examples (32a-c); but it can also appear at the end of the sentence, as we can see in (32d).

(32) a. *ikian* *ritama=kuara* ***emete*** *kukama=kana*
this community=INE exist kokama=PL.M
'In this town there are Kokamas'

b. *ikia-ka* ***emete*** *eyu-n,* *mama*
this=LOC exist eat-NZR mother
'Here there is food, mom' [children were hungry and finally found food]

c. *juria=ka* ***emete*** *aruts*
Julia=LOC exist rice
'There is rice at Julia' [Julia has rice]

d. ***emete*** *~~iki~~ratsen* *tukini=kuara*
exist kid hammock=INE
'There is a kid in the hammock'

Examples like (32c) are often interpreted as expressing possession. Typologically, this is the *mihi est* type of construction: the nominal marked by the locative is read as the possessor, and the NP that follows *emete* is the possessed. For more discussion on existential possessives, see §8.2.2.

Although this order is less frequent in discourse, *emete* can also follow the NP whose existence is being predicated; that is [NP *emete* (LOC)]. This is illustrated in (33). Example (33a) refers to the fact that one type of fish, *paiche* (*arapaima gigas*), is now almost extinct in the Amazon. Example (33b) comes from a personal narrative in which the speaker mentions she got married at an early age. Note in this example that the piece of information being predicated is expressed via a pronoun procliticized to *emete*. Example (33c) was taken from a narrative about the origin of the stars and constellations, in which the speaker describes the images he sees in the sky.

(33) a. *ay-puka* ***ni****=pura* *~~i~~watsu* ***emete***
already-when NEG=FOC esp.fish exist
'Nowadays, there are no more paiche.

b. *ikumenan* *ay* *r=****emete*** *[laughs]*
fast already 3SG.M=exist
'Rapidly, he exists' (You get a husband fast)

c. ***emete*** *ra* *tsana*,
exist 3SG.M shadow

tsut=ma *tsana* ***emete*** *ikia-ka*
leg shadow exist this=LOC
'There is its shadow; the shadow of a leg exists here'

From a functional perspective, the existential constructions where the NP precedes *emete* seem to be pragmatically marked. More precisely, there is clear emphasis on the piece of information that comes in first position in the sentence. For instance, in (33a), the emphasis is on *aypuka* 'nowadays' as opposed to what happened in the past; in example (33b), the emphasis is on *ikumenan* 'quickly.' Example (33c) includes two existential constructions: while the first illustrates a pragmatically unmarked construction, [*emete* NP]; the second shows the reverse structure, [NP emete LOC]. In the latter, there is emphasis on the initial NP, *tsut=ma tsana* 'the shadow of a leg.'

In subordinate clauses, the structure of the existential construction is [NP *emete*]. That is, the NP whose existence is being predicated occurs first, *emete* follows, and the subordinador is attached to *emete*. In other words, in subordinate clauses, *emete* behaves syntactically like a typical verb: it occupies the last position in the sentence and takes the subordinador. In example (34a) notice that the conditional *-ra* attaches to *emete*, as the temporal *-puka* does in (34b, c).

(34) a. *na* *kuriki* ***emete-ra,*** *rawa* *utsu*
2SG money exist-CON PRT go
'If you have Money, then go!' (Lit. If your money exists, then go)

b. *ni* *awa* ***emete-puka,*** *ɨpatsu=kuara* *wapuru* *aki*
NEG person exist-when lake=INE ship enter
'When there is nobody, the ship enters in the lake'

c. *ikian* *ɨpatsu* *katupe* *tɨma* *wapuru=kana* ***emete-puka***
this lake show.up NEG ship=PL.M exist-when
'This lake shows up at the time (when) there are no ships'

8.2.1.1. Tense in existential constructions

If one wants to add explicit tense information to an existential construction, a tense clitic generally attaches to the NP that is being predicated. This is shown in (35a-c). In elicitation, when *emete* follows the NP the tense marker attaches to *emete*, as in (35d); however, this pattern, [NP *emete*-TNS], has not been attested in texts.

(35) a. *emete* *chita* *taricaya* *tsupia=**tsuri***
exist a.lot turtle egg=PAS3
'There were lots of turtle eggs'

b. *emete* *ikɨratsen**=uy*** *uka=ka*
exist kid=PAS1 house=LOC
'There was a kid at the house'

c. *emete* *ta* *wayna=**tsuri***
exist 1SG.M woman=PAS3
'I had a woman (Lit. My woman existed)'

d. *wepe* *yawara* *emete=**ikua*** *tsa* *mɨmɨra=ka*
one dog exist=PAS2 1SG.F son=LOC
'There was a dog at my son' (My son had a dog) (ED)

A general observation is that, in natural discourse, the appearance of existential constructions marked by tense is very low.

8.2.1.2. Negation in existential constructions

There are two ways to make negative existential predicates. The first construction utilizes the particle *t-ima*, which is placed in front of *emete* to negate the whole construction. As a result we have the construction: [NEG *emete* NP] whose propositional meaning is 'X does not exist'. This is presented in examples (36a, b). Note that in (36c), introduced in (34c), the existential construction is embedded, so *emete* occurs at the end of the construction, [NEG NP *emete*].

(36) a. ***t-ima emete*** *ta maninpiara*
NEG exist 1SG.M hook
'There is not my hook' [I can't find my hook]

b. *tapi-a-pa-in,* ***t-ima emete*** *rama awa=kana*
indigenous-CPL-REL NEG exist other person=PL.M
'Just indigenous, there are no other people'

c. *ikian i-patsu katupe* ***t-ima*** *wapuru=kana* ***emete****-puka*
this lake show.up NEG ship=PL.M exist-when
'This lake shows up the time there are no ships'

The sequence *t-ima emete* is often realized as *temente [temende]*. No clear correlation has been observed between *temende* and variables such as colloquial and fast speech. Speakers do not seem to have any intuitions about the distribution of *t-ima emete* versus *temente*. In general, my consultants have no problem replacing one for the other in any utterance.

(37) a. ***temente*** *ikua-tupa tipishka=ka*
NEG.exist know-place Tipishka=LOC
'There is no school in Tipishka'

b . ***temente*** *i-rara=**uy** pe=ka*
NEG.exist canoe=PAS1 port=LOC
'There were no canoes at the port'

c. ***temente*** *ta* *maninpiara*
NEG.exist 1SG.M hook
'There is not my hook' [I can't find my hook]

d. *ay-puka* ***temente*** *ura*
already-when no.exist 3M.OBJ
'Nowadays it doesn't exist (anymore)'

The second type of negative existential includes the particle *ni*, which is placed right in front of the noun phrase whose non-existence is being predicated. The existential *emete* comes at the end. The resulting construction is: [*ni* NP *emete*] whose propositional meaning is: 'No X exists.' That is, the scope of *ni* is the noun phrase rather than the whole construction. The examples are given in (38). It should be noted that no example where *emete* precedes the negated NP has been attested [**emete ni* NP].

(38) a. ***ni*** *mari* ***emete***
NEG2 thing exist
'There is nothing'

b. *ni* *ya=kanuara=pura* *emete*
NEG2 3SG.F=bone=FOC exist
'Not even his bones exist/are left'

c. *aypuka* ***ni****=pura* *i̶watsu* ***emete***
Now NEG2=FOC paiche exist
'Nowadays, no paiche (type of fish) exists'

d. ***ni*** *awa* ***emete****-puka* *i̶patsu=kuara* *wapuru* *aki*
NEG2 person exist-when lake=INE ship enter
'When there is nobody, the ship enters in the lake'

Example (38b) is from a story about someone who disappeared and it is suspected that he might have been eaten by a tiger. In (38c), repeated from (33a), the speaker is talking about a type of fish that it is now almost extinct. The embedded

clause in example (38d), repeated from (34b), asserts that 'no person' was around at the time the event expressed in the main predicate happened.

Finally, the examples in (39) exhibit the combination of negation and tense. Only the first pattern of negation — the one that includes *tima*— has been attested in combination with tense clitics within a single utterance. To express both negation and tense, the negative particle comes in the first position followed by *emete*, and then comes the noun phrase to which the tense clitic is attached. Schematically: [NEG *emete* NP=TNS]

(39) a. ***tima emete*** *tsa mimira=chasu=**tsuriay*** *tsa uka=ka*
NEG exist 1SG.F son=AFE=PAS3 1SG.F house=LOC
'There was not my son in my house'

b. *ta utsu yurimaka=ka-puka*
1SG.M go Yurimaguas=LOC-when

tima emete *ta wayna=kira-**tsuri***
NEG exist 1SG.M woman=DIM=PAS3
'By the time I went to Yurimaguas, my wife did not exist' (she was dead).

8.2.1.3. Modals in existential constructions

Modal clitics attach to the first element in the clause, whether this is *emete*, or the negative particle in negative existential constructions. Examples are given in (40a-d).

(40) a. ***emete=taka*** *n=awarindi, tal-vez rana yankata=ura=uy*
exist-UNC 2SG=cachasa maybe 3PL.M put=3M.OBJ=PAS1
'Your cachasa might be there, maybe they have left it'

b. *temente iwira, **emete=era** ikian ipatsu=kuara*
no.exist tree exist-APPR DEM lake=INE
'There was not a tree (before), how could this be in the lake (now)'

c. *t͟ima=**ray*** ***emete*** *͟iki*
NEG-SPE exist chili
'There wouldn't be any chili'
[Indirect request: 'Maybe you have some chili']

d. ***temente=tsunka,*** *ni* *ini* *yuwama*
NEG.exist-MOD NEG 1PL.IN daughter.law

emete*=uy* *ya* *ku=kuara*
exist=PAS1 3SG.F farm=INE
'It appears it was not, it was not our daughter in law which was at her farm'

In (40a) the uncertainty marker =*taka* cliticizes to *emete*. In (40b), the apprehensive marker =*era* appears attached to *emete* and the whole construction gets interpreted as questioning the potentiality of the event, 'how could this be the case?' Example (40c) gives a negative existential construction in which the speculative modal =*ray* attached to the negative particle *t͟ima*. The particle -*tsunka*, in (40d), has not been introduced yet. This is a discourse level morpheme that expresses the speaker's surprise when an unexpected or unusual situation happens; it is against his expectations and he resists believing it. In Amazonian Spanish it is usually translated with the expression *ya vuelta*, which bears counter-expectation, surprise, and disbelief. This resembles what DeLancey (2002) calls mirativity. For a full description of modality markers, see §9.1.3.

Finally, both pieces of the existential construction can be questioned independently: example (41a) questions the "thing" whose existence is under discussion, and (41b) questions the predicate 'exist'.

(41) a. *ay* *senior,* *mari-tipa* ***emete*** *ajan* *ku=kuara*
oh lord, thing-Q exist DEM farm=INE
'Oh my lord, what is there in this farm?'

b. ***emete=****tipa* *na=pala=chasu*
exist=Q 2SG=shovel=AFF
'Do you have a shovel?'
(Lit. Does your shovel exist?')

8.2.2. Existential constructions with possessive interpretation

In KK, possession can be inferred from several constructions. That is, the relationship of possession is not created by the construction itself. As shown in §8.2, some existential constructions are interpreted as possessive predicates. In the following subsections I discuss the existential constructions that speakers primarily associate with possession when asked to provide examples with possessive relationships.

8.2.2.1. [*emete* [POSSESOR POSSESSED]$_{NP}$]

In this construction, the noun phrase whose existence is under discussion consists of both a possessor and possessed element: [*emete* [POSSESOR POSSESSED]$_{NP}$]. Recall from §5.9 that in KK a genitive relationship inside a NP is expressed by word order. In constructions with *emete*, the possessor is in bold.

(42) a. *emete* ***tsa*** *m-im-irakunia=nu* *ay* *ikua* *yauki-tara=nu*
exist 1SG.F daugther=PL.F 3SG.F know make-REL.A=PL.F
'I have daughters who know how to make it' (fan)
(Lit. There are my daughters who know how to make it)

b. *emete* ***y****=irua*
exist SG.F=mate
'He has a partner'
(Lit. His partner exists)

c. *ikia=ka* *emete* ***ta*** *irua=chasu*
here=LOC exist 1SG.M mate=AFF
'Here (in this village) I have my partner'
(Lit. My partner is in this village)

d. *emete=taka na* ~~*ik*~~*i*
exist=UNC 2SG chili
'You might have chili'
(Lit. Maybe there is your chili)

Examples in (43) include noun phrases with two layers of genitive relationships. For instance, in (43a), *tsa mena* 'my husband' is the possessor of 'money,' and *tsa* 'I' is the possessor of 'husband.' In (43b) we see a comparable situation: 'pain' metaphorically belongs to 'my head', but at the same time *tsa* 'I' is the possessor of 'head.' The elements interpreted as the subject of the possessive verb in the translation are in bold.

(43) a. *temente* *[[**tsa**]* ***mena**=pura]* *kuriki*
NEG.exist 1SG.F husband=FOC money
'My husband doesn't have money'
(Lit. My husband's money doesn't exist)

c. *emete* *[[**tsa]*** *yak*~~*i*~~*]* *tsachi-n*
exist 1SG.F head feel.pain-NZR
'I have headache' (Lit. There is my head's pain)

8.2.2.2. [LOC *emete* NP]

The second existential construction that gets interpreted as expressing possessive information is one where location is explicitly expressed. This is the

so-called *mihi est* construction, in which the possessor is interpreted from a locative where some entity is supposed to exist: [LOC *emete* NP], as in (44a-b).

(44) a. *ta* *yuwama=ka* ***emete*** *era-n* *kaitsuma*
1SG.M daughter.law=LOC exist be.good-NZR yucca.beer
'My daughter in law has good yucca beer'
(Lit. There is good yucca beer at my daughter in law)

b. *juria=ka* ***emete*** *aruts*
Julia=LOC exist rice
'Julia has rice'
(Lit. There is rice at Julia) (ED)

However, the possessive interpretation becomes available only when the location makes reference to an animate being who could be a potential possessor (44, 45a). Note that when a clause does not include a locative phrase (45b), or it does not refers to an animate entity (45c), the possessive reading is not available.

(45) a. *awɨrɨ* *kuriki* ***emete*** *na=ka*
how.much money exist 2SG=LOC
'How much money do you have?'
(Lit. How much money is there on you?) (ED)

b. *awɨrɨ* *kuriki* ***emete***
how.much money exist
'How much money is there?' (ED)

c. *ikia-ka* ***emete*** *eyu-n,* *mama*
this=LOC exist eat-NZR mother
'Here there is food, mom'

8.2.2.3. [NP$_i$, *emete* POSSESSOR$_i$ POSSESSED]

The existential construction [*emete* POSSESOR POSSESED] can be further modified to highlight a pragmatically marked possessor. In this case, a left-dislocated noun phrase is added to the front of the construction which is coreferent with the

POSSESSOR. Interestingly, this is one of the first patterns speakers provide when asked to translate Spanish possessive constructions; in my text corpus, however, this pattern is rather rare.

The examples in (46) are from texts, the one in (47) was elicited. In the examples (46a-b) and (47a), note that the predicate phrase includes a possessor pronoun which is coreferent with the noun phrase which precedes *emete*.

(46) a. *ikia* *chura-n=kɨra*$_i$ ***emete*** *ra*$_i$ *juane*
this be.small-NZR=DIM exist 3SG.M tamale
'This cute small one has his tamale'
(Lit. 'This cute small one$_i$, his$_i$ tamale exists')

b. *uri*$_i$ ***emete*** *ra*$_i$ *rinupi=kɨra* *r=atura=kuara*
3SG.M.L exist 3SG.M lemon=DIM 3SG.M=packet=INE
'He has his lemon in his packet'
(Lit. 'He$_i$, his$_i$ lemon exists in his packet')

(47) a. *juria*$_i$ ***temente*** *ra*$_i$ *yawiri*
Julia NEG.exist 3SG.M yucca
'Julia does not have yucca'
(Lit. 'Julia, her yucca does not exist') (ED)

In the left-dislocated existential construction, a pause can be optionally added after the first NP. My consultants provided also some clues that point towards sentences which are not about the possessive relationship, but about the entities being portrayed as possessors. For instance, (48a) would be describing Julia in terms of what she possesses.

(48) a. *juria*$_i$ *[...]* ***temente*** *ra*$_i$ *yawiri*
Julia NEG.exist 3SG.M yucca
'Julia does not have yucca'
(Lit., As for Julia, her yucca doesn't exist) (ED)

b. *uri$_i$ […]* ***emete*** *ra$_i$* *rinupi=kira* *r=atura=kuara*
3SG.M.L exist 3SG.M lemon=DIM 3SG.M=packet=INE
'He has his lemon in his packet'
(As for him, there is his lemon in his pocket) (ED)

In sum, I would argue that, although the left-dislocated existential construction illustrated in (46) to (48) is interpreted as possessive, its primary function is less to express a possessive relationship and more to predicate some facts about a pragmatically marked entity within the discourse context.

8.2.2.4. [NP *emete* NP-*yara*]

This patter was found only in elicitation. It includes both *emete* and *-yara*. Here, *-yara* functions as specifier of the noun it is attached to and it is interpreted as 'own/owner'.

(49) a. *mijiri* *emete* ***uka-yara***
Miguel exist house-own
'Miguel has his own house'
(Lit. Miguel$_i$, there is a house-owner$_i$)

b. *tsa* *mena* *emete* ***wapuru-yara***
1SG.F husband exist ship-own
'My husband has his own ship'
(Lit. My husband$_i$, there is a ship-owner$_i$')

If one wants to add tense to this construction, the tense clitics go after the NP marked by *-yara*. This is further evidence that *-yara* is part of the predicate NP.

(50) a. *mijiri* *emete* *uka-yara=tsuriay*
Miguel exist house-own=PAS3
'Miguel had his own house'
(Lit. Miguel, there was a house-owner')

b. *tsa* *mena* *emete* *wapuru-yara=tsuriay*
1SG.F husband exist money-own=PAS3
'My husband had his own ship' (Lit. My husband, there was a ship-owner')

Although this pattern, [NP *emete* NP-*yara*], was not found in my corpus, it was confirmed by two other speakers. They have no problem understanding it, even though they do not produce it spontaneously.

8.3. Predicate locative constructions

The predication of location of entities is primarily conveyed by means of postpositional phrases (§8.3) and relational nouns (§8.3.2).

8.3.1. [NP PP] & [PP NP]

Locative constructions are formed by simply juxtaposing a noun phrase and a postpositional phrase predicate. Both orderings are attested: [NP PP] and [PP NP], with the former the most frequent pattern.

As described in Chapter 6, KK has a number of directional and non-directional postpositions, including: *=ka* 'in, to (LOC),' *=kuara* 'inside (INE),' *=ri*/*ra* 'around (DIF),' *=tsui* 'ablative (ABL),' *=rupe* 'up to there (FIN),' etc. The first three, which convey static location, operate within predicate locative constructions. This is illustrated in (51) to (53).

(51) NP PP
a. *r=tsuwɨ* *tuyuka=**ri***
3SG.M = blood ground = DIF
'His blood is on the ground'

NP PP
b. *kai* *ɨwɨra* *tsakamia=**ri***
monkey tree branch=DIF
'The monkey is around the branch of the tree'

(52) NP PP

a. *era* *tapɨa=tu* *tsatsatsɨma* *yikua* *ya=tu* *yuwa=**kuara***
well savage=AUG scream because 3SG.F=AUG spine=INE
'The savage screams loud because he is in the brambles'

NP PP

b. *yapara-ka-watsu-n,* *ra=pura=tu* *tseweka=**kuara***
coild-REF-AUG-NZR this=FOC=AUG belly=INE
'The horrible coiled up one is within the belly'

NP PP

(53) a. *kaɨ* *iruru-n* *asta* *ya* *tsutɨma=**ka***
shin swell.up-NZR until 3SG.F thigh=LOC
'The swelling of his shin is up to his thigh'
(The swelling that started in his shin has spread up to his thigh)

NP PP

b. *rama* *mai=kana* *tana* *ritama**=ka***
other spirit=PL 1PL.EX.M community=LOC
'Other people are in our community'

The reverse order, [PP NP], is less frequent in my corpus. In these cases, there is emphasis on the locative information. For example, (54a) and (54b) would be answers to questions such as 'Where is my hook?' and 'Where is the canoe?' respectively.

PP NP

(54) a. *ikia=ka* *na* *maninpiara*
here=LOC 2SG hook
'Here is your hook'

PP NP

b. *pe**=ka*** *ɨrara*
port=LOC canoe
'At the port is the canoe'

8.3.1.1. Negation and tense in locative predicate constructions

To form a negative locative construction, one adds the particle *tɨma* right before the subject. The scope of *tɨma* can be the subject, or the whole construction. That is, the

propositional meaning could be: [NO X is at Y] or [X is NOT at Y], which have different implications, as shown in the contexts provided by my consultants (55a-b). Note, however, that when the locative predicate is fronted, only one interpretation is possible (55c).

(55) a. ***t~~i~~ma*** *~~i~~rara* *pe=ka*
NEG canoe port=LOC
i) 'The canoe is not at the port.'(Maybe someone took it and left it somewhere else)
ii) 'No canoe is at the port.' (No one leaves canoes at the port because they get stolen)

b. *amana-ri-puka* ***t~~i~~ma*** *awa* *~~i~~patsu=kuara*
rain-PROG-when NEG person lake=INE
i) 'When it's raining, the people are not in the lake'
ii) 'When it's raining, no one is in the lake'

c. *ikia=ka* ***t~~i~~ma*** *ta* *maninpiara*
here=LOC NEG 1SG.M hook
'Here is not my hook'

It needs to be pointed out that in the database for this dissertation, no instances of locative construction marked by tense have been attested. When speakers are asked to add tense clitics, they first add the verb *yuti* 'stay' which turns the construction into a verbal predicate. We can also find *yuti* working as an auxiliary in several verbal constructions (see §7.3.2). In locative constructions, *yuti* is working as the main verb, so the tense clitics attach to it. As will be shown below, the locative noun phrase can go at the end (56a) or at the beginning (56b) of the sentence.

(56) a. *maninpiara* ***yuti=uy*** *ta* *uka=ka*
hook stay=PAS1 1SG.M house=LOC
'The hook was/stayed at my house'

b. *ikia=ka* *ta* *uka* ***yuti=tsuriay***
here=LOC *1SG.M* *house* *stay=PAS3*
'Here used to be my house'

And of course *yuti* can also be included in locative predicates in present tense. The difference between non-verbal locative predicates and *yuti*-clauses is that the former —(51) to (57)— indicate that an entity is in a particular location without making any reference to time; whereas the latter entails that an entity remains in that location (58) for a long period of time, or even permanently.

(58) a. *ikian* *wayna* ***yuti*** *~~i~~ri~~i~~kari~~i~~=kuara*
DEM woman stay mosquito.net=INE
'This woman stays in the mosquito net'

b. *~~i~~rara* ***yuti*** *pe=ka*
canoe stay port=LOC
'The canoe stays in the port'

8.3.1.2. Modality in locative predicate constructions

In locative predicate constructions, second position modal particles behave no differently than in other types of constructions. They appear after the first element of the constructions. Interestingly, in the database all the examples have the postpositional phrase fronted, with the modal attached to it (59a-c). Schematically: [PP=MOD NP]. However, in elicitation, consultants can reverse the order and attach a modal to the subject (59d).

(59) a. *y~~i~~wap~~i~~ka=ri=**ray*** *ura*
Shoulder=DIF=SPE 3M.OBJ
'It's seems that it's (being carried) on the shoulder'

b. *ay* *senior, ta* *ritama=ka=**taka*** *ta*
oh lord 1SG.M community=LOC=UNC 1SG.M
'Oh lord, maybe I am in my village' (maybe it's not just a dream)

c. *ɨwɨra=ri=**taka*** *ajan* *mai*
tree=DIF=UNC this grand.father
'Maybe this grandfather is on the tree'

d. *tsa* *mɨmɨra=chasu=**taka*** *ospitalu=ka*
1SG.F w'son=AFF=UNC hospital=LOC
'Maybe my poor son is at the hospital' (ED)

8.3.2. [NP [N $N_{relational}$]] & [[N $N_{relational}$] NP]

As described in §6.3, KK has a set of relational nouns. Rather than describing the attributes of an entity, a relational noun indicates the location of one entity with respect to another. In the language they convey mainly location and, sporadically, direction of movement, just like other postpositions. The relational nouns attested in KK are listed in Chapter 6, Table 6.1.

Similar to a postposition, a relational noun can follow the noun which is the point of reference: [N $N_{relational}$]. Just like in locative predicates, one entity which is located with reference to another via relational nouns can appear either fronted or following the predicate. The resulting locative predicates can be summarized as: [NP [N $N_{relational}$]], or [[N $N_{relational}$] NP]. These patterns are given in the elicited examples in (60).

(60) a. *[yawara* ***tsapakɨrɨ]*** *napitsara*
man behind dog
'The man is behind the dog'
*'The dog is behind the man'

b. *napitsara* *[yawara* ***tsapakɨrɨ]***
man dog behind
'The man is behind the dog'
* 'The dog is behind the man'

Note that when the subject follows the predicate, as in (60a), the relational noun simply appears between two nouns; however, in (60b) the subject is in front of the locative phrase. Recall that in KK two nouns in sequence tend to be interpreted as bearing a genitive relationship; however, this interpretation in (60b) —*the man's dog is behind — is not likely because the relational noun requires an argument (i.e., behind what?). In natural discourse, speakers have a tendency to attach the relational noun to the referent noun so that the referent of the location is always clear. This is shown in (61).

(61) a. *wɨratsu* *uka=**arɨwa***
sparrowhawk house=above
'The sparrowhawk is above the house' (ED)

b. *yura=**wɨri*** *atawari* *teyupa*
floor=underneath chicken nest
'The chicken nest is underneath the floor (*emponado*)' (ED)

As discussed in §8.2, existential constructions can also describe the location of an entity; however, the overall meaning of the construction is different. Compare example (61b) with its existential counterpart given in (62).

(62) *yura* ***wɨri*** *emete* *atawari* *teyupa*
floor underneath exist chicken nest
'Underneath the floor there is a chicken nest' (ED)

8.4. Summary

Table 8.1Table 8.1 is a summary of the non-verbal constructions discussed in this chapter, mapping them out with the semantic functions that they express. As Table 8.1, shows, there are three major construction types in KK: juxtaposition, existential or

emete-constructions, and locative constructions. Within each category, a series of subtypes have been identified.

Table 8.1: Mapping constructions and semantic fuctions

		CONSTRUCTIONS	SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS
JUXTAPOSITION	1	NP(MOD) (NEG) $NP_{(T)}$	Equative & proper inclusion
	2	NP (NEG) NP-*yara*$_{(T)}$	Possessive & proper inclusion
	3	NP (NEG) NP-*ra*	Attributive & proper inclusion
	4	NP (NEG) [V_{sta} -*n*] (T)	Attributive & proper inclusion
EXITENTIAL	5	(NEG) *emete* (MOD) $NP_{(T)}$	Existential
	6	(NEG) *emete* [PSSR PSSED]$_{(T)}$	Existential & possessive
	7	NP_i, (NEG) *emete* [$PSSR_i$ PSSED]$_{(T)}$	Existential & possessive
	8	NP *emete* NP-*yara*	Existential & possessive
	9	$NP_{=LOC}$ (NEG) *emete* $NP_{(T)}$	*mihi est* possessive & existential
LOCATIVE	10	(NEG) NP PP	Locative
	11	PP (NEG) NP	Locative
	12	NP (NEG) [N $N_{relational}$] (T)	Locative

One of the major findings of this chapter is that, while possessive meanings can be inferred from several existential constructions, it is not possible to say that a particular construction is devoted to exclusively convey possession. The second finding is that only two constructions are associated with unique semantic functions —[NP

LOC] ‘X is located at Y’ and [*emete* NP] ‘X exist’— whereas all the others serve more than one function.

Another finding of this chapter include that equative, attributive and proper inclusion predicates are expressed by only juxtaposition. From the basic existential construction — which includes only *emete* followed by the noun phrase that refers to the entity whose existence is predicated— four other subtypes can be created; three of these existential constructions are strongly associated with possession. The location of an entity is expressed by means of postpositional phrases and relational nouns.

CHAPTER IX

SIMPLE VERBAL CLAUSES AND SENTENCES TYPES

The aim of this chapter is twofold. First, it introduces the structure of simple verbal clauses, which are understood as clause constructions that include one verbal predicate, as opposed to complex constructions which involve more than one verbal predicate.[1] Second, it explores the sentence types that the language uses to express different speech acts. Sentence type is used here for that dimension that correlates with the use of clause structures to express different kinds of speech acts —acts with different illocutionary force. Simple clauses and sentence types are discussed within a single chapter because there is a strong correlation between them. Complex clausal constructions are discussed in Chapter X.

Besides declarative sentences, the language has also interrogative and directive sentences. These sentence types differ in their ability to express tense and modality, and in terms of intonation contours and constituent ordering patterns. From a functional perspective, declaratives, interrogatives and directives generally correlate with the

[1] Much of the data and analysis discussed under grammatical relations, more specifically in §9.2.1, come from Vallejos (2010).

speech acts of statements, inquiry, and requests. However, the correlation between sentence types and speech acts is by no means one-to-one. For instance, although in KK declarative sentences are employed primarily to make statements and claims about the world, in the appropriate context they can also be employed to elicit information, to convey a request, to express a wish, etc.

I start the discussion with an outline of a simple verbal clause construction in KK (§9.1). Here I list the main elements that occur within a simple verbal clause. Next I discuss constituent ordering, a key aspect in the characterization of verbal constructions in KK (§9.1.1). In KK, two grammatical categories that are typically characterized at the verb-level, in other languages must be described at the clause level. These are tense (§9.1.1.3) and modality (9.1.2).

The second part of this chapter is dedicated to the grammatical devices that the language employs to perform different speech acts. In §9.2, I describe declarative sentences. I start with a formal characterization of the grammatical relations of subject and object, and contrast them with obliques (§9.2.1), and then discuss the functional load of declarative sentences (§9.2.2). From a semantic-functional perspective, negative clauses could be considered a subtype of declarative clauses; however, for reasons of clarity in the presentation, they are discussed in their own section (§9.3). In §9.4, I present interrogative sentences, including polar and content questions. Directive sentences, discussed in §9.5, is a category that subsumes several constructions, including imperative, polite imperative, exhortative, jussive, invitation, prohibition, and future/irrealis prohibition.

9.1. Simple verbal clause construction

In KK, the most basic verbal construction consists of a subject (full lexical NP or pronoun) and an intransitive verb. However, a number of other elements can also occur within declarative clauses. Two of the most important grammatical categories that can potentially occur in declarative sentences are tense and modality. Additional, complementary information is expressed by means of postpositional phrases, and adverbs of manner, location and tense (see Chapter XI). Frequent clause-level particles include focus markers and intensifiers (see Chapter IV). In Figure 9.1 I put these categories together in order to offer an overall look at their distribution in the clause.

Figure 9.1: KK simple verbal clause

(ADV)	(=MOD1)	SUBJ	[V (OBJ)	(AUX)]$_{VP}$	(=T) /	(=MOD2)	(OBL)
	=taka			*utsu*	*=uy*	*=era*	
	=ti(ka)			*uri*	*=ikuá*	*=mía*	
	=ray			*upa*	*=tsuri*		
	=(i)a			*ukua*	*=utsu*		

I want to highlight that Figure 9.1 represents the most frequent, pragmatically unmarked structure, though many others are possible, as will be showed in §9.1.1. Tense clitics have been mentioned in several places already. Here we focus on their functional semantics (§9.1.1.3). An additional point I would like to draw some attention to is the fact that the language has two sets of morphemes that indicate modality. The first set (MOD1) are second position clitics, as such they attach to whichever element occurs sentence initially. In Figure 9.1, ADV appears in first position, so MOD1 attaches to it; however, any other first position element would serve

equally well as the host of MOD1. The second set (MOD2) consists of two verb phrase enclitics. Both sets of modality markers are discussed in (§9.1.2). It should be also noted that adverbs and oblique phrases are not restricted to appear one per clause, nor are they restricted to the syntactic positions indicated in Figure 9.1. For instance, postpositional phrases often appear fronted in the clause. As for adverbs, they appear in several other positions, including at the end of the clause, or right after the verb phrase.

9.1.1. Constituent order

The pragmatically unmarked clause displays SVO order. As discussed in Chapter VI, circumstantial information (CI), if any, occurs in peripheral positions by means of postpositional phrases and/or adverbial elements. In simple clause constructions, explicit arguments are required in order to have well-formed clauses. In only a few complex constructions, such as complement clauses, can equi-subjects be left out of the clause (see Chapter X, §10.2 for more details). Thus, the structure of an unmarked clause could be roughly summarized as: (CI) S V (O) (CI). Importantly, circumstantial information does not occur between SV or VO (Vallejos, 2010).

Despite the strong supremacy of the SVO pattern in discourse, the language allows several other orders of subject, object and verb depending on the marking of progressive aspect marking. That is, different ordering patterns correlate with tense and progressive aspect. Explanatory factors need to be taken into consideration to account for the distribution of the set of available patterns in the language. The pragmatic forces that trigger the use of a particular order instead of another are discussed in §11.4 and §11.5.

9.1.1.1. Word order and tense

Grammatical tense, described in more detail in §9.1.1.3, is expressed by means of a system of enclitics that occur at the end of the verb phrase (VP). In intransitive constructions the tense clitic attaches to the verb (1); in transitive constructions, it attaches to the object (2). For instance, in (1a) the past tense *=uy* appears attached to the verb *ukɨrɨ* 'sleep' and, in (1b) to *umanu* 'die'. However, in (2a) the tense marker comes after *tsa mena* 'my husband,' and in (2b), it follows *maniri* 'Manuel.' Although (3a) contains a transitive verb, the object is fronted, and so the tense clitic attaches directly to the verb. In *tense*-marked constructions, allowable order patterns are SV (1a, b), SVO (2a, b), and OSV (3a, b), but, importantly, not *SOV (3b). Clauses *unmarked* for tense and aspect pattern like *tense* clauses (*non-progressive* constructions, from now on). Thus, the order patterns in (1) to (3) work equally well with or without the tense clitics.

(1) a. S V_T

tsa *mɨmɨra* *ukɨrɨ (=**uy**)*

1SG.F son sleep=PAS1

'My son sleeps (slept)' (ED)

b. S V_T

t=ami *umanu(=**uy**)* *rakuna=ka*

1SG.M=g.father die=PAS1 Lagunas=LOC

'My grandfather dies/is dying (died) in Lagunas' (ED)

(2) a. S V O_T

ay *inupa* *tsa* *mena(=**uy**)* *ɨwɨra=pu*

3SG.F hit 1SG.F husband=PAS1 stick=INS

'He hit my husband with a stick' (ED)

b. S V O_T
mui *karuta* *mijiri(=**uy**)* *ku=ka*
snake bite Miguel=PAS1 farm=LOC
'The snake bites (bit) Manuel at the farm' (ED)

(3) a. O S V_T
tsa=tsitsa *wija=tua* *ɨpɨka(=**uy**)*
1SG.F=face old.woman=AUG cut=PAS1
'My face the old woman cut'

b. O S V_T
mui *yawara* *karuta(=**uy**)* *ku=ka*
snake dog bite=PAS1 farm=LOC
'The snake the dog bites (bit) at the farm' (ED)
(*SOV = *The snake bites (bit) the dog)

Note that in these examples, information about location, instrument —e.g., 'in the farm', 'with a stick'— comes after the tense clitic, making it clear that the tense-marker binds to the [V_{intr}] or [$V_{tr}O$] unit.

9.1.1.2. Word order and progressive aspect

In *progressive* constructions, allowable constituent order patterns are SV (4a), VS (4b), SOV (5a), but *OSV (5b). In contrast to tense, aspect is expressed through several strategies, including inflection, derivation, reduplication, and auxiliaries (see Chapter VII). However, the strategy that shows certain correlations with constituent order is the inflectional suffix *-(a)ri* 'progressive'. Recall from §7.2.2.1 that, contrary to tense clitics, the progressive always suffixes to the verb and closes the verbal word.

(4) a. S V_{ri}
tsa *mɨmɨra* *ukɨrɨ-ari*
1SG.F son sleep-PROG
'My son is sleeping'

c. V_{ri} S

uk#ri-ari *tsa* *m#m#ra*
sleep-PROG 1SG.F son
'My son is sleeping'

c. *V S
**uk#ri (=uy)* *tsa* *m#m#ra*
Attempted meaning: 'My son sleeps (slept)'

(5) a. S O V_{ri}
wayna *yawiri* *piruka-**ri***
woman yucca peel-PROG
'The woman is peeling yucca'

b. S O V_{ri}
mui *mixiri* *chikuarata-**ri***
snake Miguel follow-PROG
'The snake is following Miguel'

c. *O S V_{ri}
mixiri *mui* *chikuarat-**ri***
Miguel snake bite=PROG
'Miguel is following the snake'
(*The snake is following Miguel)

Because *tense*-marked clauses pattern like *unmarked* clauses and differently that *progressive*-marked clauses, there is just a two-way constructional split in sets of allowable orders. Therefore, in a sequence [NP NP V], the interpretation of subject and object is sensitive to construction type. This is shown more clearly in the elicited examples in (6).

(6) a. S O V_{ri}
yawara *mui* *karuta-ari*
dog snake bite-PROG
'The dog is biting the snake' (ED)

b. O S V_{T}
yawara *mui* *karuta(=uy)*
dog snake bite(=PAS1)
'The snake bites (bit) the dog' (ED)

Note that the examples in (6) only differ with respect to progressive aspect and tense. In the *progressive* construction in (6a), the first NP is interpreted as the subject, and the second as the object. In contrast, in the *non-progressive* construction in (6b), the first is the object and the second is the subject.

Although tense and progressive hardly ever co-occur within a single verbal word, at the notional level there would seem to be nothing preventing the combination of tense and progressive. In KK, an auxiliary construction can be used to mark a clause with both categories. In this construction, the progressive suffixes to the verb and the tense marker cliticizes to the auxiliary (for a discussion on auxiliaries see Chapter VII).

(7) a. S V O AUX
mijiri *kurata-**ri*** *uni* *yuti=uy*
Miguel drink-PROG water stay-PAS1
'Miguel kept drinking water'

9.1.1.3. Tense

In the language there are three markers of past and two markers for future which report different degrees of temporal distance, taking the utterance moment as the point of reference. The tense clitics occur at the end of the VP. So, in intransitive clauses, they go after the verb, and in pragmatically unmarked transitive constructions, they go after the object argument. Examples in (1a, b), above, show the intransitive pattern where the tense attaches to the verb. Examples in (2a, b) give the transitive pattern in which tense follows the object.

The complete set of tense clitics is presented in Table 9.1, together with the temporal scope they cover. Note that the future markers also imply modality meanings.

Table 9.1: Tense markers and their functions

TENSE	GLOSS	TIME PANE (AND MODALITY SHADES)
=*uy*	immediate past	events that occurred right before the moment of the utterance; still vivid in the memory of the speakers
=*ikuá*	medial past	events that happened lately, until sometime around yesterday; less strong in the memory of the speakers
=*tsuri*	remote past	events that happened long ago; used when talking about childhood, but can go back until mythical times
=*utsu*	immediate future + some probability	events that will take place right after the moment of the utterance; implies relative certainty
=*á*	remote future + less probability	events that might happen sometime in the future; almost unlikely; implies wish, hope.

Tense clitics can co-occur with temporal adverbs. For the full set of attested combinations, please see Table 6.1, under the section devoted to adverbs (see §6.4). Comparing both adverbs with tense clitics, the resemblance between *ikuachi* 'yesterday' and =*ikua* PAST2 —both semantically and phonologically— is quite obvious, suggesting that the diachronic source of *ikua* may have been *ikuachi*. An additional point about the origins of tense clitics is with respect to the future marker =*utsu*. This is clearly a grammaticalization of the verb *utsu* 'go' into the andative auxiliary =*utsu* and then into the future marker =*utsu*.

In terms of the distribution of tense clitics in discourse, they appear quite sporadically, in only about 14% of the clauses in the entire database. It is worth pointing out here though, that among the five forms, the immediate past =*uy,* the remote past =*tsuri*, and the immediate future =*utsu* are by far the most productive. The least

productive morphemes are the medial past =*ikua* and the remote future =*á* (Vallejos 2007): the medial past only shows up four times in my corpus, while the remote future only appears twice. That said, both can be readily elicited from speakers. A summary of the distribution of tense clitics in texts is given in Table 9.2. Note that, because in some instances it is difficult to tell whether =*utsu* is operating as the future marker or as the andative auxiliary (see §9.1.1.7), the number of instances of immediate future =*utsu* might be slightly smaller.

Table 9.2: Frequency of tense clitics in texts

TENSE CLITICS		# INSTANCES		
		n	%	%
immediate past	=*uy*	67	9	1.3
medial past	=*ikuá*	4	0.6	0.08
remote past	=*tsuri*	462	64	9.4
immediate future	=*utsu*	192	26	3.9
remote future	=*á*	2	0.3	0.04
		727	100	14.72

(N = 4898)

The fact that remote future =*á* and medial past =*ikuá* are extremely rare in texts, in contrast to the remote past =*tsuri*, for instance, might be a consequence of the samples of speech in my corpus —maybe people just didn't talk much about things that might have happened in the medial past of might happen in the indeterminate future. In fact, about 70% of the database consists of traditional stories and personal narratives framed in the remote past. However, it was also found that the average appearance of tense clitics is somewhat constant throughout the different types of texts, being those traditional stories, personal narratives or spontaneous conversations.

The low frequency of *=á* in spontaneous speech might be also the reason why this is not included in Espinosa's (1935) description of the language. He reports only *=utsu* as a future marker. However, *=á* is documented as future marker in Faust (1972) and Cabral (1995). The rarity of *=á* might also be an indication that the grammaticalization of the verb *utsu* 'go' into a future marker is a pervasive phenomenon, which has almost replaced the future *=á*. It should be pointed out though that *utsu* is still very productive as the main predicate of a clause and as the andative auxiliary (see §7.3).

Tense markers are associated with factual events. As such, they can combine with second position clitics that indicate various degrees of epistemic modality; specifically, speaker's attitude towards the utterance. However, they cannot combine with phrasal modality markers which are devoted to non-factual, hypothetical events. This is demonstrated in §9.1.2. In what follows I illustrate the functional nuances of each tense clitic in discourse.

9.1.1.4. Immediate past *=**uy***

Events that occurred right before the moment of the utterance are marked by *=uy*. The temporal scope would range from right before the utterance to yesterday or even a few days before yesterday, as long as the situations are still vivid in the memory of the speakers. Consider the following examples:

(8) a. *maka=tipa* *na=kumitsa=**uy*** *ima* *na* *rana* *kumitsa*
where=Q 2SG=say=PAS1 brother QT1 3PL.M say
"Where did you say, what did you select, brother?" They say.'

b. *maka* *r=utsu=**uy;*** *ikia=ka* *ra=yamimi=**uy***
where 3SG.M=go=PAS1 here=LOC 3SG.M=hide=PAS1
'Where did it go? He hid here.'

In terms of distribution, examples in (8) include intransitive constructions, hence the tense clitic *=uy* attaches to the verb in both cases. Function wise, example (8a) comes from a text about a meeting in the community. The attendees are selecting the place where the community should be relocated. The speaker says in (8a) that right after he cast his vote, his friends asked him which place he chose. The context for example (8b) is this. A community member is chasing something that he cannot quite identify. However, this thing suddenly disappears, almost under his nose.

Examples in (9) give transitive clauses; hence the tense clitic follows the object. In (9a), *=uy* attaches to the clitic pronoun *=ta* 'me', in (9b) to the andative auxiliary *utsu*. Recall from §7.3 that in clauses with auxiliaries, the auxiliary immediately follows the object and then tense clitics attach to the auxiliary. As for meaning, (9a) comes from a text about a boy who is brought to a place by his mother; soon after they arrive, he starts whining. The temporal frame of example (9b) is clearly specified by the temporal adverb *ikun* 'today.'

(9) a.*mari-tara=ray* *n=erura=ta=**uy***
what-PUR1=SPE 2SG=bring=1SG.M=PAS1
'What might you have brought me for?

b. *ikun* *ts=purara* *na* *mirikua* *utsu=**uy*** *ya*
today 1SG.F=find 2SG wife AND=PAS1 3SG.F

ku=kuara *kamata-ri* *yuti-n*
farm=INE work-PROG stay-NZR
'Today I went to find your wife working at her farm'

In connected speech, the temporal point of reference is not always the moment of the utterance; it can be manipulated to take a particular event as point of reference. As a result, different tense clitics can interact in a single narrative. This is shown in the extract that follows.

(10) a. *yararaka* *mui* *karuta* *ya=**tsuri*** *kaɾ* *kanuara=ri*
snake.sp snake bite like.this=PAS3 shin bone=DIF

b. *ay* *watari* *ya* *umanu-ta=**uy***
already miss 3SG.F die-CAU=PAS1

c. *inu* *erutsu* *ya=**tsuri***
3PL.F bring 3SG.F=PAS3

d. *ya* *kamata* *irua=nu*
3SG.F work friend=PL.F

deslisadoru=pu *erutsu* *ya=**tsuri*** *mirafloresi-ka*
bote=INS bring 3SG.F=PAS3 Miraflores=LOC

inu *mutsana-ka-tupa-ra-n-ka*
3PL.F cure-REL.LOC-PUR-NZR=LOC
'The Jergon snake bit him around the shin. It almost killed him. They brought him. His friends from work took him in an out-board boat to Miraflores where they cured him'

The passage in (10) was taken from a personal narrative about a family accident — the child of the speaker was bit by a poisonous snake— which happened long ago. The accident itself is framed with the remote past marker =*tsuri,* as shown in (10a). In (9b), however, the speaker uses the recent past marker =*uy*. She does that because 'snake biting' is now taken as the point of reference. That is, the almost-dying event is presented as immediately following the snake-biting event. After that, sentences (11c-d) are presented again as occurring in the remote past.

9.1.1.5. Medial past =*ikuá*

The morpheme =*ikuá* indicates events that have happened lately. It could include events that took place from days ago until sometime around yesterday. Events framed in the medial past could be thought as less strong in the memory of the speakers. With respect to the prosody, the medial past is among the few morphemes that carry stress in the final syllable instead of in the penultimate syllable, which is the dominant pattern.[2] Stress is not indicated in the language because any potential ambiguity is solved by the context.

As indicated above, the tense clitic =*ikua* is rare in texts; however it can be readily elicited from speakers. Examples in (12) demonstrate the use of the medial past =*ikua.*

(12) a. ay *ikuachi* *r=ichari=ta=**ikua***
already yesterday 3SG.M=leave=1SG.M=PAS2
'Already, yesterday, he left me'

b. *upa* *y=umi-pa* *ya* *mirikua=**ikua***
AUX 3SG.F=see-CPL 3SG.F wife=PAS2
'She ended up discovering his wife'

In (12) we have two transitive constructions, so in both cases the tense marker follows the object of the clause. In (12a) it is attached to the first person pronoun =*ta* and in (12b) it attaches to the NP object 'his wife'. Note that =*ikua* co-occurs with the temporal adverb *ikuachi* 'yesterday', where the adverb appears in first position in the clause (12a).

[2] The medial past /ikuá/ is thus distinguished from the subordinator marker of reason /íkua/, which displays stress in the penultimate syllable, the vowel /i/.

9.1.1.6. Remote past =*tsuri*

The remote past indicates that the events need to be construed as having taken place a long time ago. For instance, it is typical to employ =*tsuri* when talking about one's childhood. It is also used in narratives about events that belong to the history of the communities, or even events that go back to mythical times.

The examples below show the function of the remote past in connected speech. Examples in (13) come from personal narratives. For instance, in (13a), the speaker is talking about her relatives that took care of her when she was a little girl. Example (13b) describes a situation that took place in the community years ago.

(13) a. *inu* *mainani=tsa=**tsuri***
3PL.F care=1SGF=PAS3
'They took care of me'

b. *ikian* *shiringuero* *utsu=**tsuri**=ay* *ɨwɨrati*
this latex.hunter go=PAS3=already forest

r=aya-mira-n *chikari-tara*
3Mb-shoot-PUR2-REL lookfor-PUR1
'This latex-hunter went to the forest looking for hunting.

Examples in (14) come from folk stories about mythical times. (14a) was taken from a story about the origins of certain animals, and (14b) from a story about a fight between a tiger and an armadillo.

(14) a. *rana* *ukuki-ta-pa* *yawara=kana=**tsuri*** *kuakuara-n=kuara*
3PL.M fall-CAU-CPL dog=PL.M=PAS3 be.empty-NZR=INE
'They dropped the dogs into the hole'

b. *rana* *tɨkɨta* *ra=**tsuri**=ay* *ɨwɨra=ri*
3PL.M tie 3SG.M=PAS3=already tree=DIF
'They tied him (tiger) around the tree'

In the database, *=tsuri* often bears the aspectual particle *ay* 'already,' as in (13b) and (14b). In a previous work (Vallejos 2004), I hypothesized that perhaps the remote past has two allomorphs, *=tsuri* and *=tsuriay*, and the distribution of this two forms might correlate with dialect variation. However, examining the distribution of these forms in a larger database I found no such correlation. A better analysis is that *=tsuriay* in fact consists of *=tsuri* + *ay,* where *ay* 'already' adds a perfective-like overtone that contributes to interpreting the situation as totally completed. However, analyzing *ay* as a perfective marker would be misleading since, for instance, it does not attach to any other tense clitics. The distribution of *ay* is that of a free particle, as it appears in several positions in the clause. Often it appears in sentence initial position, and when it does several second position clitics (i.e., focus, interrogative, negation, etc.) can attach to it.

9.1.1.7. Immediate future =*utsu*

Events that will take place right after the moment of the utterance are marked by *=utsu*. It entails immediacy and implies some degree of certainty. Examples including the future form *=utsu,* such as the ones in (15*),* are abundant in the database.

(15) a. *ikun-taka* *ra* *chikuarata* *ini=**utsu***
today-MOD 3SG.M follow 1PL.IN=FUT1
'Maybe now they'll follow us'

b. *r=eyu=**utsu*** *ra* *tsai=kɨra=pu*
3SG.M=eat=FUT1 3SG.M tooth=DIM=INS
'He will eat with his little teeth'

c. *ikun=tsui* *tɨma* *tsa* *tsitsari* *ya=chira=**utsu***
today=ABL NEG 1SG.F forget 3SG.F=name=FUT1
'From now on, I won't forget his name'

d. *ikia=ka* *t=umanu=**utsu***
this=LOC 1SG.M=die=FUT1
'Here I will die'

As mentioned in various places in this dissertation, the form =*utsu* has three functions. It operates as a main predicate 'go', as the andative auxiliary, and as the future marker.[3] In §7.3, while describing the elements that occur within the verb phrase, I have indicated that auxiliaries attach to the verb phrase. That is, the syntactic distribution of auxiliaries and tense clitics is quite similar. When auxiliaries and tense markers co-occur, the tense marker attaches to the auxiliary. Because of their syntactic distribution, in many instances it is hard to tell whether *utsu* is operating as a tense marker or as an auxiliary. The semantic context does not always disambiguate these cases.

The examples in (16) are clear auxiliary constructions that include tense clitics. In (16a) we have the andative auxiliary plus remote tense, in (16b) the venitive auxiliary plus immediate past, in (16c) the habitual auxiliary plus remote past, and in (16d) the andative auxiliary plus remote tense. In the last example, note that the main predicate of the clause is *utsu* 'go'. They refer to sequences of events that have happened in the past:

(16) a.*naninka* *tsa* *ts=umi=**utsu**=**tsuri**=ay*
like.this 1SG.F 1SG.F=see=AND=PAS3=already
'At that very moment, I went to see (what was going on)'

[3] Note that when *utsu* appears attached to another verb, a fourth possible syntactic analysis is that of a subordinate clause in a complement clause construction. See below.

a. *t#ma* *ra=tset=utsu*
NEG 3SG.M=want=go
'He doesn't want to go'

b.*animaru* *eyu* *y=**uri**=**uy*** *ɨpɨtsa*
animal eat 3SG.F=VEN=PAS1 night
'The animal came to eat him at night'

c. *riawa* *rana* *mɨmɨra-ra-pa* ***ukua**=**tsuri***
manner 3PL.M w'son-VZR-CPL HAB=PAS3
'Like this they used to get pregnant'

d. *rianpu* *rana* *utsu=**utsu**=**tsuri**=ay*
after 3PL.M go=AND=PAS3=already
'And then they just left'

There are also many instances that are structurally ambiguous, but the clear semantics identify them as andative auxiliaries. For example, in (18), no future reading is involved, and this =*utsu* must be the andative. In contrast, in (17), above, the clear semantic reading is future tense, and andative meaning is not involved, and thus =*utsu* must be the future.

(18) a. *ɨpɨtsa=ray* *ya* *tsawa=tua=nu* *warika=**utsu***
night=SPE already spirit=AUG=PL.F go.up=AND

hasta *ya* *ɨrɨkarɨ* *katika*
until 3SG.F net until
'At night, the spirits go to climb until its mosquito net'

b. *yumɨra-wa* *ya* *tsua=ay=**utsu***
be.angry-GER 3SG.F take=3F.OBJ=AND
'With anger, he goes to take him'

c.*yanamata* *kari-ri=tsui* *y=itika-ka* *y=**utsu***
bush scrape-PROG=ABL 3SG.F=throw-REI 3SG.F=AND
'After scraping the bushes, he goes to throw it'

And finally, there are a number of instances that have ambiguous interpretations. In instances like the ones in (19), there is an andative overtone but also a future reading. That is, *utsu* could be glossed as both, future tense and andative.

(19) a. *t#ma* *mari* *epe* *eyu=**utsu***
NEG thing 2PL eat=FUT1/AND
i) 'Nothing you will eat' (FUT)
ii)'You will go to eat nothing' (AUX)

b. *yapu* *#aku=kuara* *ini=kak#r#=**utsu***
Paucar creek=INE 1PL.IN=live=FUT1/AND
i)'In the Paucar creek we will go to live' (AUX)
ii) 'In the Paucar creek we will live' (FUT)

c. *epe=nan* *epe=nan* *yauki* *ikian* *ritama=**utsu***
2PL=only 2PL=only make this community=FUT1/AND
i) 'Only you will make this village' (FUT)
ii) 'Only you will go to make this village' (AUX)

d. *kuatiara-n* *mari* *t#ma* *ra=nu* *m#ta* *ini=utsu*
write-NZR thing NEG 3SG.M=PL.F lie L.IN=FUT1/AND
i) '(With) the written document they will not lie to us (FUT)
ii) '(With) the written document they will not go (to our village) to lie to us (AUX)

Of the two possible interpretations for each example in (19), the first is the one that was given when first when translating the text. The second was either offered spontaneously by my consultants or accepted by them when I proposed it while checking the syntactic structure of these particular examples. In general, my consultants judge both interpretations to be about the same. Such cases illustrate a favorable semantic scenario for the grammaticalization process that *utsu* is undergoing: from the main verb 'go', to the auxiliary 'andative' and on to the tense clitic 'immediate future'.

9.1.1.8. Remote future *=á*

Events that might happen sometime in the future are marked with *=á*. Like the medial past *=ikuá*, the remote future also has stress as part of its form. The phonological word ending in *=á* is stressed on the last syllable, breaking the penultimate-stress

pattern of the language.[4] Among all the tense clitics, the mediate future is the one that appears the least in the database. This marker entails a wish or hope for the events to happen, but also implies that that is somewhat unlikely.

Examples in (20) illustrate the use of the future marker =*á*.

(20) a. *maka=tipa ray na kauki ta ; ray ikia-kati=nan*
Where=Q SPE 2SG wait 1SG.M SPE here-until=only

*pe-ka na uts=**á***
port-LOC 2SG go=FUT2
'Where are you going to wait for me? Around here, (or) will you go to the port?

b. *t+ma n=ikua awa uts=**á** ikituka?*
NEG 2SG=know who go=FUT2 Iquitos-LOC
'[Just in case] Don't you know who will go to Iquitos? (ED)

c. *uri=taka eyu-pa=r=**á***
3SG.M=UNC eat-CPL=3SG.M=FUT2
'Maybe he will eat him' (ED)

Although speakers associate =*á* with events that will take place in the future, its use has to do more with modality than with tense. For instance, the event indicated in the second portion of example (20a), 'you will go to the port' is not only interpreted as a question, but in the discourse context this is highly unlikely. The context to (elicited) example (20b) is this: someone needs to send a letter to Iquitos and is looking for someone who is traveling to send it with him. So, (20b) could be paraphrased as: 'Maybe there is someone out there that will go to Iquitos.' The irrealis status of example

[4] As will be introduced below, the language has a reportative marker =*ía* (see §9.1.2.1.3), which is stressed in the vowel /i/, not /a/. Stress then is an important cue to differentiate the reportative marker from the future marker. Because potential ambiguity is usually resolved by context, stress is not included in the orthography of the language. For clarity, I record accented =*á* only in this section.

(20c) is clear; although it needs to be added that the uncertainty here comes mainly from the second position marker =*taka*, which combines well with the clitic =*á*.

The functional load of the future markers is further demonstrated in the elicited sentences in (21). Note that the sentence with a straight forward future interpretation is (21a), with the form =*utsu*. The speaker explains that he would ask this question to a person that is leaving the village in order to know when s/he is coming back. In (21b), the form =*utsu* has been replaced by =*á* and now the interpretation turns into a rhetorical question. This expression would be used to talk to a person that is leaving the village for good, and there is a real chance that they will never see him/her again. Example (21c) includes both forms, =*utsu* and =*á*: here =*utsu* is the andative auxiliary. This sentence would be used to ask someone to come back; here the return of the person is expected, so the question is not whether, but when it might happen.

(21) a. *mania-puka* *n=iriw=utsu*
how-when 2SG=come.back=FUT1
'When will you come back?' (ED)

b. *mania-puka* *n=iriw=**á***
how-when 2SG=come.back=FUT2
'When might you be back.' [Maybe we won't see you again!] (ED)

c. *mania-puka* *n=iriw=uts=**á***
how-when 2SG=come.back=AUX=FUT1
'When are you going to come back? (ED)

Looking at the examples above, it seems clear that =*á* shows up primarily in questions. This is further illustrated by the examples provided in (22) by the speakers themselves, when asked for examples that would contain the future marker =***á***:

(22) a. *uri=n=**á*** *kamutun*
come=2SG-FUT2 tomorrow
'Will you come tomorrow?'

b. *amats≠ka* *n-uri=**á*** *kamutun*
can 2SG=come=FUT2 tomorrow
'Could you come tomorrow?'

c. *tseta* *n-uri-**á*** *kamutun*
want 2SG=come=FUT2 tomorrow
'Do you want to come tomorrow?'

All the examples in (22) are polar questions (for a characterization of questions, please see §9.4), which once again confirms the modality overtone associated with *=á*. The fact that *=á* is extremely rare in discourse and that *=utsu* is the default future marker could be clues to posit that perhaps *=á* is becoming obsolete. On the other hand, as indicated earlier, it might also be a consequence of the samples of speech in my corpus. Also, given that in every example *=á* is associated with low probability, an alternative hypothesis would be that perhaps *=á* is turning from a future marker into a modality marker. This seems less likely, though, as the language has additional two sets of morphemes that encode different tones of epistemic modality. These morphemes are addressed in the next section.

9.1.2. Epistemic modality

Two distinct sets of morphemes convey different degrees of epistemic modality. The first set, MOD1, consists of second-position clitics that indicate the speaker's evaluation, judgment, and degree of confidence in the knowledge upon which a proposition is based. That is, by means of these markers, the speaker communicates his

estimation of the likelihood that a state of affairs holds. The propositions under evaluation include both realized and unrealized events.

The second set of modality markers (MOD2) are verb-phrase clitics. In contrast to second-position clitics, verb phrase clitics deal exclusively with non-factual events. It could be thought that by means of the MOD2 set, speakers establish a three-way distinction: actual facts (morphologically unmarked), hypothetical events and apprehensive events.

With respect to productivity, the second position clitics (MOD1) are, overall, more productive than the verb phrase clitics (MOD2). A quick look at a database of 4898 intonation units gives the following results:

Table 9.3: Frequency of modality markers in discourse

MODALITY MARKERS		# INSTANCES	
SECOND POSITION CLITICS		n	%
Certainty	=*tin*	42	0.9
Speculative	=*ray*	296	6
Reportative	=*ía*	13	0.3
Uncertainty	=*taka*	138	3
PHRASAL CLITICS			
Hypothetical	=*mia*	43	0.9
Apprehensive	=*era*	19	0.4

(N = 4898)

Morphemes from the same set cannot co-occur within a single sentence; however, modality markers from both sets can combine in various ways, as will be shown in §9.1.2.2.3. A summary of the differences and similarities between MOD1 and MOD 2 is presented in Table 9.4.

Table 9.4: A comparison between MOD1 and MOD2

	MOD1	MOD2
Syntactic position	Second position clitics	Verb phrase clitics
Primary function	Degrees of certainty	Factuality of the situation
Combine with tense	Yes	No
Combine within the set	No	No
Combine with other set	Yes	Yes

9.1.2.1. Second position clitics

The first set (MOD1) consists of the second position clitics by means of which speakers indicate their doubts, certainties, and guesses. This set does not convey source of information *per se*, but the commitment of the speaker with respect to the truth value of the proposition. MOD1 includes the uncertainty marker *=taka* 'maybe (UNC)', the certainty marker *=tin* 'for sure (CER)', the speculative marker *=ray* 'it seems (SPE)', and the reportative or hearsay *=(i)a* 'it is said (REP)'. As second position markers, they attach to whichever element occurs first in the clause.

The following elicited examples illustrate this four-way opposition:

(23) CONTEXT: someone needs to send a package to another village and asks if you or someone else is traveling. The range of possible answers includes:

a. *etse* *ti=ma* *utsu;* *ay=**tin*** *utsu*
1SG.F.L NEG1 go, 3SG.F.L=CER go
'I'm not going, he is' [I know for sure, he/someone told me]

b. *etse* *ti=ma* *utsu;* *ay=**ray*** *utsu*
1SG.F.L NEG1 go, 3SG.F.L=SPE go
'I'm not going, he may' [I think so, he seems to be getting ready]

c. *etse* *ti=ma* *utsu;* *ay=**ía*** *utsu*
1SG.F.L NEG1 go, 3SG.F.L=REP go
'I'm not going, it is said that he will [there are rumors]

d. *etse* *t#ma* *utsu;* *ay=**taka*** *utsu*
1SG.F.L NEG1 go, 3SG.F.L=UNC go
'I'm not going, perhaps he might' [ask him, we never know]

Second position clitics indicate various degrees of certainty towards realized and unrealized events. A clear evidence of this is that the set of MOD1 can combine with tense clitics within a single clause, as shown in (24).

(24) a. *Ra=muk=**ía*** *r=utsu(=**uy**)*
3SG.M=COM=REP 3SG.M=go=PAS1
'It is said that she escapes (escaped) with him' (ED)

b. *Ra=muk=**taka*** *r=utsu(=**uy**)*
3SG.M=COM=UNC 3SG.M=go=PAS1
'She might escape (have escaped) with him' (ED)

c. *uri=**taka*** *eyu-pa=r(=**á**)*
3SG.M=UNC eat-CPL=3SG.M.OBJ=FUT2
'Maybe he eats (will eat) him' (ED)

In what follows, I describe each of these markers, from highest to lowest degree of certainty.

9.1.2.1.1. Certainty =*tin*

Speakers use =*tin* to express certainty regarding the proposition expressed in a given utterance. In elicitation, speakers told me =*tin* means *si* 'yes', like the Spanish conjunction to mark strong assertions. To illustrate this claim, one speaker provided me the example in (25) that involves contrast. The context given for this example was this: one guy and his mother have an accident and someone asks: have they died? The answer to this question would be (25), where the first clause is a negative statement, and the second a positive one. The speaker then translated the whole sentence into Spanish as: *la mamá no murió, él si* 'The mother doesn't die, he does'.

(25) *t#ma ra= mama umanu; uri=**tin** umanu*
NEG1 3SG.M= mom die; 3SG.M=CER die
'His mom does not die; he does'

However, the certainty marker does not indicate or correlate with contrast, as is demonstrated in examples from connected speech. In the text database, the utterances highlighted as certain are consistently presented as factual events. This is exemplified in (26). Note that =*tin* attaches to the first constituent of the clause, which in (26a-b) happens to be the subject and in (26c) the temporal demonstrative *raepe* 'then.'

(26) a. *tsa=papa=**tin** mutsanaka ya=tsuri=ay*
1SG.F=father=CER cure 3SG.F=PAS3=already
'My father indeed cured him'

b. *uri=kana=**tin** uwata-ta tana*
3SG.M=PL.M=CER walk-CAU 1PL.EX.M
'They, in fact, make us walk around'

c. *ay tana uchika=t=ura;*
already 1PL.EX.M finish=CA=3SG.M.OB

*raepe=**tin** t#ma ta ikara*
there=CER NEG 1SG.M.SF sing
'So we finished it [the meeting] already; there I didn't have to sing'

Examples in (26a-c) present events as realized and concluded. However, the utterance under speaker's evaluation can also make reference to events that have been happening from an earlier point in time, but which still apply at the moment of the utterance. For instance, example (27a) is taken from a context in which the speaker says the Kokamas have traditionally had big families. He says that this has been true in the past and is still true now. Example (27b) shows a similar temporal scenario. The context for this example is this: leaders from several villages traveled to a city and received

some donations. The speaker says that the other leaders decided to give the heavy stuff to him because his village is closer to the city, the other leaders live further away. The fact that he will go to a close place is presented as certain, and it will surely continue to be certain after the moment of the utterance. Similarly, in (27c) the fact that 'over there the dollar doesn't exist' has a habitual reading.

(27) a. *kukama=pura=**tin*** *ukuatseme=nan* *chita-ka-pa*
kokama=FOC=CER too.much=only a.lot-REI-CPL
'The Kokama people do augment/are growing a lot'

b. *rana* *yumi=ura* *erutsu=ra;* *ene=**tin*** *utsu*
3PL.M give=3M.OBJ bring=3M.OBJ 2SG.L=CER go

amutsewe=nan *tana=utsu* *amutse*
close=only 1PL.EX.M=FUT1 far
'They give it (to me and say): "You do go close, we go far"

c. *raepe* *raepe=**tin*** *ikian* *apu* *temente* *dolar*
there, there=CER this well no.exist dollar
'There, over there the dollar doesn't exist'

Example in (28) is interesting in terms of the placement of *=tin*. The portion *chipi-yara=**tin**=ura* 'it is costly' is a non-verbal predicate and is produced without pauses. However, *chipi-yara* 'has a price' is the predicate phrase, and *ura* indicates the subject 'it'. So, *=tin* attaches to the predicate phrase, which is the first constituent in the clause and then the pronoun follows.

(28) a. *ikua* *rana* *yauki=ura* *[...]*
know 3PL.M make=3M.OBJ

*chipi-yara=**tin**=ura*
price-owner=CER=3M.OBJ
'They know how to produce it [cachasa]. It IS costly!
(Lit. They know to make it. It does have a price.)

As mentioned earlier, in elicitation speakers relate the certainty marker with Spanish *si* 'yes.' The reason for that is perhaps the fact that the form *-ti,* which by speakers' intuitions is related to *-tin*, sporadically shows up in short-positive answers. This is not the typical pattern for short answers, though, as will be shown in §9.4.1. The following exchange comes from a text about the presence of the Kokama-Kokamillas in this area of the Amazon. Speaker A asserts that Kokamas can be found in a particular village. Speaker B agrees with the propositional content of Speaker A's utterance by using *-ti*. The appearance of *-ti* in the database is extremely rare.

(29) Speaker A: *raepe kukama kukamiria=kana*
there Kokama Kokamilla=PL.M
'There are Kokama-Kokamillas over there (Ninarumi village)'

Speaker A: *yay-**ti***
also-CER
'Yes, also (there)'

This brings us to the clitic *=tika* which shows up in a few utterances in my corpus. Interestingly enough, *=tika* seems to contain *=ti*. However, there are reasons to not categorize *=tika* as another member of the set MOD1. The main reason for not doing that is that the set of MOD1 clitics do not co-occur. Although *=tika* is a second position clitic, it does co-occur with *=tin,* as in (30). In that sense *=tika* behaves differently than the others.

(30) *ra=purara-ka […] yuka=**tika**=**tin***
3SG.M=find-REI that-CER2-CER

itaki tsai=pura=tu
stone something.hard=FOC=AUG
'He finds […] that (which) is a huge rock'

Meaning wise, =*tika* also conveys certainty but, unlike =*tin*, the same degree of certainty is also expected from the addressee. In every instance of =*tika*, the utterance makes reference to a proposition which is assumed to be also known by the hearer. The semantics of =*tika* could be paraphrased as "it is true, you and I know that." Consider the examples in (31) which come from two traditional stories. The last portion of (31a) could be paraphrased 'as you and I know, shamans sing cure-songs.' Example in (31b) implies that both speaker and addressee know about this creature called *ururi.*

(31) a. *uk#r#-ari* *inu* *ikara-ri;*
sleep-PROG 3PL.F sing-PROG

*inu=**tika*** *ikara=pura*
3PL.F-CER2 sing=FOC
'While they (creatures) are sleeping, they (the shamans) are singing cure songs; they DO sing cure songs"

b. *animaru=**tika*** *ururi* *tua=tu*
animal-CER2 special.being spirit=AUG
'The soul of the ururi (legendary creature) IS an animal'

The marker =*tika* also combines with the negative particle *t#ma*. In these cases the negative marker does not have scope over the proposition. On the contrary, the sequence *t#ma-tika* is translated into Amazonian Spanish as *No pues/no es cierto?* 'Isn't it true?' and the resulting sentences get interpreted as rhetorical questions (cf. 32). In (32a), the proposition 'woman throw blood monthly' is not negated but positively asserted. The discourse context for (32b) is this: a man sees someone and takes a guess that is his son; then his wife clarifies that that is not their son by reminding him their

son went somewhere else. That is, in (32b) she not only asserts that 'he went to the forest' but *t-ima=**tika*** works as a reminder, implying that he knows that.

(32) a. *t-ima=**tika*** *ini* *wayna=pura* *cada* *yats-i*
NEG-CER2 1PL.IN woman=FOC each moon

ini *tsuw-i=pura* *ini* *itika*
1PL.IN blood=FOC 1PL.IN throw
'Isn't it true we, women, each month we throw our blood?'
(No pues/no es verdad que cada mes las mujeres votamos nuestra sangre?)

b. *temente* *papa-isha;* *t-ima=**tika*** *ay* *utsu=uy*
no.exist father=DIM NEG-CER2 already go=PAS1

timi *-wir-ati* *y=utsu=uy*
separate forest 3SG.F=go=PAS1
'There is not our son! Isn't it true he went, he went by himself to the forest?'
(No hay nuestro papito. No pues/no es verdad que él se fue por su cuenta al monte?)

The fact that *=tin*, *=ti,* and *=tika* are not only phonologically related but also semantically associated with strong assertions suggests a connection among them. It could be hypothesized, for instance, that the certainty marker *=tin* consists of *-ti* plus the nominalizer *-n*. At this point, however, this will have to remain as an untestable hypothesis.

9.1.2.1.2. Speculative *=**ray***

Compared to the certainty marker, *=ray* expresses a slightly weaker degree of commitment to the truth of the utterance. Based on the pragmatic context, prior experiences, recollections, etc. the speaker speculates about the certainty of the state of affairs expressed in the utterance. It is translated into Amazonian Spanish as *(así es)*

pues which could be translated into in English as 'so it is/that's how it must be.' Sentences with =*ray* acquire a connotation of inference, but also of high probability and conviction towards what is being said, something like 'I haven't been there/seen it, but it seems to be the case.' In that sense, =*ray* indicates a greater likelihood that the proposition holds true compared to the possibility clitic (see §9.1.2.1.4).

(33) a. *inu=**ray*** *tseta* *muna=ay* *ukua=tsuriay*
3PL.F=SPE want steal=3SG.F used.to=PAS3ii
'They seem to have always wanted to steal it'

b. *tsa=mama* ***ray*** *kuniati=tsuri*
1SG.F=mother SPE girl=PAS3
'My mother was already a young girl (when that happened)'

c. *ɨpɨtsa=**ray*** *ya* *tsawa=tua=nu* *warika=utsu* *hasta,*
night=SPE 3SG.F spirit=AUG=PL.F go.up=FUT1 until (Spa.)

ya *ɨrɨkarɨ* *katika*
3SG.F mosquito.net until
'It appears that at night his spirit goes up [from the river] until her mosquito net'

As any other second position clitic, the marker =*ray* attaches also to particles, such as the negative marker *ni* (34a) and subject pronoun *ay* 'it' (34b).

(34) a. *ni=**ray*** *r=yakuarara* *ikian* *ra* *pe=tsuriay*
NEG=SPE 3SG.M=remember this 3SG.M way=PAS3
'It seems he doesn't remember his way'

b. *ay=**ray*** *tɨma* *era*
3SG.L.F=SPE NEG be.good
'It appears that that's not OK'

In texts, =*ray* also appears attached to the quotative particle *na* to indicate that the previous utterance is a direct quotation, which is itself a strategy to down tone the degree of commitment to the truth of the preposition expressed in the utterance. In

general, KK narratives are rich in quotes, which are also a conversational rhetorical device. So structures like the ones in (35) are extremely common in discourse.

(35) a. *tsenu* *tɨma* *ts=chikuara=CAU=ene*
hear NEG 1SG.F=follow=CAU=2SG.L

*na=**ray*** *puka* *wayna=kɨra* *kumitsa*
QT=SPE turtle.es woman=DIM say
"Listen, I don't follow you," that's what the turtle-woman says'

b. *chinta=nan* *na=tsapuki=etse*
silent=only 2SG=call=1SG.F.L

*na=**ray*** *ya* *kumitsa*
QT=SPE 3SG.F say
"Call me quietly, softly", that's what he says'

Traditional stories are usually built around mythical creatures, and very often quotes are presented as produced by those creatures. Here is where *na=ray* plays an important role. By using *na=ray* speakers denote unconfirmed information, a general rumor; a sort of strategy to mark second-hand information. Interestingly, the marker for reported speech,=*ia* (discussed below) does not combine with the quotative marker *na*.

9.1.2.1.3. Reportative =*ía*

Reportative modality is also referred to as 'hearsay,' or second hand information. This kind of category is usually found as part of an evidential system in other languages, a system devoted to specification of source of information. However, this is not the case in KK. Here, reportative is one level from among a range of modality degrees. It not only indicates an unspecified source but also entails some degree or doubt or even disbelief towards the state of affairs expressed in a given utterance. It implies that what is said does not constitute an undoubted and well-established fact; the

proposition is, therefore, subject to epistemic evaluation. This form is consistently translated into Amazonian Spanish by means of an impersonal construction —*Dicen que* 'They say that'— which in the variety of Spanish spoken in the area functions more or less as a marker of gossip.

The reportative morpheme has two allomorphs: *=ía* and *=a*. It is realized as *=a* when the phonological host ends in the vowels /ɨ, e/ (i.e., *mɨtɨrɨ=a* 'type of palm=REP', *raepe=a* 'there=REP,' as in (37b-c)), and as *=ía* elsewhere. An additional point with respect to the distribution of this modality marker is that it does not attach directly to short form pronouns, but only to long forms, as in (36b).

(36) a. *manir=**ía*** *aykua-pa*
Manuel=REP be.sick-CPL
'It said that Manuel is very ill' [that's why we have't seen him around] (ED)

b. *ur=**ía*** *(*r=ía)* *utsu* *iya-ra*
3SG.M.L=REP go heart-VZR
'It is said he wants to go' [there are rumors he wish to escape](ED)

c. *ra=muk=**ía*** *r=utsu=**uy***
3SG.M=COM=REP 3SG.M=go=PAS1
'It is said that she escaped with him' (ED)

The examples in (37) demonstrate the use of the reportative in connected speech. In texts, it consistently shows up attached to the first element of the clause.[5] In

[5] In elicitation, one speaker indicated that the reportative marker can also show up on the verb, and not necessarily in second position. This pattern was not attested in texts though.

a. *ay* *yauk=**ía*** *tsaparu-tsuri*
3SG.F.L make=REP basket=PAS3
'I've heard she used to weave/make baskets' (ED)

b. *na* *yauk=**ía*** *marawe*
2SG make-REP fan
'I was told that you could (know how to) weave fan' (ED)

(37a) =*ía* attaches to the discourse particle 'like this' (for a discussion of discourse particles see §10.5.3), in (37b) to the locative phrase 'in the middle of the road', and in (37c) to the locative demonstrative 'there.'

(37) a. *nan=**ía*** *r=irua=kana* *uyarika*
like.this=REP 3=brother=PL.M again

ria *rana* *ayuka* *ra=pura*
like.this 3PL.M hit 3SG.M=FOC
'It is said that, in this way, his brothers hit him again'

b. *m**ɨ**t**ɨ**r**ɨ*** *pe=**a*** *rana* *upa,* *rana* *juane* *upa-pa*
middle way=REP 3PL.M end 3PL.M juane end-CPL
'It is said that half way into their journey, they, their juane (food) was gone'
(Lit. It is said that in the middle of the road, their juane finished)

c. *raepe**=a*** *ria=nan* *ikia* *ritama* *nua-n*
there=REP like.this=only this community be.big-NZR
'It is said that there, this was only a big town'

9.1.2.1.4. Uncertainty =*taka*

Among the four markers included in the MOD1 set, =*taka* is the one that indicates the least commitment by the speaker to the truth value of his/her utterance. Every instance with =*taka* is translated into Spanish with *tal vez, quizá* 'maybe, perhaps.' In previous analyses of the language, the uncertainty marker —cited as *taku*— has been described as a suffix used to formulate indirect questions (Faust, 1972:88), or a particle to form rhetorical questions (Cabral 1995:216). In the database for this study, neither use was confirmed.

The morpheme =*taka* is the second most productive modality marker in discourse (see Table 9.3). In direct opposition to the certainty marker =*tin*, =*taka*

introduces an element of doubt to indicate the speaker's uncertainty about the truth value of the statement.

(38) a. *ay-**taka*** *yamimi* *ɨwɨra* *ikana-n=ri*
3SG.F-UNC hide tree be.dry-NZR=DIF
'Maybe he is hiding around the tree that is dried'

b. *yapay* *ini* *utsu* *t=uka=ka,*
let's 1PL.IN go 1SG.M=house=LOC

*tsupara=n=**taka*** *ene* *na* *ya* *kumitsa-ta* *waina=kɨra*
lost=NZR=UNC 2SG.L QT 3SG.F speak-CAU woman=DIM
"Let's go to my house, you might be lost", he says to the little woman'

Events marked as uncertain can be also presented as already realized events or events in the planning. Hence =*taka* can combine with tense clitics, such as the remote past tense =*tsuri* (39a), or the future =*utsu* (39b). These two examples come from a text about the relocation of a village. In (39a), the speaker is referring to the fact that during the rainy season, the annual flooding usually makes the communities collapse, except for the last two years. In (39b), he is talking about the fact the young Kokamas do not want to relocate the village, but the elders are ready to do so. It is their hope the youngsters will follow them.

(39) a. *mukuika* *wata=**taka*** *tɨma* *ra* *ɨwama=tsuri=ay*
two year=UNC NEG 3SG.M collapse=PAS3=already
'Maybe during two years it didn't collapse'

b. *ikun=**taka*** *ra* *chikuarata* *ini=utsu*
today=UNC 3SG.M follow 1PL.IN=FUT1
'Maybe now they will follow us'

Frequently, =*taka* occurs attached to interrogative words, which in English would be translated as indefinite relative pronouns, such as 'whoever' (40a) and 'wherever' (40b).

(40) a. ***awa=taka*** *tseta utsu tsanangillo=ka p-tani=ta*
who=UNC want go Sananguillo=LOC ripen=CAU

ra utsu tsanangillo=ka
3SG.M go Sananguillo=LOC
'Whoever wants to go to Sananguillo, mark (color) that he goes to Sananguillo'

b. ***maka=taka*** *witurio tseta erutsu ini raepe ini utsu*
where=UNC Victor want bring 1PL.IN there 1PL.IN go
'Wherever Victor wants to lead us, there we go'

Up to here we can conclude that MOD1 consists of a coherent set of markers that indicate the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition indicated in a given utterance. This commitment ranges from absolute certainty (=*tin*) and inferred certainty (=*ray*), to distancing from the proposition by marking it as unidentified source (=*ía*) or just as a possibility (=*taka*). The discussion now turns to the second set of modality markers, which indicate further nuances in the domain of irrealis.

9.1.2.2. Verb phrase modals

MOD2 differs from MOD1 in terms of syntactic distribution and functional semantics. Beginning with distribution, MOD2 consists of verb phrase clitics; that is they show up (attached or free) at the right edge of the verb phrase. In contrast to MOD1, which convey speaker's commitment to the truth of the utterance, the MOD2 markers are concerned with the factuality of the event. This set includes the

hypothetical marker *(=)mia* 'HYP' and the apprehensive marker *(=)era* 'APPR'. It could be argued that the VP unmarked for MOD2 presents events as factual.

Like MOD1, MOD2 markers do not co-occur within a single clause. However, a crucial point in which MOD2 differs from MOD1 is that they cannot combine with tense markers. This is demonstrated in (41). Example (41a) shows a clause marked by the hypothetical, (41b) is marked by tense. However, the clause cannot be marked by both hypothetical and tense (41c). The opposite order, tense and hypothetical is also rejected by speakers (41d). However, analyzing tense and MOD2 as one paradigm would not be appropriate because there is a difference between the two: while MOD2 clitics can occur either bound or unbounded to the VP, tense markers must be attached.

(41) a. *ay* *yauki* *tsaparu=**mia***
3SG.F.L make basket=HYP
'She would/could make a basket' (ED)

b. *ay* *yauki tsaparu=**tsuri***
3SG.F.L make basket=PAS3
'She made a basket'(ED)

c. **ay yauki tsaparu=**mia=tsuri*** (ED)

d. **ay yauki tsaparu=**tsuri=mia*** *(ED)*

The inability of MOD2 to combine with tense clitics is consistent with the fact that *=mia* and *=era* signal events as non-factual, whereas tense clitics (except for *=á*) indicate that the event took place or will take place at some point in time, and thus presume factuality. In the following sections, I discuss each phrasal modal.

9.1.2.2.1. Hypothetical *(=)mia*

In natural discourse, *=mia* is employed to signal events as hypothetical, depicting the situations as purely within the realm of thought. In previous works on the language, this morpheme has been characterized as the potential mood (Faust 1972:58), and the counterfactual mood (Cabral 1995:322). I will show here why these are not the most appropriate labels.

In my database, *=mia* can express wishes and desires (42a), suggestions (42b), predictions (42c-d), and questions (43a).

(42) a. *tseta* *tsa* *kamata=**mia***
want 1SG.F work=HYP
'I would like to work, get a job' (ED)

b. CONTEXT: If you don't want to go to school…

aykua-pa *na=**mia***
be.sick-CPL 2SG=HYP
'You could pretend you are sick' (*Podrías hacerte el enfermo*)(ED)

c. CONTEXT: Do you think I should hire her?

era *ya* *kamata=**mia***
well 3SG.F work=HYP
'She would work well, do a good job' (ED)

d. CONTEXT: If I go to Oregon in the Winter…

etse *aykua-pa=**mia*** *tsɨrɨ=pu*
1SG.F be.sick-CPL cold=INS
'I would get sick with the cold weather' (ED)

In questions, *=mia* adds an overtone of disbelief, as shown in (43a). The answer to this question is given in (43b).

(43) CONTEXT: I'm looking for someone that weaves baskets:

a. *era=tipa* *na=yauki* *marawe=**mia**?*
Well=Q 2SG=make basket=HYP
'(Are you sure) you know well how to make a basket?' (ED)

b. *era tsa* *yauki* *marawe=**mia***
well 1SG.F make basket=HYP
'(Yes) I would be able to make a basket' (ED)

The following examples show the use of *=mia* in discourse. In terms of distribution, note that *=mia* attaches to the object in a transitive clause with SVO configuration (44a), to the second verb in a complement clause construction (44b), and to the predicate in an intransitive clause (44c). Meaning wise, the utterances in (44) are associated with wishes and desires.

(44) a. *ay* *ta* *tsetsa* *ku-yara=**mia***
already 1SG.M want farm-owner=HYP
'I would already like to have my own farm'

b. *rana=tseta* *uchima=**mia**,* *rana* *akɨcha* *uchima*
3plM=want go.out=HYP 3PL.M be.scared go.out
'They would want to leave, (but) they are scared to leave'

c. *ay=pura* *tsa=[eyu]=**mia***
3SG.F.LF=FOC 1SG.F=eat=HYP
'This I should have eaten'

In discourse, the hypothetical *=mía* shows up frequently in questions, as demonstrated in (45). Here also *=mia* attaches to the right edge of the verb phrase.

(45) a. *maka=tipa* *ta* *purara* *waina=**mia*** *ta=mirikua=ra*
where-Q 1SG.M find woman=HYP 1SG.M=wife=PUR
'Where would I find a woman to be my wife?'

b. *maka=tsui=tipa* *awa* *uri=**mia*** *ini=nan*
where=ABL=Q person come=HYP 1PL.IN=only

*kakɨri=**ra*** *ikia=ka*
live=COND this=LOC
'Where could this person be coming from, if we are the only ones who live around here?'

Another appearance of *=mia* is in procedural texts. So far, this has been attested in female discourse attached to the demonstrative *aja* 'this.' In those cases the distribution of *=mia* is not that of a verb phrase clitic, but *ajamia* appears at the end of the clause, generally following the object. Consider the following extract from a procedural text in which the speaker is explaining how to weave a fan using palm leaves. In this portion alone, the speaker uses *ajamia* five times.

(46) *ini* *tɨkɨt=ay* *aja-**mia***
1PL.IN tie=3F.OBJ this-HYP
'We tie it, in this way'

yaepetsui *aja-**mia,*** *ini* *tɨkɨt=ay* *ɨwa-npu*
then this-HYP 1PL.IN tie 3SG.F trunk-after
'After that, after we've tied the handle in this way'

ajan *uyarika* *ini* *yapara-ta-ka*
this again 1PL.IN be.coiled-CAU-REI
'We hold this again'

ajan *y=ɨati=pura* *ini* *tsɨki-ka* *aja-**mia***
this 3SG.F=tip=FOC 1PL.IN take.out-REI this-HYP
'The tip of this (leaf) we pull it out again, like this'

ini *tsɨki-ka-ta=ay* *aja-**mia,*** *yapara-ka*
1PL.IN take.out-REI-CAU=3F.OBJ this-HYP cross-REI
'We pull it out, like this, intersecting'

[…] *tuku* *puwatsa=pu* *ini* *tɨkɨta=ay* *aja-**mia***
sp.palm thread-INS 1PL.IN tie=3F.OBJ this-HYP
'With rope of chambira (palm) we tie it (the woven piece), like this'

emete *uku,* *uku* *nua-n* *ya=pu* *ini* *tɨkɨta=ay*
exist neddle needle bebig-NZR 3SG.F=INS 1PL.IN tie=3F.OBJ

'There is a needle, a big neddle, we sew and tie it (fan) with it (needle)'

The connection between hypothetical mood and procedural texts is that neither are about situations that have actually happened; procedural texts are about events that should take place in order to create or produce something. This type of text includes directions, pieces of advice, suggestions, commands, etc. about ways in which something should be done. That is, the steps described in procedural texts are unrealized, non-factual events. Interestingly, the speaker produced this particular text while actually making a fan. At some point, however, she stopped weaving and just continued to describe the process. For instance, when she mentions the needle, she actually does not have one, but she still went on to explain how to use it.

All in all, the appearance of *ajamia* in procedural texts seems consistent with the semantic value of =*mia* as a modal. However, from a distributional point of view, when =*mia* attaches to *aja* 'this' it can no longer be characterized as a phrasal clitic, but perhaps as a discourse marker.

9.1.2.2.2. Apprehensive *(=)era*

Like the hypothetical =*mia*, the apprehensive clitic =*era* 'APPR' appears at the end of the verb phrase, either attached to the right-most element of the verbal clause, or simply following it. As for the function of =*era*, both Faust (1972:58) and Cabral (1995:322) analyzed it as the subjunctive mood. However, I argue that this characterization does not account for the function of =*era* in today's Kokama, or at least in the variety being described in this work.

The semantics of *=era* is somehow complex. It not only indicates that the event expressed in the utterance is non-factual but also involves what Lichtenberck (1995:293) calls an apprehensional-epistemic, a mixture of epistemic and attitudinal meanings having to do with "the speaker's degree of certainty about the factual status of a proposition and with his or her attitude concerning the desirability of the situation encoded in the clause." To be more precise, *=era* signals that the situation is not only uncertain but in some way undesirable, which makes the speaker nervous, or "apprehensive."[6]

In the text database, the morpheme *=era* appears primarily in questions, more rarely in declarative sentences. In their discourse context, these are in fact rhetorical questions; they are not used with the expectation of eliciting a piece of information, but to express a speculative comment about inexplicable, enigmatic events that involve fear. Examples (47) to (51) illustrate the use of *=era*. The discourse context is provided for each example.

(47) CONTEXT: A group of people discover a huge tree lying in the middle of the lake. They suspect this is not a simple tree, but maybe something else:

ay	*yay*	*inu-kumitsa-ka*	*ya*
already	also	3PL.F-say-REI	3SG.F

mirikua=muki	*mari*	*~~i~~wi~~i~~ra=tua*	*ikia=ra=**era***
wife=COM	what	tree=AUG	here=PUR=APPR

'They talk with the wife: what kind of big tree could this one here be?'

[6] In the literature, terms used for similar semantic-pragmatic phenomena include 'lest' clauses, apprehensive modality (Dixon 1977, Aikhenvald 2003), timitive mood (Palmer 2001), admonitive mood (Meira 1999), etc. The syntactic scope for apprehensive modality markers could be independent clauses, subordinate clauses, and noun phrases. To my knowledge, questions bearing apprehensive epistemic have not yet been reported in typological works.

(48) CONTEXT: Some people who live in the middle of the forest noticed that their stuff has been misplaced, and so they get scared and wonder:

awa=ray	*uri=**era**,*	*ajan=ka*	*temente*
person=SPE	come=APPR	this=LOC	no.exist

awa	*kakɨrɨ=**era***
who	live=APPR

'Who could have come? Nobody lives around here.'

(49) CONTEXT: Mother is scolding her son because he is showing strange behavior; she thinks something/someone is ruining him

maniawatsu	*ray*	*na=pura*	*maniakapa=**era***
how	SPE	2SG=FOC	spoil=APPR

'How did you get so spoiled?

(50) CONTEXT: The parents of a young guy suspect their son is sleeping with someone. Mother has been trying to discover who the woman is but each morning the woman seems to vanish. So, mother is worried and confronts her son:

awa	*waina=ray*	*y=erukua=**era***	*ɨpɨtsa=nan*
person	woman=SPE	3SG.F=keep=APPR	night=only

y=ɨrɨkarɨ=kuara	*na=ray*	*ya=mama*	*kumitsa*
3SG.F=net=INE	QT=SPE	3SG.F=mother	say

'What kind of woman are you keeping only at night in your mosquito net? Like this his mom talks.

(51) CONTEXT: The parents hear their son talking to someone in his mosquito net, so they suspect that he is sleeping with someone:

awa=muki	*ray*	*papa-isha=pura*	*ukɨrɨ*	*ukua=**era***
who=COM	SPE	father=DIM=FOC	sleep	HAB=APPR

inu-ɨpɨtsa	*tsenu*	*y=ɨmɨntsara-ka*	*ukua=**era***
3PL.F-night	hear	3SG.F=story-REI	HAB=APPR

'Who is this kiddy sleeping with? At night they hear what seems to be him talking (with someone).

Examples from (47) to (51) demonstrate the use of =*era* in questions, or in utterances following a question (as in (48)). Examples in (52) and (53) show its appearance in declaratives. Note that speculation and fear are constant.

(52) CONTEXT: A woman follows her daughter-in-law to her farm to discover that she becomes transformed into an animal:

*y=uwaka-pa=**era***
3SG.F= become-CPL=APPR
'(Oh lord!) It seems she gets transformed!'

(53) CONTEXT: Someone had an accident in the forest and comes back full of blood.

*ya=mari tsachi-n=chasu=**era** tsuwɨ=pura atsɨrɨka*
3SG.F=thing feel.pain-NZR=AFF=APPR blood=FOC go.down
'This poor thing seems to be in absolute pain; it's bleeding all over'

Examples (47) to (51) illustrate a frequent combination, the apprehensive marker =*era* with the second position speculative =*ray.* Because of this frequent co-occurrence, it could be thought that perhaps =*era* carries only attitudinal meanings. However, =*era* does not need to co-occur with =*ray* to convey epistemic uncertainty. This is demonstrated in (47), (52), and (53), which do not include =*ray,* yet still convey both uncertainty and apprehension. This has also been confirmed in elicitation. Beyond =*ray* and =*era,* other combinations of modality markers are also possible. These combinations are the topic of the next section.

9.1.2.2.3. Interaction among modality clitics

Basically, every member of the MOD1 set could combine with either member of MOD2. Even the certainty marker can be found with the hypothetical marker. However, only =*mia* 'hypothetical' is attested in all combinations, except with the reportative =*ía*.

In contrast, =*era* 'apprehensive' is only attested with =*ray* 'speculative'. In (54) I give elicited examples that show the combination of MOD1 with the hypothetical =*mia*. Note in (54d) that the combination =*ía* 'reportative' and =*mia* 'hypothetical' is rejected. When the speaker was asked to provide a sentence that would mean something like *dicen que el iría* 'They say/I've heard he would go,' she gave me (54e) with *iyara* 'wish.'

(54) CONTEXT: We need to select someone to represent the community in a meeting:

a. *ay=tin* *utsu=mia*
3SG.L.F=CER go=HYP
'He could/would be able to go'

b. *ay=ray* *utsu-mia*
3SG.L.F=SPE go=HYP
'He can go' [He seems capable]

c. *ay=taka* *utsu-mia*
3SG.L.F=UNC go=HYP
'He might be able to go' [We could ask him]

d. **ay=ía* *utsu=mia*

e. *ay=ía* *utsu=iyara*
3SG.L.F=REP go=wish
'They say he thinks/wishes to go'

In (55), I offer transitive constructions that confirm the patterns found in (54). Again, the combination 'hearsay' plus 'hypothetical' is rejected (55e). Commenting on examples (54d) and (55e), the speaker mentioned that having =*ía* and =*mía* in the same sentence is like repeating the same thing twice. This comment would suggest that perhaps there is a diachronic connection between the two.

(55) CONTEXT: I'm sick, and considering taking some natural medicine which I've been told is very strong.

a. *etse* *kurata* *ajan* *mutsana=**mia***
1SG.L.F drink this remedy=HYP
'(Perhaps) I should drink this remedy'

b. *etse=**tin*** *kurata* *ajan* *mutsana=**mia***
1SG.L.F=CER drink this remedy=HYP
'I would be able to drink this remedy' [I'm sure I can do this!]

c. *etse=**ray*** *kurata* *ajan* *mutsana=**mia***
1SG.L.F=SPE drink this remedy=HYP
'I can drink this remedy' [I think so, why not!]

d. *etse=**taka*** *kurata* *ajan* *mutsana=**mia***
1SG.L.F=SPE drink this remedy=HYP
'I might be able to drink this remedy' [Let me try]

e. **etse=**ía** *kurata ajan mutsana=**mia***

The example in (56) illustrates the combination of certainty =*tin* with the hypothetical =*mia* in texts. This example comes from a traditional story. A tiger is hungry and would like to fish, but he does not know how to swim. So, the armadillo tries to help him by tying a rock to the tiger's belly. Then the armadillo says (56). It is clear that in this example, the scope of the certainty marker is the instrumental phrase 'with the rock,' to which it attaches. On the other hand, =*mia* indicates that 'catching fish' is at the moment of the utterance still a wish.

(56) *ra=pu=**tin*** *na* *yat#r#ta* *ra=**mia***
3SG.M=INS=CER 2SG put.together 3SG.M=HYP
'Certainly, with it [rock] you could collect it [fish]'

Another combination attested in texts is that of the uncertainty marker =*taka* and the hypothetical marker =*mia*. Semantically, the interaction of these two markers is totally expected. They reinforce each other to signal an event as highly unlikely. In (57)

I give two examples. Note that in conditional clauses, they combine to produce a counterfactual reading (57b). (For a discussion of conditional clauses, see §10.4.3).

(57) a. *na* *etse=**taka*** *ni=uk#r#=**mia*** *tap#a* *uka=kuara*
like.this 1SG.F=UNC NEG=sleep=HYP indian house=INE
'So, maybe I wouldn't be able to sleep in an Indian's house'

b. *t#ma* *ch#p#-yara=**ra**,* *utsu=**taka*** *ni=erura* *ra=**mia***
NEG price-HAVE=COND FUT=UNC 1PL.IN=bring 3SG.M=HYP
'If it were not pricey, we might have brought it'

As for the apprehensive marker =*era*, at the moment I do not have elicited examples to evaluate whether or not it combines with all members of the MOD1 set. We have already seen that it combines with the speculative =*ray*. Because of the compatibility of their semantic content, they reinforce each other, creating an overall result of doubt and fear, as illustrated once again in (58).

(58) CONTEXT: In a traditional story, a man meets an aquatic creature. The man is scared but, in an attempt to make friends with this creature, asks him:

*t#ma=**ray*** *ts#r#* *na=**era***
NEG=SPE be.cold 2SF=APPR
'Don't you feel cold?'

The morpheme =*era* has not been attested with other second position modality markers. From a semantic point of view, there is no reason to think that it would not be able to combine with the uncertainty marker, for instance. However, given that the overall productivity of =*era* is low compared to =*mia*, perhaps =*era* is either becoming a semantically specialized apprehensive marker, perhaps being replaced by =*mia*.

Having elucidated both the tense and modality system in the language, I now turn the discussion to declarative sentences.

9.2. Declarative sentences

In KK, declarative sentences can be considered the unmarked construction compared to interrogatives and imperatives. The reasons for that claim are the following:

i) Declarative clauses are morphologically unmarked; interrogatives and imperatives can be characterized as some morphosyntactic operations on declarative clauses, such as the addition of an interrogative morpheme, change of the basic word order, omission of subject, etc.

ii) Declarative clauses are the most frequent construction in the database.

iii) Declarative clauses overwhelmingly exhibit the SVO pattern, which is considered the basic constituent order in the language (see §11.4).

iv) With the appropriate context, declarative clauses can express other speech acts, including interrogation and requests.

In this section, I discuss the main characteristics of simple declarative clauses (§9.2.1) and their main functions in spontaneous speech (§9.2.2).

9.2.1. Grammatical relations

Cross-linguistically, the simple surface means of encoding participants at the syntactic level are: case marking on NPs; indexation of participants in the verb, second position or other pronominal clitics; and constituent order. In KK there is neither verbal or auxiliary indexation of core participants nor case marking; thus, constituent order and pronominal forms become crucial for the determination of subject and object.

9.2.1.1. Distinguishing subject from object

In KK, subject and object exhibit some differences and some similarities. They differ from each other in the following respects:

i) in unmarked basic clauses, the subject precedes the verb, while the object follows it.

ii) they occupy different hierarchical positions in terms of constituency: subject is external and object internal to the verb phrase

iii) for third person, subject and object are expressed by means of different pronominal forms

iv) they show asymmetrical properties for access to relativization

However, subject and object share the following features:

i) they are obligatorily overt in basic clauses

ii) they are morphologically unmarked (Except 3sg. pronoun)

iii) they occupy an almost-fixed position, surrounding the verb

iv) they each control coreference in specific complex constructions

In the following paragraphs, I elaborate on each of the features listed above, starting with the ways in which subjects and objects differ from each other. Their similarities are discussed in §9.2.1.2, where, as core arguments, they are distinguished from obliques.

The first parameter in which subjects differ from objects is in their position with respect to the verb. As shown in §9.1.1, KK cannot have "free" word order. Because order is what determines the interpretation of subject and object, arguments must occur

in specific positions adjacent to the verb. Within the *non-progressive* construction type (i.e., clauses unmarked for tense and aspect), in intransitive clauses the subject precedes the verb: [SUBJ V]. That is, the intransitive construction requires a noun phrase (59a) or a pronoun (59b) fulfilling the subject argument function, plus a verb that can combine with this argument structure construction.

(59) a. ***mukuika*** ***tayatsu*** *yapana*
two peccari run
'Two peccaries escape' (ED)

b. ***etse*** *yachu*
1SG.L.F cry
'I cry' (ED)

c. ***tsa****=yamimi*
1SG.F=hide
'I hide' (ED)

As illustrated above, the subject could be a full NP like *mukuika tsayatsu* 'two peccaries' (59a), or a pronoun, either unbound like *etse* 'I' (59b) or cliticized to the verb, like *tsa*= 'I' in (7c).

In contrast to intransitives, transitive constructions include two NPs —one of which operates as the subject and the other as the object— and a verb that combines with this argument structure construction. In the pragmatically unmarked transitive construction, the subject precedes the verb and object follows it. Schematically, it could be summarized as [SUBJ [V OBJ]]. This pattern is illustrated in (60), where both subject and object are expressed by means of full noun phrases.

(60) a. *wayna* *piruka* *yawiri*
woman peel yucca
'The woman peels yucca' (ED)

b. *yawara* *chikuara* *napitsara*
dog follow man
'The dog follows the man' (ED)

Recall that in the pragmatically marked transitive construction, the focalized object appears in sentence-initial position, followed by the subject and the verb: [OBJ SUBJ V] (see examples in (3), above). Up to here we can generalize that, in the *non-progressive* construction type, the subject always precedes the verb, and the object either follows the verb or appears fronted.

Subject and object also differ with respect to the third person pronominal forms, depending on whether the pronoun is functioning as subject or object (61). Importantly, a nominative/accusative distinction in pronouns is found in both male (61) and female speech (62).

(61) a. ***uri / ra*** *chikari=**ura*** (male speech)
3SG.L.M / 3SG.M look.for=3SG.M.OBJ
'He/she looks for he/she/it'

b. ***uri/ra/*ura*** *tsatsats=ma*
3SG.L.M / 3SG.M scream
'He/she screams'

(62) a. ***ya*** *chikari=**ay*** (female speech)
3SG.F look.for=3F.OBJ
'He/she looks for he/she/it'

b. ***ya*** *tsatsats=ma*
3SG.F scream
'He/she screams'

In (61a), both the long form pronoun *uri* as well as the short form *ra* 'he/she' can operate as the subject, and as such they come before the verb *chikari* 'look for'. In contrast, the clitic =*ura* 'he/she/it' is the object, and hence appears cliticized after the

verb. In the intransitive clause in (61b), *uri/ra* operate as the subject, whereas **ura* is rejected. In (62a), the distribution of the pronouns is similar, but the forms correspond to the female speech paradigm: while the subject short form pronoun *ya* appears in initial position, the object enclitic *=ay* attaches to the verb. In (62b), *ya* operates as the subject of the instransitive clause. For the complete paradigm of KK pronominal forms, see §5.3.

A third feature that distinguishes subjects from objects is their positioning with respect to the verb phrase. In clauses with the SVO order, VO forms a syntactic unit, i.e., the verb phrase. In what follows, I demonstrate that there is a tight relationship between the verb and the O argument.

The first evidence for a verb phrase is the distribution of tense clitics. Tense markers cliticize to the rightmost element in the VP: the intransitive verb (63a) and the transitive verb in the pragmatically marked OSV pattern. When O is focused, as in (63b), O comes in first position in the sentence but the tense marker remains on the verb. In the pragmatically unmarked SVO order, the tense marker cannot be attached to any other element than the object (63c-e).

(63) a. *mui* *yapan=**uy*** *ku=kuara* S [V]$_{-T}$ LOC
snake run=PAS1 farm=INE
'The snake escaped at the farm' (ED)

b. *mijiri* *mui* *karuta=**uy*** *ku=kuara* O S [V]-$_{T}$ LOC
Miguel snake bit=PAS1 farm=INE
'The snake bit Miguel at the farm' (ED)

c. *mui [karuta mijiri]=**uy*** *ku=kuara* S [V O]-$_{T}$ LOC
snake bit Miguel=PAS1 farm=INE
'The snake bit Miguel at the farm' (ED)

d. **mui karuta**=uy** mijiri ku=kuara* *S [V]-$_T$ O LOC

e. **mui karuta mijiri ku=kuara**=uy*** *S [V O LOC]-$_T$

A second piece of evidence for constituency comes from the insertion test: a group of words that behaves as a syntactic unit avoids being interrupted by clause-level elements, such as adverbs. To find out if a particular argument is part of the verb phrase or not, I use the temporal adverb *ikun* 'today' between each pair of words, looking for grammatical sentences. If the result is rejected by speakers, then I conclude that the word(s) on the right of the temporal word cannot be separated from the one(s) on the left, and that therefore, they must belong to the same constituent. If the result produces a well formed sentence, then I conclude that the words on the left and right of the adverbial belong to two separate units. Examples in (64) show that the temporal adverb *ikun* 'today' (in bold) can be moved to different positions in the sentence, except between the verb and the object.

(64) a. ADV SUBJ V OBJ$_{-T}$ LOC
ikun *mui* *[karuta* *mijiri]=uy* *ku=kuara*
today snake bite Miguel=PAS farm=INE
'Today the snake bit Miguel at the farm'

b. *mui [karuta mijiri]=uy ku=kuara* ***ikun***

c. ?*mui [karuta mijiri]=uy* ***ikun*** *ku=kuara*

d. ?? *mui* ***ikun*** *[karuta mijiri]=uy ku=kuara*

e. **mui [karuta* ***ikun*** *mijiri]=uy ku=kuara*

The five examples are in (64), ranked according to the speakers' preference. We can see that 'today' is most felicitous at the beginning of the clause (64a), although it

can also go readily at the very end of the clause (64b). Less likely, it can go between OBJ and the following locative (64c). The reason speakers do not like it here is because they prefer to avoid the sequence tense clitic - temporal adverb; if the clause is unmarked for tense, then *ikun* is perfectly fine between the object and the locative. Speakers will allow, but strongly prefer not to place a temporal adverb between the subject and the verb (64d). Finally, speakers categorically do not allow *ikun* between V and the object (64e). Thus, based on the distribution of tense clitics and temporal adverbs, we can conclude that [V OBJ] comprises a syntactic unit. As a result, while the object is the internal argument to the VP, subject is the external argument.

Another parameter in which subject and object show asymmetrical properties is with respect to accessing relativization. Relativization of the subject of a transitive clause (the A argument) is achieved by means of a relativizer morpheme *-tara* (65b). In contrast, the relativization of the object is done by nominalizing the embedded clause with the suffix *-n* (65c). Note that relativization of S employs the same strategy to relativize O (65d). For a detailed discussion on relative clauses, please see §10.3.

(65) a. wayna *piruka* *yawiri*
woman peel yucca
'The woman peels yucca'

b. *wayna* *[yawiri* *piruka-**tara**]*
woman yucca peel-REL.A
'The woman who peels the yucca…'

c. *yawiri* *[wayna* *piruka-**n**]*
yucca woman peel-NZR
'The yucca that the woman peels…'

d. *wayna* *[atsɨrɨka-**n**]*
woman go.down.river-NZR
'The woman who goes down the river…]

Despite the several ways in which subject and object differ from each other, they are also alike in various respects. The fact that they share several features makes them a category that here is referred to as core arguments (S, A, and O), in opposition to obliques, as discussed in the next section.

9.2.1.2. Core arguments and obliques

This section examines the number and types of arguments within simple verbal constructions. Core arguments are understood as the participants required overtly within a particular construction (Croft, 2002; Goldberg, 1995, 2006). In what follows, I present a brief description of the properties of core arguments and obliques in KK, in order to show the ways in which they behave differently.[7]

First, core arguments occupy relatively fixed positions, whereas oblique phrases can be moved around in the clause without semantic or syntactic consequences. Comparing the examples in (66), we can see that the locative phrase can occur in final position (66a, b) or initial position (66c), without semantic consequences.

(66) a. *ay-taka* *yamimi* *ɨwɨra* *ikanan=**ri***
3SG.F-MOD hide tree dried=DIF
'Maybe he hides around the dried tree'

a. *ay* *yamimi-ta* *awati* *ɨwɨra* *ikanan=**ri***
3SG.F hide-CAU corn tree dried=DIF
'He hides the corn around the dried tree'(ED)

[7] From now on I use S, A, O, T, and R. Following Dryer (2006), S refers to the single argument of an intransitive clause, A is the most agent-like argument of a canonical transitive clause, P is the most patient-like argument of a transitive clause, T is the theme-like argument of a ditransitive clause, and R is the recipient-like argument of a ditransitive clause.

b. *ɨwɨra* *ikanan=**ri*** *ay* *yamimi-ta* *awati*
tree dried=DIF 3SG.F hide-CAU corn
'He hides the corn around the dried tree' (ED)

Note also in (66) that core arguments of a clause are immediately contiguous to the verb. While the S or A argument precedes the verb ((66a, b), the O argument immediately follows the verb (66c). In contrast, oblique phrases appear in the periphery of the clause and interceding material can occur between them. I have already shown this fact in (64), by placing the adverb *ikun* 'now' in several positions, except between A-V and V-O. In (67) I give an additional example, placing *ikikume* 'frequently 'in several positions. Note in (67c) that the ADV can be placed between O and LOC without a problem. However, the speaker does not like it between A and V (67d), and it definitely does not work between V and O (67e).

(67) a. ADV A V O LOC
ikikume *mirikua* *pichita* *ipira* *parana tsima=ri*
frequently wife clean fish river edge=DIF
'Frequently, the wife cleans the fish at the shore of the river'

b. A V O LOC ADV
mirikua *pichita* *ipira* *parana tsima=ri* ***ikikume***

c. A V O ADV LOC
mirikua *pichita* *ipira* ***ikikume*** *parana tsima=ri*

d. ?A ADV V O LOC
?*mirikua* ***ikikume*** *pichita* *ipira* *parana tsima=ri*

e. *A V ADV O LOC
mirikua* *pichita* ***ikikume* *ipira* *parana tsima=ri*

Another aspect in which core arguments are alike is with respect to encoding. Neither S, nor A, nor O receives morphological case marking. In contrast, oblique

phrases are morphologically marked with postpositions. As described in Chapter VI, KK has a set of postpositions to express spatial (direction to, direction from, static location, etc.) and non-spatial information (comitative, instrument, purpose, comparison, etc.).

Perhaps the key defining feature of core arguments in KK is their obligatoriness: they must be expressed within simple clauses, whereas oblique phrases are optional. To determine whether an argument is obligatory or not, I follow Croft's (2001) notion of *instantiation*. Croft proposes *instantiation* to describe both the dimensions of *obligatoriness* (i.e., requirement for a participant to be syntactically expressed) and *latency* (i.e., requirement for a definite interpretation of a participant if it is left syntactically unexpressed). The idea is that when an element is absent from a construction (Null Instantiation), it does not always entail that no referent exists for it.[8]

Applying these notions to KK, there is a clear distinction between core arguments (subject and object) and obliques. While subjects and objects need to be overtly instantiated by either full NPs or pronominal forms in order to have well-formed sentences, the latter appear whenever they are semantically appropriate. In other words, in main clauses, subjects and objects are neither obligatorily nor optionally ellipsed. The

[8] Following Fillmore and Kay (1993), Croft's framework includes four types of null instantiation: Free Null Instantiation-FNI (i.e., the referent can be freely identified by the hearer); Indefinite Null Instantiation-INI (i.e., the referent is indeterminate but the verb or construction imposes constraints on the semantic nature of the participant); Definite Null Instantiation-DNI (i.e., the referent must be accessible, it specifies a particular interpretation —e.g. pro-drop or null anaphora); Non-Null Instantiation-NNI (i.e., access to the referent is provided by an overt expression). The examples below are adapted from Croft (2001:276-277):

a. *She wrote a letter* Ø ← FNI (on blue stationery, on a napkin…)
b. *The dog just ate* Ø ← INI (whatever, but must be food)
c. *The Germans lost* Ø ← DNI (the game; accessible referent)
d. *She lifted* ***the child*** ← NNI (*She lifted Ø)

following passage from a traditional story about a woman attacked by the devil illustrates this (subjects and objects are in bold, semicolons indicate pauses).

(68) ***y***=*uchima-ta* ***yawiri***=*tsuriay;* A V O
3SG.F=go.out-CAU yucca=PAS3

ya piruka-ri yuti-n ***awara*** *katupe;* [Adv-C] S V
3F peel-PROG stay-NZR devil show.up

yay ***y***=*umanu-t*=***ay*** A V O
already 3SG.F=die-CAU=3F.OBJ
'She extracted the yucca. While she is peeling, the devil shows up. And then he kills her'

As for complex clauses, equi-subjects of complement clauses are ellipsed; however, equi-subjects of adverbial clauses are not. KK has also some constructions with obligatory ellipsis, such as adverbial clauses of purpose. In those constructions, both subject (A/S) and object (O) control the coreference. For a detailed characterization of complex clauses, see Chapter X.

In contrast, no oblique phrase is obligatory, or controls the coreference of another element within the clause. Or in Croft's terms, obliques in KK do not specify particular interpretations; that is, they are almost always free null instantiated. Below is a summary of the differences between subject, object and obliques discussed in this section.

Table 9.5: Properties of core arguments versus obliques

	SUBJECT (S/A)	OBJECT (O)	OBLIQUES
Morphological coding	no	no	yes
Order	fixed	(almost) fixed	free
Constituency	out of the VP	inside of the VP	periphery of clause
Obligatoriness (NNI vs. FNI)	yes	yes	no
Control of coreference (DNI)	yes	yes	no

9.2.1.3. On indirect objects and ditransitive constructions

In Vallejos (2010), I have demonstrated that the language shows no evidence for a construction that profiles three participants, that is, for a syntactic ditransitive construction with two non-subject arguments. In what follows I summarize the major conclusions of that study.

KK shows both indirective (P=T≠R) and secundative (P=R≠T) alignment types (Dryer 1986, Haspelmath 2004), but no formal or behavioral evidence for a second object of any kind. In KK, typical three-participant events are syntactically encoded in at least three ways, none of which contains two grammatical objects of any sort. Consider the following examples:

(69) a. *marira ray ti=ma na yumi=ura ta=**tsui***
why PRT NEG 2SG give=3SG.M.O 1SG.M=DAT
'Why don't you just give it to me?'

b. *marira-taka ya=yumi ya=kuriki=pura*
why-MOD 3SG.F=give 3SG.F=money=FOC
'Why, maybe, he gives his money'

(70) a. *ami memuta i=rara=uy maniri=**ka***
g.father show canoe=PST Manuel=LOC
'Grandfather showed the canoe to Manuel'

b. *raepe rana memuta rana pua*
then 3PL.M show 3PL.M hand
'And then they show their hands'

(71) a. *ya=**pu** n=yumita=etse*
3SG.F=INS 2S=teach=1LF
'You teach me (with) that'

b. *na ts=yumita inu=kua*
like.this 1SF=teach 3plF=HAB
'Like this I used to teach them'

Examples (69-71) show that events that at the semantic level involve three semantic participants are encoded in three ways.[9] In (69a), agent and theme are encoded as subject and object, respectively, whereas the recipient is expressed as dative.[10] In (70a) the recipient or goal is expressed as locative. In (71a), agent and recipient are subject and object, whereas the theme is expressed as instrument. Further, the (b) counterparts of examples (69-71) demonstrate that DAT, LOC, and INS are optional within a clause.Table 9.6 shows typical three-participant events organized according to the pattern with which they combine. Note that the so-called derived ditransitives such as causatives display the third pattern.

Table 9.6: Syntactic encoding of three-participant events

	PREDICATE		AGENT	THEME	RECIPIENT/GOAL
I	*yumi* *tamana* *kumitsa*	'give' 'give-a-present' 'tell'	SUBJ	OBJ	(DAT)
II	*memuta* *purepeta* *yumunu* *ɨpɨru*	'show' 'sell' 'send' 'lend'	SUBJ	OBJ	(LOC)
III	*ikuata/yumita* *tsemuta* Causatives	'teach' 'feed'	SUBJ	(INS)	OBJ

The question is, then, whether DAT, LOC, and/or INS show any properties of core arguments. Looking at both typological and language particular morphosyntactic

[9] The predicate *chirata* 'bestow a name' has an idiosyncratic configuration, where *theme* (the name itself) is expressed via an appositive NP, and the recipient is encoded as the OBJ.

[NP_{theme}], PRT $SUBJ_{agent}$ V $OBJ_{recipient}$
ramatse, *nan* *inu* *chirata=ay*
foreigner like.this 3PL name=3sgOBJ
'Foreigner, like this they call him'

[10] In elicitation, the recipient can be also be marked by the locative.

and functional properties, it was found that: i) DAT, LOC, and INS display properties of obliques rather than of core arguments; and, ii) no verb (or construction) obligatorily requires two non-subject arguments. All in all, KK syntactically encodes three-place predicates by means of clauses with two core arguments.

An examination to the instantiation of recipients in discourse provides categorical results. The analysis presented in the following paragraphs follows Croft's (2001) notion of *instantiation* introduced previously. The database for this section consists of 35 texts (4951 intonation units, about 6500 clauses) by 14 speakers. The texts include personal narratives, traditional stories, and spontaneous conversations. The prototypical three-participant events examined are: *yumi* 'give', *kumitsa* 'say, tell', *tamana* 'give-a-present', *yumunu* 'send', *ɨpiru* 'lend', *memuta* 'show', *tsemuta* 'feed', *yumita/ikuata* 'teach' , *purepeta* 'sell', and *chirata* 'bestow a name'. It should be mentioned that the last three are derived notions from *ikua* 'know', *purepe* 'buy', and *chira* 'name' plus the causative morpheme *-ta;*[11] however, the three display different patterns with respect to syntactic encoding of participants.

There were 377 units (out of 4951 intonation units) in which the verbs listed just above function as the main predicate.[12] Interestingly, *tamana* 'give-a-present' and *ɨpiru*

[11] Although the forms for 'show' and 'feed' suspiciously also end in *-ta*, synchronically they are more difficult to be analyzed as derived verbs, since the forms *memu* and *tsemu* are not attested.

[12] There are seven additional examples in which *ikua* 'know' appears with the causative morpheme *-ta*, and it is not interpreted as 'teach', but as 'let someone know, notify.' The connection with the lexicalized form is clear.

'lend' do not occur in the database. Also, because *chirata* 'bestow-a-name' has a unique pattern (see fn. 9), it is not discussed here. The results are summarized in Table 9.7.

Table 9.7: Syntactic encoding of the Recipient/Goal

			Ø		DAT		LOC		OBJ		
			n	**%**	n	**%**	n	**%**	n	**%**	Total
I	*kumitsa*	'say, tell'	262	**84**	51	**16**					313
	yumi	'give'	31	**82**	7	**18**					38
	yumunu	'send'	3	**38**			5	**62**			8
II	*purepeta*	'sell'	6	**100**			0	**0**			6
	memuta	'show'	3	**100**			0	**0**			3
III	*yumita/ikuata*	'teach'							7	**100**	7
	tsemuta	'feed'							2	**100**	2
											377

The first major finding from Table 9.7 is that in the first two patterns, the recipient is not obligatory, and that it shows up in a very limited number of tokens. In Configuration I, [$SUBJ_A$ V OBJ_T (DAT_R)], only 58 units (17% of 351), contain an explicit DAT-marked R.[13] As for Configuration II, [$SUBJ_A$ V OBJ_T (LOC_R)], in five units (out of 8, 62%) 'send' occurs with a LOC-marked recipient/goal, whereas 'sell' and 'show' never show up with a LOC-marked goal. Examples (72a) and (73a) are instances in which the recipient is left unexpressed; (72b) illustrates the recipient marked as dative; and, (73b) the goal marked as locative.

(72) a. *mari=tipa* *na=kumits=uy, ima*
what=Q 2S=say=PST, brother
'What did you say, brother?'

b. *ta=utsu* *kantun* *na* *mai=kana* *kumitsa* *tana=tsui*
1SM=go tomorrow QT mestizo=PL say 1PL.M=DAT
"I'll go tomorrow" the mestizos say to us'

[13] In one instance, *kumitsa* 'speak, talk, tell' shows up with a comitative-marked addressee.

(73) a. *ikian* *mikura* *yumunu* *ikian* *kuatiara-n=uy*
this.M fox send this write-NMZ=PST1
'This fox sent this letter'

b. *yanina* *yumunu* *penu=tsuri* *nauta=ka* *uyarika*
Yanina send 1PL.F=PAS3 Nauta=LOC again
'Yanina sent us to the city of Nauta again'

Given that the recipient is coded as the object in Configuration III, [$SUBJ_A$ V OBJ_R (INS)], of course it shows up 100% of the time (74a-b). In contrast, the INS-marked theme appears in only two tokens (out of nine, 22%) (74b).

(74) a. *ajan-ka* *kunumi-nu* *tsa=yumita*
his-LOC young.people-PL 1SF=teach
'Here I teach the young people'

b. *ya=pu* *na=yumita=etse*
3SG.F=INS 2S=teach=1LF
'You teach me that'

The second finding is that even though it need not be explicit, in the majority of the sentences with the verb *yumi* 'give' there is an understood recipient or beneficiary. Applying Croft's categories, it is possible to say that in a number of tokens it has a definite interpretation. The question then is where the definite interpretation comes from. Because of this discovery, each of the 38 give scenarios was further examined. It was found that the R can be inferred from other pieces of the sentences, such as: i) as the possessor of the object; ii) as an argument of a relative clause modifying the object; and, iii) as an argument of an adverbial clause. The results are summarized in Table 9.8, followed by examples that illustrate each category.

Table 9.8: Instantiation of the recipient in natural texts

		INSANCES
A	Overtly expressed as DAT-marked NP	n = 7, 18%
B	Freely interpreted but semantically restricted to an animate being	n = 9, 24%
C	Explicit referent but not encoded as an argument of 'give'	n = 22, 57%

In group A, the R is expressed as the DAT-marked phrase. In all the examples, there is a clear emphasis on the R. Further, in four cases the R NP is in sentence initial position (as in (76)), which in KK is the privileged position for contrastive focus (cf. Vallejos 2009, & §11.2).

(75) *marira ray t=ma na yumi=ura ta=**tsui***
why PRT NEG 2S give=3SG.M.O 1SG.M=DAT
'Why don't you just give it to me?'

(76) *ta=**tsui** rana yumi wepe trofeo,*
1SG.M=DAT 3PL.M give one trophy

ta yuriti primer lugar ikara=ikua
1SG.M stay first place sing=RSN
'To me they give the trophy, I get the first place because of my singing!'

In all the examples that fall in group B, a R is only implied, i.e., freely instantiated. However, the implied NP must be an animate being.

(77) *inu yumi wepe cuarto ya=llave=muki=n*
3plF give one room 3SG.F=key=COM=REL
'[In the hotel] they give a room that has its key'

(78) *marira-taka ya=yumi ya=kuriki=pura*
why-MOD 3SG.F=give 3SG.F=money=FOC
'Why, maybe, he gives away his money'

Examples in group C have in common that the R has a definite interpretation. Its identity is interpreted from other pieces of the sentence and, in the majority of the cases, it has the reading of both recipient and beneficiary. This is the most robust pattern,

attested in 22 of the 38 examples. The referent of the R can be found in the possessor of the object (79, 80), the subject of the relative clause modifying the object (81, 82), and the subject of an adverbial clause (83, 84).

(79) *rana yumi [**tana** uk-ri-chiru-ra-n]*
3PL.M give 1plM sleep-nest-PUR-NMLZ
'They give (us) **our** bed (Lit. they give our nest to sleep)'

(80) *tsa=yumi ajan, [**n**=im-ntsara tsa=tsenu-tsen]*
1F.CL=give this 2S-story 1SF=hear-PUR3
'I give (you) this [gift] to hear **your** story'

(81) *lima=ka rana yumi ikian [**tana** gastash-mira-n]*$_{\text{REL}}$
Lima=LOC 3PL.M give this 1plM spend-PUR2-REL
'In Lima they give (us) this [money] that **we** will spend'

(82) *uri yumi ikian [**n**=ikua-mira-n]*$_{\text{REL}}$
3LM give this 2S=know-PUR2-REL
'He gives (you) this [wisdom] that you will know'

(83) *na=puna na=yumi [**ta**=chikari-tsen inamu]*
2S=rifle 2S=give 1SG.M=look.for-PUR3 sp.bird
'You give (me) your rifle for me to look for panguana (sp.bird)'

(84) *rana yumi upi mari=pura [**tana** erutsu-mira]*
3PL.M give all thing=FOC 1plM take-PUR2
'They give (us) all kinds of things for **us** to take'

There are reasons to think that the recipient is inferred from —but not encoded as a core argument in— other elements within the sentence. First, in natural texts, the possessor of the object or the subject of the embedded clause is not always interpreted as the recipient. For instance, in (85), the subject controls coreference with the possessor, and the recipient is only indefinitely instantiated. Second, in the examples from Group C, above, a DAT-marked recipient non-coreferential with any other

element within the clause can be introduced. I show this in (86a, b), which were constructed based on examples (79) and (80).

(85) *rana yumi rana ikua-n*
3PL.M give 3PL.M know-NMLZ
'They$_i$ give their$_i$ knowledge'

(86) a. *rana yumi **[tana** ukɨrɨ-chiru]=uy **nai-tsu***
3PL.M give 1plM sleep-nest=PAS1 g.mother-DAT
'They gave **our** bed to **grandmother'**

b. ***tsumi-tsu** tsa=yumi ajan=uy **[n**=ɨmɨntsara tsa=tsenu-tsen]*
shaman-DAT 1F.CL-give this=PAS1 2S-story 1SF=hear-PUR3
'I gave this to the **shaman** to hear **your** story'

The examination of discourse data reveals, then, that the R participant is not grammatically required. Even in sentences with 'give' it only occurs depending on the pragmatic context.

Additional tests, including acessibility to relativization, pronominalization, coreference control, etc. provide evidence for the oblique syntactic status of the recipient phrase in the first two constructions — [$SUBJ_A$ V OBJ_T (DAT_R)] and [$SUBJ_A$ V OBJ_T (LOC_R)]— and of the theme phrase in the third construction —[$SUBJ_A$ V OBJ_R (INS)].

In sum, it is possible to conclude that, although three participants are semantically involved in the events expressed by various verbs, only two core arguments are expressed via grammatical relations, subject and object.

Having established the formal characteristics of simple declarative constructions, in the next section I turn the discussion to the primary functions that declarative constructions take on in natural discourse.

9.2.2. Declarative sentences: functions

Declarative sentences are primarily employed to assert, make claims and statements about the world, etc. However, with the appropriate context and prosody, declarative constructions can also convey interrogation and requests.

Assertions are statements about what is observable in the world. These statements are capable of being witnessed and the witnesses can classify them as true or false. Examples of assertions are given in (87).

(87) *ta* *kakɨrɨ* *ɨmɨna* *arawante-ka;*
1SG.M live long.ago Arahuante=LOC

raepe *t=uwari* *raepe* *t=aypa* *ami=kana=muki*
there 1SG.M=fall there 1SG.M=grow.up granfather=PL.M=COM
'Long ago, I lived in Arahuante. I was born there; I grew up there with my grandparents'

(88) *kapukiri* *uri* *yapara-ta-ka-pa* *ta=kaɨ*
rheumatism 3SG.M.L coil-CAU-REI-CPL 1SG.M=shin
'The rheumatism, it coiled up my leg completely'

The following utterances could be considered claims, opinions, statements made by speakers but which that cannot be necessarily verified by witnesses.

(89) *laguna=tsui-n* *awa=pura=nu* *muna* *ɨwatsu*
Lagunas=ABL-NZR person=FOC=PL.F steal esp.fish
'The people from the city of Lagunas steal fish'

(90) *Ta* *mirikua* *uwaka-ta-pa-**ri*** *maintsankara*
1SG.M wife move-CAU-CPL-PROG bad.spirit
'The bad spirit is transforming my wife'

(91) *n=ikuata* *rana;*
2SG=let.know 3PL.M

ikumenan *rana* *umanu=utsu;*
soon 3PL.M die=FUT1

ikian *tata* *nua-n* *purara* *rana* *uri*
this fire bebig-REL find 3PL.M come
'Let them know: they will soon die. A big fire is coming towards them'

Declarative sentences can also function to express directive speech acts. The function of directive speech acts is to get or advise the hearer to do something, as in (92a)

(92) a. *ikia=ka* *n=ipama* *pai*
this=LOC 2SG=stand uncle
'You stand here, uncle'

b. *epe* *tipiri* *uka=kuara*
2SG.PL sweep house=INE
'You guys sweep the house' (ED)

9.3. Negative sentences

From a functional perspective, negative sentences are a subtype of declarative sentences. They are employed primarily to make negative assertions. However, in contrast to positive declarative sentences, negation typically applies to some piece of information concerning which there is some difference between the pragmatic information of the speaker and that of the addressee.

The language has two negative particles: *t#ma* and *ni*. In natural discourse, the distribution of these particles is skewed. In the database, there are about 276 instances of *t#ma*, whereas *ni* appears only around 124 times. It could be, though, that *ni* is related to particular idiolects and styles. For instance, while some speakers use both forms, some others avoid *ni* altogether. On the other hand, we found one speaker that makes exclusive use of *ni*. The syntactic distribution of the two negative morphemes is described below.

9.3.1. Constructions with *tɨma*

The morpheme *tɨma* is employed primarily to negate the whole clause, or the verb phrase; however, it can also negate adverbs and noun phrases. This form has its source in the Tupí-Guaraní negative morpheme **eʔɨn* (Cabral 1995:148, Jensen 1998:546).

A general characterization of *tɨma* is that its scope covers the (biggest) constituent that immediately follows it, including [SVO], [VO]. The examples below show this, where the negated portion is in bold. Examples in (93) give all the attested positions that the negative marker *tɨma* can take within the clause.

(93) a. *tɨma* ***ra=tseta*** ***eyu-n*** *tɨma* [SVO]
NEG1 3SG.M-want eat-NZR
'He doesn't want food'

b. *raepe* *ipira* *tɨma* ***watari*** S *tɨma* [V]
there fish NEG1 lack
'There, fish does not lack'

c. *yaepe* *inu* *tɨma* ***eyu*** ***tewe*** S *tɨma* [VO]
there 3PL.F NEG1 eat salt
'There, they don't eat salt'

d. *tɨma* ***mari*** *epe* *ey=utsu* *tɨma* [O] SV
NEG1 thing 2PL eat=FUT1
'Nothing you will eat'

e. *wata=taka* *tɨma* ***ra*** ***ɨwam=uy*** ADV *tɨma* [SV]
year=UNC NEG1 3SG.M destroy=PAS1
'Maybe a year it did not get destroyed'

f. *ya* *iriwa-ka=tsuri* *t#ma* ***era*** SV *t#ma* [ADV]
3SG.F come.back-REI=PAS3 NEG good
'He came back not good (sick)

In (93a), *t#ma* appears fronted, hence negating the whole clause. In (93b-c), it precedes the verb phrase, so it negates the predicates 'lack' and 'eat salt', respectively. In (93d) *t#ma* shows up at the beginning of the clause, but here the object is focalized in first position. Consequently, the scope of *t#ma* is the object. In (93e) is quite similar to (93a); *t#ma* negates the whole clause. The difference is that in (93e) there is an adverb outside of the scope of negation. Finally, example (93f) demonstrates that the scope of *t#ma* can be as small and specific as an adverb.

The fact that the scope of the negator *t#ma* is the following can be manipulated by certain conjunctions, such as *riay* 'also.' For instance, in (94), the scope of *t#ma* is precisely the object pronoun *ene* 'you' which appears following *riay*. In the discourse context, a person is calling someone in particular, but other people answer his call. So in previous utterances, he keeps saying: "I didn't call you'. Thus, in (94) the act of calling is not being negated, but only who is being called.

(94) b. *riay* *ene* ***t#ma*** *ta* *tsapuki=uy*
also 2SG.L NEG 1SG.M call=PAS1
'I haven't called you either'
(Lit. 'Also you I haven't called)

In asserting with negative constructions, the speaker is not communicating new information to the hearer as can be the case with positive declaratives; rather he is

correcting the hearer's misguided beliefs (Givón 2001:372). Across languages, there is a connection between focus and negation, and. KK is no exception. The focus morpheme =*pura* interacts with negation to correct the hearer's presuppositions.

(95) a. ***tɨma=pura*** *ini* *utsu* *ikian* ***ɨwɨrati=kuara***
NEG=FOC 1PL go this forest=INE
'We do not go through this forest'
[Presupposition: you think we go through this forest]

b. ***tɨma=pura****-ay* *ra=tsenu*
NEG=FOC-already 3SG.M=hear
'So, he cannot hear anymore/he is no longer able to hear'
[Presupposition: he/people hear]

As seen in (95), the negative particle can carry the focus marker =*pura*. In all the instances where the negative particle is marked by =*pura*, it occurs in first position within the clause, hence negating the whole predication. For an in-depth discussion of focus constructions, see Chapter XI.

9.3.2. Constructions with *ni*

Compare to *tɨma*, the productivity of *ni* is more limited. It could be hypothesized that the source of this morpheme is Tupí-Guaraní **n/ni-...-i* (Jensen:1998:545). As indicated above, *tɨma* is twice as productive as *ni*. This fact has to do with the capability of these forms in terms of their scope of negation. Unlike *tɨma,* which can negate anything from clauses to adverbs, *ni* is used primarily to negate single units, generally core arguments of the clause.

(96) a. *wapuru* *katupe-n=pura* *aki* *tipishka=ka*
ship show.up-NZR=FOC get.in Tipishka=LOC

ni *awa* *emete-puka*
NEG2 people exist-when
'The ship that shows up enters in Tipishka Lake when there's no one'

b. ***ni*** *ya=tu* *uk-ir-i* *mayana-ri* *inu* *yak-i-ka=nan*
NEG 3SG.F=AUG sleep guard-PROG 3PL.F head=LOC=only
'This one doesn't sleep guarding at his head (of his bed)'
(Lit. '[Not this one] sleeps guarding at his head')

c. ***ni*** *kuin=chasu=nu* *uk-ir-i* *inu* *apu=tu* *riay*
NEG ese=AFF=PL.F sleep 3PL.F leader=AUG also

uk-ir-i-ari
sleep-PROG
'Those poor ones don't sleep, but their boss is sleeping'
(Lit. '[Not these poor ones] sleep, but their boss is sleeping']

d. *parana* *ts-ima-ri* *inu* *upuka* ***ni*** *tuntachiru-yara*
river shore=DIF 3PL.F go.out NEG pant-HAVE
'They go out to the side of the river without pants/having no pants'

A similar analysis can also account for examples like the one in (97), where ni negates the interrogative word 'how'

(97) ***ni****-mania* *ya=tu* *tawa* *rejun* *kun* *awa*
NEG-how 3SG.F=AUG pick.up spear this person
'There is no way he can get the spear from this person'

In the database there are some instances in which *ni* seems to have scope over the whole sentence (98) or the verb phrase (99). Most of these examples were produced by a speaker that uses exclusively *ni*.

(98) a. ***ni*** *tap-ia=tua* *ak-icha*
NEG savage=AUG be.scared
'The savage has no fear'

b. *ikia=tsui* ***ni*** *y=escapa-shka*
this=ABL NEG 3SG.F=escape-VZR2
'From this one, he does not escape'

(99) a. *etse=taka* *ni* *ukɨrɨ-mia* *tapɨa* *uka=kuara*
1SG.F=UNC NEG sleep-MOD savage house=INE
'Perhaps I wouldn't sleep in the savage's house'

b. *mukuika-n=kɨra=nu* ***ni*** *umanu=tsuri=ay*
two-NZR=DIM=PL.F NEG die=PAS3=already
'Two of them are dead'

We saw already that the focus marker *=pura* often attaches to *tɨma.* In contrast, my corpus contains only one example in (100) where *=pura* attaches to the negative particle *ni*. In the narrative, the speaker reports that nowadays they have all kinds of fish, except for *paiche*, one of the most valued fish in the Amazon. The scope of negation is *paiche*: has the negation involved the existential predicate, the form *temende* 'there-is-not' would have been used.

(100) *aypuka* ***ni****=pura* *ɨwatsu* *emete*
currently NEG2=FOC paiche exist
'At present, it exists no paiche (fish.sp)'

9.3.3. Interaction of *tɨma* and *ni*

Both *tɨma* and *ni* can occur within a single clause, as shown in (101). In those cases, it is clear that the piece of information marked by *ni* is within the scope of negation of *tɨma*. In (101b) *ni* negates 'a letter', whereas *tɨma* negates the whole verb phrase 'know a letter.' Similarly, in (101c), while *ni* negates 'person', *tɨma* negate 'tell anyone.'

(101) a. *ta* ***tɨma*** *ikua* ***ni****=wepe* *letra*
1SG.M NEG know NEG=one alphabet
'I don't know even one letter'
(Lit. 'I don't know no letter')

b. ***tima*** *t=ikua-ta* ***ni****=awa=utsu*
NEG 1SG.M=know-CAU NEG=person-FUT1
'I won't tell anyone'
(Lit. 'I won't tell nobody'

Now that we have described negative constructions in some detail, we can now explore another sentence type, interrogatives.

9.4. Interrogative sentences

Interrogative clauses are typically used for eliciting information. The language has two types of questions: polar questions and content questions. Polar questions are created by means of the second position clitic *=tipa* plus a word order alternation. Information questions are formed by means of interrogative pronouns.

Faust (1972:88) claims that Kokama has a third type of interrogative construction: indirect questions. Faust indicates that, in addition to *=tipa*, Kokama has three other interrogative suffixes, *-taku,-raku* and *-nda,* which she says are employed to create indirect questions. Cabral (1995:216, 351) echoes this claim. Here are the examples provided by Faust (1972:88). The orthographic adaptation, glossing and translation are mine.

(102) a. *awa-**nda*** *yuti-era* *uka-ka*
who-INT stay-SUBJUNCTIVE house-LOC
'Who is in the house? Is somebody home?'
(¿Está alguien en casa?)

b. *awa-**raku*** *yuti* *uka-ka*
who-INT stay house-LOC
'Who might be at the house?
(¿Quién estará en la casa?)

c. *awa-**taku*** *yuti* *uka-ka* ‘
who-INT stay house-LOC
‘Who might be at the house?/Maybe someone is at home?’
(¿Quién estará en la casa? ¿Tal vez alguién esté en la casa?)

d. *yuka-**taku*** *na* *mama*
that-INT 2SG mother
‘Maybe that one is your mother’
(Tal vez ésa es tu mamá. ¿Es ésa, tal vez, tu mamá?)

According to my analysis, examples (102a-c) are in fact questions. They are content questions, not because of the suffixes *-nda, -raku,* or *-taku* but rather because they involve the interrogative pronoun *awa* ‘who.’ Contrast these with Faust’s example (102d), which does not include an interrogative pronoun, and whose primary interpretation is hence not that of a question but a weak statement (see §9.4.2 for a discussion of content questions). As for the markers themselves, *-taku* (*=taka,* in this variety) indicates uncertain modality (see §9.1.2.1.4). The forms *-raku* and *-nda* are not attested in the database for this study. In conclusion, in this variety, only *=tipa* operates as an interrogative marker.

In the following paragraphs I describe in some detail polar questions (§9.4.1) and content questions (§9.4.2).

9.4.1. Polar questions

Polar question are typically employed to inquire about the truth or falsity of the proposition they express often with focus on one specific part of the proposition (Givón 2001). Cross-linguistically, six strategies to encode polar questions have been found. These are “(i) special intonation patterns, (ii) interrogative particles, (iii) the addition of special tags, (iv) disjunctive-negative structures, (v) a change in the relative order of

constituents and (vi) particular verbal inflection" (König & Siemund, 2007:292). KK employs three of these strategies to form polar questions: the interrogative particle =*tipa,* constituent order alternation, and, more marginally, intonation.

9.4.1.1. The morpheme =*tipa*

Polar questions are primarily formed by adding the morpheme =*tipa* at the end of the questioned element. Every element in the clause can be interrogated by means of =*tipa*, but the questioned piece of information must occur in first position in the clause.

In the examples in (103), the piece of information being questioned is the predicate. Note that the verb occurs in first position and then is marked by =*tipa*. In intransitive constructions like in (103), the subject follows the verb; if tense occurs, it attaches to the subject (103a-b). Schematically: [V=*tipa* SUB=T].

(103) a. *yachu=**tipa*** *n=uy?*
cry=Q 2SG=PAS1
'Did you cry? (ED)

b. *uwari=**tipa*** *y=uy?*
get.on.board=Q 3SG.F=PAS1
'Did he/she get on board? (ED)

c. *tseta=**tipa*** *na=yumuyari=ay*?
want=Q 2SG=help=3SG.F?
'Do you want to help her? (ED)

The declarative counterpart of example in (103c) would be the complement clause *na tseta yumuyarari=ay* 'You want to help her'. Note that it is the main predicate *tseta* 'want' which is fronted and marker by =*tipa*, not the embedded verb 'help.'

In (104) I give yes/no questions from texts.

(104) a. *uri* *kumitsa;* *yam#ma=**tipa*** *ene*
3SG.M.L talk, be.sad=Q 2SG.L
'He (the deer) says: are you sad?'

b. *pua=**tipa*** *tsepuni,* *rimariru;* *ikia* *ra=piyat=ura*
stink=Q gas grandson this 3SG.M=ask=3SG.M.OBJ
"The gas stinks, grandson?" This, he (tiger) asks him (armadillo)'

In (105) are examples of interrogation of location (postposition phrase) and temporal adverbs:

(105) a. *ikia=ka=tipa* *na=kak#ri,* *ami=tu*
this=LOC=Q 2SG=live grandfather=AUG
'Here do you live, grandpa?'
(Lit. Is it here that you live, grandpa?)

b. *#m#na=ka=tipa* *na=ta#ra* *ichari=ene*
long.ago=LOC=Q 2SG=m'son leave=2SG.O
'How long ago/at what point in the past did your son leave you?'

c. *#m#na-tipa* *na* *ikia* *n=yara* *ichari=ene*
long.ago-Q 2SG this 2SG=owner leave=2SG.O
'Did your owner leave you long time ago?'

Another type of element that can be interrogated is particles, such as the aspectual *ay* 'already', and the negative marker *t#ma*. For instance, (106a), illustrates the interrogation of the aspectual particle *ay* 'already'. Note that the particle appears fronted, and what follows is a regular clause. That is: [PRT=*tipa* SUBJ V=T]. The text example in (107a) is interesting because there is only a pronoun following the morpheme =*tipa*. This pronoun is understood as the theme. Note that the form of the pronoun is that of an object, as demonstrated by the elicited example in (107b), which gives the corresponding male speech expression.

(106) a. *ay=**tipa*** *y=uwari=uy*?
already=Q 3SG.F=get.on.board=PAS1
'Did he/she get on board already?'(ED)

(107) b. *ay=**tip**=ay*
already=Q=3F.OBJ
'Is it done/over?'

c. *ay=**tip**=ura*
already=Q=3SG.M.OBJ
'Is it done/over' (ED, male version)

The interrogative *=tipa* can also attach to the negative particle to question the entire clause. For instance, in (108), what is being qestioned is the claim: 'You wouldn't like to work there'

(108) *t=ma=tipa* *raepe* *na=kamata=mia*
NEG=Q there 2SG=work=HYP
'Wouldn't you like to work there?' (ED)

9.4.1.2. Intonation

The following polar questions are indicated only by prosody. The intonation contour associated with questions could be described as slowly ascendant pitch plus abrupt rising at the end. Note that every example in (109) with a different intonation contour — relatively level pitch plus falling towards the end— would be interpreted as a declarative sentence.

(109) a. *na* *m=m=rakunia* *ikua* *kumitsa* *kukama?*
2SG daughter know speak Kokama
'Your daughter know how to speak Kokama? (ED)

b. *ta* *rimariru* *ay* *iriw=uy*?
1SG.M grandson already come back=PAS1
'My grandson came back already?' (ED)

c. *ay* *na* *umi* *amui=uts=uy?*
Already 2SG see grandpa=AND=PAS1
'You went to see grandpa already?

d. *era* *n=umi?*
well 2SG=see
'You see well?

The example in (110) comes from a text. It includes the word *tupa* which, in that syntactic position, operates as a noun with the meaning 'place.'[14] However, with the appropriate intonation and in the appropriate context it is interpreted as a question.

(110) *inu* *yanuka* *tupa=ka*
3PL.F put place=LOC
'They put it in (what) place?'

9.4.1.3. Subject-verb inversion

An additional strategy to indicate polar questions is a combination of inversion of the subject and the verb plus ascendant intonation. We have seen already that in questions with =*tipa*, the piece under interrogation must be fronted. Subject-verb inversion is different in that the verb is fronted, but not marked by =*tipa*. The elicited examples in (111a-c), cited earlier as (22a-c), illustrate this pattern. This strategy is not productive in texts.

(111) a. *uri=n=**á*** *kamutun*
come=2SG-FUT2 tomorrow
'Will you come tomorrow?'
(Lit. 'Come you tomorrow')

b. *tseta* *n-uri-**á*** *kamutun*
want 2SG=come=FUT2 tomorrow
'Do you want to come tomorrow?' (ED)
(Lit. 'Want you come tomorrow?')

[14] When *tupa* appears fronted in a clause it operates as interrogative pronoun 'where'; when it attaches to a subordinated verb it functions as a relativizer of locative obliques. See Chapter X.

c. *amatsɨka* *n-uri=**á*** *kamutun*
can 2SG=come=FUT2 tomorrow
'Could you come tomorrow?' (ED)
(Lit. 'Can you come tomorrow?')

Note that the declarative counterparts of examples (111b-c) are complement clauses. Thus, to negate complement clauses, the main verb is fronted, not the subordinate verb.

Finally, in clauses that include an auxiliary, it is the auxiliary and not the main, lexical predicate which is fronted.

(112) a. *utsu* *n=iriwa*
AND 2SG=come.back
'Are you coming back?'

9.4.1.4. Short answers to polar questions

Answers to polar questions are in principle either yes or no. Example (113a), cited earlier as (109a), gives a question with a complement-taking verb 'know' and a subordinate verb 'speak.' A positive answer to this question could minimally consist of the main verb alone (114a), but it can also include the main and the subordinate clause (114b), or include the subject in between the two verbs (114c)

(113) *na* *mɨmɨrakunia* *ikua* *kumitsa* *kukama?*
2SG daughter know speak Kokama
'Does your daughter know how to speak Kokama? (ED)

(114) a. *ikua* '(Yes, she) knows' (ED)
know

b. *ikua* *kumitsa* '(Yes, she) knows (how) to speak' (ED)
know speak

c. *ikua* *ya=kumitsa* '(Yes), she knows (how) to speak' (ED)
know 3SG.F=speak

A negative answer to the same question in (113), would include minimally the negative marker *tɨma* (115a), *tɨma* plus the subject and the main verb (115b), and finally *tɨma* plus the subject and both verbs (115c). Note that just *tɨma* plus the main verb is rejected (115d), as is an answer with *ni* (115e).

(115) a. *tɨma* 'No' (ED)
NEG

b. *tɨma* *y=ikua* 'She doesn't know' (ED)
NEG 3SG.F=know

c. *tɨma* *y=ikua* *kumitsa* 'She doesn't (know) to speak (Kokama)'
NEG 3SG.F=know speak

d. **tɨma ikua*

e. **ni*

Recall that in some questions, the piece of information under interrogation is not the entire clause, but a portion of it. For example, in (116a), cited earlier as (109b), where the piece under interrogation is 'already come back,' the positive answer cannot be the main verb alone (116b).

(116) a. *ta* *rimariru* *ay* *iriw=uy*?
1SG.M grandson already come back=PAS1
'Did my grandson come back already?' (ED)

b. **iriwa*

c. (*ay)* *y=iriw=uy* 'He came back (already)' (ED)
already 3SG.F=come=PAS1

d. *tɨma* y=*iriwa* 'He hasn't come back' (ED)
NEG 3SG.F=come.back

9.4.2. Content questions

Content questions — also known as information questions or constituent questions — are formed by means of interrogative words. Cross-linguistically, some of the strategies used to form polar questions are also attested in content questions, but their use seems less wide-spread. For instance, morphological marking and intonation may be optional (König & Siemund 2007). This is the case in KK.

KK content questions involve interrogative pronouns, and only optionally the interrogative morpheme =*tipa*. The complete set of KK interrogative words is presented in Table 9.9, which combines Table 5.7 and Table 5:8.

Table 9.9: KK interrogative pronouns

INT. PRONOUNS		GLOSS
awa		'who'
mari		'what'
awɨrɨ		'how much'
mania		'how'
maka		'where'
awa-tsu/-ka	who-DAT/LOC	'to whom'
awa-rupe	who-FIN	'where, with whom'
awa-muki	who-COM	'with whom'
awa-tsui	who-ABL	'from whom'
mari-pu	what-INS	'with what'
mari-ra	what-PUR	'what for'
mari-ikua	what-RSN	'why'
maka-tsui	where-ABL	'from where'
maka-rupe	where-FIN	'which way'
maka-tin	where-CER	'which one'
mania(wa)-puka	how-TEM	'when'

As shown in Table 9.9, the language has five basic interrogative words, four of which are used to derive many others by the addition of postpositions and

subordinators. The piece of missing information that the speaker is asking for is coded by one of these interrogative pronouns, which must appear in sentence-initial position.

The use of the interrogative pronoun *awa* 'who,' as well as other forms derived from it, is illustrated in (117).

(117) a. ***awa*=*tipa*** *yumi* *uni=uy* *ami=tsu*
who=Q give water=PST1 g.father-DAT
'Who gave water to grandfather?'(ED)

b. ***awa*=*kana*=*tipa*** *tseta* *utsu* *ikian* *yapu* *iaku=kuara*
person=PL.M=Q want go this Paucar creek=INE
'Who (which ones) want to go to this Paucar creek'

c. ***awa*=*ka*=*tipa*** *mijiri* *yumi* *uni=uy*
who=LOC=Q Miguel give water=PST1
'To whom did Miguel give the water?' (ED)

d. ***awa*=*muki*=*tipa*** *na* *cuñada* *uts=uy* *ku=ka*
person=COM=Q 2SG sister.in.law go=PAS1 farm=LOC
'With whom did you sister in law go the farm?'

The examples in (118) illustrate the interrogative pronoun *mania* 'how' and the one other derived from it. Note in (118b) that the second position modality marker attached to the interrogative pronoun.

(118) a. ***mania*=*tipa*** *ini=umanu-ta-ra=ri*
how=Q 1PL.IN=die-CAU=3SG.M.OBJ=VEN
'How are we going to approach to kill him?'

b. ***mania*-*puka*=*taka*** *ikian* *ritama* *tua=utsu*
how-when=MOD this community be.big=FUT1
'When will this town grow?'

The examples in (119) give questions with the interrogative *maka* 'where', and combinations based on it. Note the optionality of =*tipa,* which appears in (119a-b), but not in (119c-d).

(119) a. ***maka***=*taka* *ikia* *irua=kana* *yaparachi*
where=UNC this mate=PL.M dance

ikua=tsuri *ria* ~~*imina*~~
know=PAS3 like.this long.ago
'Where might these brothers have learned to dance like this in the old days?'

b. ***maka=tipa*** *t=irua=kana*
where=Q 1SG.M=brother=PL.M
'Where are my brothers?'

c. ***maka***=*tsui*=***tipa*** *waina* *katupe=mia* *ta* *mirikua=ra*
where=ABL-Q woman show.up=MOD 1SG.M wife=PUR
'From where from would a woman appear to become my wife?'

d. ***maka***=*tsui* *n=uri=uy*
where=ABL 2SG=come=PAS1
'From where did you come?

The information questions in (120) include the interrogative pronoun *mari* 'what' and another derived from it.

(120) a. ***mari***=***tipa*** *n=umi=uy*
thing=Q 2SG=see=PAS1
'What did you see?'

b. ***mari***=*ra*=***tipa*** *epe* *tseta* *wanakari* *tana* *amutse*
what=PUR=Q 2PL want send 1PL.EX.M far
'Why do you want to send us far away?

To close this section, it is possible to say that the most productive devices for interrogation in KK are the morpheme =*tipa* and interrogative pronouns. In theory, every piece of information contained in a sentence can be interrogated by simply placing it in sentence-initial position and marking it with =*tipa*. Content questions are formed by means of interrogative pronouns which must appear fronted; =*tipa* is optional in this type of question. KK has a small set of interrogative pronouns; however, on the basis of this small set many others can be derived by means of postpositions and

subordinators. Intonation alone and subject-verb inversion are less productive mechanism for forming questions.

9.5. Directive sentences

Directive sentences are those by which we try to get others to do things (Searle 1980). In other words, the main function of directive clauses is to get or advise the hearer to do something. In KK, the category of directive sentences subsumes a range of subtypes, among which are included imperatives, hortatives, jussives, rogatives, postponed prohibitives, and others, and whose illocutionary force goes from orders and requests to exhortations, suggestions, wishes, petitions and warnings. Directives have neither tense nor modality marking, except for rogatives and prohibitives, which can take the certainty marker *-tin* to add overtones of irony and sarcasm to rogatives and emphasis to prohibitives. A list of the attested constructions is presented in Table 9.10.

Table 9.10: Directive constructions

CONSTRUCTION	FORM	MEANING	SECTION
Imperative	[V (OBJ) (AUX)…]	'Do X'	§9.5.1
Rogative	[V-*puri* (OBJ) (AUX)…]	'Please do X'	§9.5.2
Exhortative	[*yawa* V (OBJ) (AUX)…]	'Go do X'	§9.5.3
Jussive	[*yapay* V (OBJ) (AUX)…]	'Let's do X'	§9.5.4
Invitation	[*tsaniuri* V (OBJ)(AUX)…]	'Come on in to do X'	§9.5.5
Prohibition	[*iná* V (OBJ) (AUX)…]	'Don't do X'	§9.5.6
Postponed prohibition	[SUBJ V-*maka* (OBJ) (AUX)…]	'Won't do X'	§9.5.7

Cross-linguistically, among the most common mechanisms to encode directive clauses are special inflectional forms of the verb, suppression of the subject, directive markers, use of bare stems, etc. (König & Siemund 2007). The main strategies KK employ is suppression of the subject and directive markers. In the subsequent sections I present each construction in detail.

9.5.1. Imperatives

The term imperative here is reserved for sentence types directed to the addressee, that is, those sentences with an understood second person subject. The most basic imperative construction in KK is formed by suppressing the subject, leaving the verb and potentially an auxiliary. If the verb is transitive, then an object follows the verb. Schematically: [V (AUX) (OBJ)]. The prosody of imperative sentences is quite distinctive. They are generally fast paced and have higher pitch, strong intensity in the last stressed syllable, and abrupt falling intonation.

In (121) I give imperative sentences with intransitive verbs. Note in (121b) that the auxiliary *uri* 'venitive' attaches to the verb. The examples in (122) give imperative sentences with transitive verbs.

(121) a. *utsu*
go
'Go!'(ED)

b. *ey-uri*
eat-AUX
'Come to eat!'(ED)

(122) a. *tipiri* *ukara=kuara*
sweep yard=INNE
'Sweep within the yard!'(ED)

b. *pichita* *ipira*
disembowel fish
'Clean the fish!'(ED)

c. *tsakɨta* *ɨwɨra* *ini* *uka* *ɨwa=ra*
cut tree 1PL.IN house trunk=PUR
'Cut the tree for (to use it as) the post of our house'

As stated above, the default subject is second person singular. However, in imperative clauses that include pronouns acting as the possessor of the object, a plural addressee could be implied. This is shown in (123); note the plural pronoun in (123b).

(123) a. *tsukuta* *na* *chiru*
Wash 2SG cloth
'Wash your clothes!' (ED)

b. *tsukuta* *epe* *chiru*
wash 2PL cloth
'Wash your (pl.) clothes' (ED)

In terms of the functional load of the imperative construction [V (AUX) (OBJ)], according to the consultants, the examples in (121)-(123) imply some irritation on the part of the speaker. For instance, it could be that the speaker expected the addressee to have performed the tasks indicated in the predicate but he/she did not. Another possible scenarios would be that the addressee refuses to do something, but by using this construction the speaker signals that performing the tasks is unavoidable.

In everyday speech, the imperative construction is not the most frequent pattern among the several directive constructions the language possesses. Compared to the frequency of exhortatives, jussives, invitations, etc., the imperative is seldom used. In the database they appear rarely and mainly in direct quotes, as in (124).

(124) a. *tatu* *kumitsa* *ra=tsui* *ukuki*
armadillo talk 3SG.M=DAT fall
'The armadillo tells him: Jump!'

When the verb *tsani* 'try, try out' appears in basic imperatives, the resulting utterance lacks the force of typical imperatives. The examples in (125) are structurally imperatives. However, the lexical content of *tsani* 'try' produces directives that are not as strong as regular imperatives. The result is an invitation or cordial request (from a mother to her little children, for instance), which aims to convince the addressee to perform the event.

(125) a. ***tsani*** *ey-ura*
try eat-3F.OBJ
'Try to eat it' [harry up, it's not too bad] (ED)

b. ***tsani*** *yatsuka*
try take.bath
'Try to take a bath' [the water it's not too cold] (ED)

c. ***tsani*** *yatsuka=epe*
try take.bath=2PL
'(Hurry to) take a bath, you guys' [I won't wait forever] (ED)

The example in (126) comes from a narrative in which some kids are asking an elder to tell them a story to which he refuses. However, they beg him:

(126) ***tsani*** *~~m~~ntsara-yara,* *tio* *penu-tsenu-tsen*
try.out story-MAKE uncle 1PL.EX.F-hear-PUR3
'Make an attempt to tell a story, uncle, so that we can hear'

Finally, there is one instance of *tsani* with the reportative evidential *=(i)a*. The combination conveys moral obligation.

(127) ***tsani****=a* *mutsanaka* *y-uri,* *na* *ay* *kumitsa*
try=REP cure 3SG.F=come QT 3SG.F.L say
"Your should try to come and cure him," that's what he says'

As seen in (125c), there is another construction quite similar to the imperative as described so far. In this construction, a second person plural *epe* is added at the end of the clause to indicate a second person plural subject. That is: [V (OBJ)=*epe*]. This construction, though, does not have the same strong pragmatic force as the construction with omitted subject: it can be understood as a request with overtones of suggestion, invitation or permission. This contrast is clear if we compare examples given in (128). The exchange in (129) was taken from a story about a group of kids that arrive to some old man's house. They are hungry and ask for permission to pick some guava. The old man gives his consent using this construction.

(128) a. *chinta*
be.silent
'Shut up!' (ED)

b. *chint=epe*
'Be quite/silent, you guys!' (ED)

(129) Speaker a: *na* *kɨma* *tana* *tseta* *eyu*
2SG guava 1PL.EX.M want eat
'We would like to eat your guava'

Speaker b: *eyu=r=epe*
eat=3SG.M=2PL
'You (pl.) eat it'
(Lit. 'Eat it, you guys')

In constructions with auxiliaries, the second person pronoun is placed between the verb and the auxiliary, as in (130a). Consultants find it odd to place the pronoun at the end of the clause. If the pronoun occurs before the verb as in (130c), the whole construction turns into a declarative sentence that no longer has imperative force, although it could work as an invitation.

(130) a. *eyu=epe=uri*
eat=2PL=AUX
'Come eat, you guys' [Context: Dinner is ready] (ED)

b. ?*ey=uri=epe*
eat-AUX=2PL
'Come eat, you guys'(ED)

c. *epe=ey=uri*
2PL=eat=AUX
'You guys come eat'(ED)

However, the strategy of placing the second person plural pronoun at the end of the clause does not always generate well-formed sentences. In the construction [V OBJ=*epe*], there seem to be some lexical restrictions with respect to not only the verb but also the noun that fulfills the object slot in the construction. In elicitation, speakers have no problem with certain verbs and nouns; other combinations, however, are categorically rejected. In (131), I offer a list of accepted combinations (left), and others that were rejected (right).

(131)

tikita	*kara=epe*	**tikita*	*bufalo=epe*
tie	canoe=2PL	tie	buffalo=2PL
'Tie the canoe, you guys!'		*(tie the buffalo)	
waritaka	*motor=epe*	**waritaka*	*kerosen=epe*
carry.up	engine=2PL	carry.up	kerosene=2PL
'Carry up the motor of the boat'		(*carry up the kerosene)	
waritaka	*karara=epe*	**tipiri*	*ukara=kuara=epe*
carry.up	canoe=2PL	sweep	yard=INE=2PL
'Carry up the canoe, you guys!'		(*clean up the yard)	
erura	*panara=epe*	**erura*	*jabon=epe*
bring	banana=2PL	bring	soap=2PL
'Bring the banana, you guys!'		(*bring the soap)	

pichita	*ipir=epe*	**tsukuta*	*chiru=epe*
disembowel	fish=2PL	wash	cloth=2PL
'Clean the fish, you guys!'		(*wash the clothes)	

At this point of the analysis it is not clear what semantic distinctions might condition this distribution. A preliminary attempt to explain this pattern would be to say that nouns that refer to culturally external elements cannot fulfill the object slot; however, this explanation does not account for the acceptability of 'Carry up the motor!' or the unacceptability of *Clean the backyard. A more satisfying answer must wait further data and analysis.

9.5.2. Rogatives: *-puri*

Rogatives in this work refer to constructions use to beg/request the hearer to perform an event. In KK, the rogative construction is formed by adding the morpheme *-puri* (ROG) to the verb conveying the meaning 'Please do X.' The verb must be in first position, and the default subject is second person singular, schematically: [V-*puri* (OBJ)]. Its prosody is not noticeablydifferent than that of declarative sentences. The rogative construction conveys an appeal to the addressee to enable an event to occur. The speaker expresses a desire that the event will take place, but acknowledges limited control over the outcome. The examples below illustrate this pattern; the context is given in square brackets when necessary.

(132) a. *chinta-**puri***
be.silent-ROG
'Please be quite' (ED)

b. *yatsuka-pa-**puri***
take.bath-CPL-ROG
'Finish taking a bath, please' [don't take so long in the water] (ED)

(133) a. *yumuyari-**puri*** *etse*
help-ROG 1SG.F.L
'Help me, please' (ED)

b. *umi-**puri**=ura*
see-ROG=3M.OBJ
'Look at him, please' [take care of your little brother] (ED)

c. *eyu-pa-**puri**=ay*
eat-CPL-ROG-3F.OBJ
'Finish eating it, please' [don't leave food in your plate] (ED)

d. *ayuka-**puri*** *ya=pura*
hit-ROG 3SGF=FOC
'Hit him, please' [discipline your son, he doesn't listen to me] (ED)

In rogative constructions, a second person plural subject pronoun can be added at the end of the clause if the construction does not include an object (134). However, in rogatives with transitive verbs, the plural pronoun *epe* can only appear in sentence initial position (135a); at the end of the clause, it is categorically rejected (135b).

(134) *chinta-**puri*** *epe*
be.silent-ROG 2PL
'Please be quiet, you guys' [the baby is sleeping] (ED)

(135) a. *epe eyu-pa-puri=ay*
2PL eat-CPL-ROG=3F.OBJ
'Please finish your food, you guys'(ED)

b.**eyu-pa-puri=ay epe*

Like imperative constructions, rogatives are rather rare in my database, but that might be due to the types of texts I collected. The example in (136) was taken from a story.

(136) *warika-**puri,*** *yapay* *ini=uk~~i~~r~~i~~=utsuuyarika*
go.up-ROG JUS 1PL.IN=sleep=FUT1 again

t=~~i~~r~~i~~kar~~i~~=ka *na=ray* *ya* *kumitsa*
1SG.M=net=LOC like.this-PRT 3SG.F say
"Come on up, please, let's sleep again in my mosquito net" Like this he talks.'

9.5.3. Exhortatives: *yawa*

The exhortative construction, translated as 'Go (and) do X,' is formed by adding the morpheme *yawa* (EXH) to an otherwise imperative construction. This construction is different than the directive configurations presented so far in that the exhortative marker appears in sentence-initial position, and then the verb follows. As in any directive construction, the verb is in first position and the understood subject is second person singular. Another difference with the previous constructions is that the exhortative marker *yawa*[15] may or may not be phonologically bound. Schematically: [*yawa(=)* V (OBJ) (AUX) …]. Importantly, the event will happen away from the speaker. This contrasts with other construction which indicates that the event will happen towards the speaker (see *tsani/tsaniuri* 'Come on in to do X', §9.5.5)

(137) a. *yawa* *yatsuka*
EXH take.bath
'Go take a bath'

b. *yawa* *pichita* *ipir-utsu*
EXH disembowel fish-AUX
'Go clean the fish' (ED)

[15] I have conflicting data with respect to this morpheme. According to one consultant, the exhortative exhibits gender-speech distinction; so the forms would be *yawa*/*rawa* female/male speech, respectively. And in fact, this speaker produced what is the only instance of *rawa* in the entire database (given in (140)). However, another speaker argues that both man and woman say only *yawa*. This is the only piece of morphology in which there is disagreement about genderlect. In addition, the exhortative marker needs not to be confused with the adverbial element *yawa* 'similar, this way'. While they are identical in form, the two are syntactically distinct: while the exhortative appears in sentence initial position, the adverbial element appears principally at the end of the clause.

Elicitation shows that the andative auxiliary =*utsu* can appear after the object. In addition, a plural pronoun *epe* can be added at the end of the construction to indicate plural subject. That is: [*yawa* V (OBJ) (AUX) (*epe*)]. Note that any difference in pragmatic force between singular-subject exhortative and plural-subject exhortative has not been reported. This is demonstrated in (138a-b).

(138) a. ***yawa*** *t#k#ta* *#ara-utsu*
EXH tie canoe-AUX
'Go tie the canoe' (ED)

b. ***yawa*** *t#k#ta* *#ara-uts=epe*
EXH tie canoeAUX=2PL
'Go tie the canoe, you guys'(ED)

In the corpus of texts, the use of the exhortative construction is primarily intended to encourage, incite, or advise to carry out an event, as exemplified in (139-141). The speaker expresses a request for the event to take place but has limited control over the outcome.

(139) ***yawa*** *kauki* *tana* *utsu* *epe*
EXH wait.for 1PL.EX.M go 2PL

ikian *[epe* *kak#r#-tupa]-ka*
this 2PL live-REL.COL=LOC
'Go wait for us there where you live'

(140) *ramua* *tsukuri* *uri-ka* *ria=nan* *ra=kumitsa-ka,*
other boa come-REI like.this=only 3SG.M=talk-REI

rawa *iriwa=utsu*
EXH come.back=AUX
'Another boa comes, (and) he says again: "Go back" [where you came from]

(141) ***yawa*** *utsu,* *ene* *uwata* *tuyuka-ri,* *ritama=nu*
EXH go 2SG.L walk ground=DIF community=PL.F

chita=ay *na* *ukua*
a.lot-like.this 2SG go.around
'Go; walk around the earth; visit all the villages'

Note in (142) the various overtones exhortative constructions can have. The example in (142a) encourages the addressee to perform the event indicated in the verb. The example in (142b),which includes the ablative phrase 'from here,' is pragmatically stronger and is interpreted as a command. In (142c), the modality marker of certainty *=tin* attaches to the exhortative marker *yawa*. Note the effect of *-tin* on the exhortative construction. It adds some sort of irony and sarcasm and the resulting expression conveys the speaker's desire not to be involved with a negatively viewed event; that is, the speaker dissociates him/herself from it.

(142) a. ***yawa*** *utsu*
EXH go
'Go' [If you want to, fine with me, I support you]

b. ***yaw=****utsu* *ajan-tsui*
EXH=go this=ABL
'Go away!' [Leave me alone]

c. ***yawa=****tin* *utsu*
EXH=CER go
'Go' [If you insist, I don't care if something happens to you]

9.5.4. Jussives: *yapay*

The jussive, often also referred to as cohortative, conveys the meaning 'Let's do X.' In KK, jussives are formed by placing the form *yapay* in sentence initial position, followed by a regular imperative clause. Schematically: [*yapay* V (OBJ)…]. The omitted subject is understood by default as first and third person acting together (143-144).

(143) a. ***yapay*** *ikian* *yapu* *ɨaku=kuara*
JUS this Paucar creek=INE
'Let's go to this Paucar Creek'

b. ***yapay*** *yumi* *kuatiara-n* *rana=tsui*
JUS give write-NZR 3PL.M=DAT
'Let's give the letter to them'

The text corpus used for this study, the jussive construction very often appears in direct quotes.

(144) a. *na=ray* *rama=kana* *kumitsa*
QT=SPE other=PL.M talk

yapay *umanu-ta* *ikia* *yakari=pura*
JUS die-CAU this lizard=FOC
'So the others say: "let's go kill this lizard"

The examples shown in (143) and (144) illustrate the construction with the typical unstated subject. However, in a variant of this construction, a subject pronoun may be included; specifically, the first person plural inclusive *ini* is added right after the jussive marker. That is: [*yapay ini* V (OBJ)…]. This is presented in (145-147). Note in (147), which was presented before as (136), there are two directive constructions in sequence: rogative and jussive.

(145) ***yapay*** ***in***=*kakɨrɨ* *na=muki*
JUS 1PL.IN=live 2SG=COM
'Let's us live with you'

(146) ***yapay*** ***ini*** *utsu* *t=uka=ka,*
JUS 1PL.IN go 1SG.M=house=LOC

tsupara=n=taka *ene ,* *na* *ya* *kumitsa-ta* *waina=kɨra*
lost=NZR=UNC 2SG.L QT 3SG.F speak-CAU woman=DIM
"Let's us go to my house, you might be lost", he says to the little woman

(147) *warika-**puri,*** ***yapay*** ***ini***=*ukɨrɨ=utsu* *uyarika*
go.up-ROG JUS 1PL.IN=sleep=FUT1 again

t=ir-ikari=ka *na=ray* *ya* *kumitsa*
1SG.M=net=LOC like.this-PRT 3SG.F say
"Come on up, please, let's us sleep again in my mosquito net," like this he says.'

9.5.5. Polite requests or invitations: *tsani/tsaniuri*

Polite requests or invitations are categorized under directive speech acts because they focus on calling the addressee to action. KK expresses polite requests by means of a construction that contains the morpheme *tsaniuri*. The form *tsaniuri* consists of *tsani* 'try' plus *uri* 'come.' Both of these forms operate as main predicates; *uri* is extremely productive, whereas *tsani* is rather rare.[16] The construction could be schematically summarized as [*tsaniuri* [V] …] which is interpreted as 'Come on in to do X.' The omitted subject is understood as second person singular.

Among the directive constructions, this one shows the least directive illocutionary force; it entails that the speaker has minimal control over the outcome of the event and the addressee has no obligation to engage in the event.

(148) a. ***tsaniuri*** *mutsanaka* *y=uri,* *na* *ay* *kumitsa*
INV cure 3SG.F=VEN QT 3SG.F say
"Come to cure him," she says'

b. ***tsaniuri*** *uwari* *ikia=ka* *t=ir-rara=kuara*
INV fall here=LOC 1SG.M=canoe=INE
'Come to board here into my canoe'

[16] The example below illustrates the function of *tsani* 'try, try out' as a verb
a. *nunca* *tsa=pura* ***tsani*** *mania-ka* *ini* *uwe*
never 1SG.F=FOC try.out how-MOD 1PL.IN fly
avion=kuara *nanin*
airplane=INE like.this
'I never tried, knew how is it like to fly in a plane'

c. ***tsaniuri*** *ene* *pichita-tsen* *ipira*
INV 2SG disembowel-PUR3 fish
'Come (to help me out) to clean fish' (ED)

The invitation construction presumes movement towards the speaker, hence the frequent addition of the venitive auxiliary is natural (149a). In contrast, exhortative constructions indicate movement away from the speaker, hence the andative auxiliary is more natural (149b). However, neither the venitive auxiliary in invitations nor the andative auxiliary in exhortatives is required in their respective constructions. This is, for instance, demonstrated in (150), in which the form *tsaniuri* alone is the element that indicates movement towards the speaker.

(149) a. ***tsaniuri*** *yatsuk=**uri***
INV take.bath=VEN
'Come take a bath' (ED)

b. ***yawa*** *yatsuk=**utsu***
EXH take.bath=AND
'Go take a bath' (ED)

(150) a. ***tsaniuri*** *aja=rupe,* *na* *ra* *tsapuki*
INV this=FIN like.this 3SG.M call

ikian *ipatsu* *tsima=ra*
this lake edge=DIF
'Come on over here, like this he calls him towards the shore of the lake.'

b. ***tsaniuri*** *ene* *riay* *uni=kuara*
REQ 2SG.L also water=INE
'You too, come on into the water'

The form *tsaniuri* is frequently employed as some sort of greeting, for instance to welcome a visitor an encourage him/her to enter one's house. In my corpus, this is perhaps the most common use of *tsaniuri*.

(151) a. *uri=ray* *tsapuki=ura* , ***tsaniuri***
3SG.M.L=SPE call=3M.OBJ come.in
'He calls her: "come on in"

Another common use of *tsaniuri* in narratives is in contexts of confrontation, for instance to incite the addressee to get into a fight with the speaker.

(152) a. ***tsaniuri*** *epe* *yawati=kana*
come.in 2PL turtle=PL.M
'Come on, you turtles'

b. ***tsaniuri*** *t=aya-tsen=ene* *ikia-ka*
come.in 1SG.M=shoot-PUR3=2SG.O this=LOC
'Come on, I will shoot you here'

c. ***tsaniuri*** *cumpa,* ***tsaniuri*** *cumpa,* *nanin*
come.in buddy come.in buddy like.this

tsapuki=ay *y=aya-tsen=ay* *yay*
call=3F.OBJ 3SG.F=shoot-PUR3=3F.OBJ also
"Come on, buddy; come on, budy;" like that he calls him to shoot him'

Tsaniuri-constructions, then, are the weakest constructions in terms of getting the addressee to act. This is especially evident if we compare them with negative commands, as described next.

9.5.6. Prohibition or negative imperatives: *ina*

Prohibitives, or negative imperatives, are indicated by the prohibitive form *ina* 'PROH'. The prohibitive marker also belongs to the small set of morphemes that break the stress pattern of the language; that is, it is stressed in the last vowel, *iná*. With respect to the etymology of the form *ina*, it has been reconstructed as the free response negative morpheme: **ani* (Jensen 1998:549). In some Tupi-Guaraní languages is used as a strong negative imperative.

In elicited data, the absence of a subject in negative imperatives can be interpreted as either singular or plural subject (153a). However, in examples from texts the subject only refers to second person singular (153b-c). In (153c) also note that the clause following the prohibitive construction gets a future interpretation.

(153) a. ***ina*** *eyu*
PROH eat
'Don't eat' (you, you guys) (ED)

b. ***ina*** *yam=ima*
NEG be.sad
'Don't be sad'

c. ***ina*** *utsu* , *na* *yap=maka* *=rara=tsui*
PROH go, 2SG veer canoe=ABL
'Don't go, you'll veer/tumble from the canoe'

In (154) the prohibitive constructions involve objects. Note in (154c) the use of the andative auxiliary *utsu* in its canonical position, following the object.

(154) a. ***ina*** *chikuarata=etse*
PROH follow=1SG.F
'Don't follow me' (ED)

b. ***ina*** *ts=ichari-ta-etse*
PROH 1SG.F=leave-CAU-1SG.F
'Don't make me forget'

c. ***ina*** *pichita* *ipira=utsu*
PROH disembowel fish=AUX
'Do not disembowel the fish' (ED)

Although *ina* constructions entail strong prohibitions, such as in (154a), they can be also employed for persuasion, advice or to deny permission. For instance, the example in (154c) can be used when talking to a little girl that is not yet ready to do this task by herself.

As in positive imperatives, modality markers are banned from *ina*-constructions, except for the certainty marker *-tin/tika* which adds emphasis to the prohibition.

(155) a. ***ina-tin*** *=m=ntsara-yara* *na* *tua-n=inu=tsui*
NEG-CER story-HAVE grow.up-NZR-EV=PL.F-DAT
'Do not tell this to your parents'

The prohibitive *ina* can also be employed with other subjects; of course, in such cases, the subject must be explicitly stated. These constructions are used to indicate inability to participate in an event, or to perform a task. Compare the sentences in (156): in (156a), the form *t=ima* negates the truth value of <she washes the clothes>. However, in (156b) the prohibitive *ina* entails that she is not allowed, she cannot do so.

(156) a. ***t=ima*** *ra* *tutuka* *chiru*
NEG1 3SG.M wash cloth
'She doesn't wash the clothes'

b. ***ina*** *ra* *tutuka* *chiru*
PROH 3SG.M wash cloth
'She can't wash the clothes' [she is sick / she is too young]

Finally, the prohibitive form *ina* is also found in two exclamative expressions. The nominalized form *inan* 'watch out' and *inanpika* 'careful'. In the second form, the presence of *inan* is obvious, however the form *pika* is not attested elsewhere as either a free or bound morpheme. So for now, I consider *inanpika* ti be an unananilyzable unit.

(157) a. ***ina****npika* *kumitsa-pa*
carefull speak-CPL
'Be careful with speaking more than you are supposed to'

b. *ta* *ta=r=a=ura* ***inan,*** ***inan***
1SG.M m'son=3SG.M.OBJ watch.out watch.out
'He is my son: watch out! watch out!'

The example in (157a) is a common expression that would be translated into colloquial Spanish as *cuidado te vayas de boca, no hables demás.* As for (157b), in the discourse context, this utterance can be paraphrased as 'Be careful, don't do anything to damage him because he is my son.'

9.5.7. Postponed prohibitives: -*maka*

In postponed prohibitives, *-maka* is attached to the verb, and the subject is not omitted. Schematically: [SUBJ V-maka (OBJ)…]. Its interpretation is: 'X won't (be allowed) do Y.' The postponed prohibitive construction is primarily a third person directive, however other grammatical persons or full noun phrases can also fulfill the subject slot. The main function of prohibitives is to prevent events from happening in the (near) future, as in (158). Consider also the contrast seen in examples in (159).

(158) a. *uri* *yumatsarika-**maka***
3SG.M.L play-P.PROH
'He won't play' [he is grounded, he is sick, he is busy] (ED)

(159) a. *ra* *tutuka-**maka*** *chiru*
3SG.M wash-P.PROH cloth
'She won't wash the clothes' [she is sick, she is too young]

b. ***ina*** *ra* *tutuka* *chiru*
PROH 3SG.M wash cloth
'She can't wash the clothes' [she is sick, she is too young]

c. *ra* *tutuka* *chiru=**utsu***
3SGM wash cloth=FUT1
'She will wash the clothes'

In comparing examples (159a) and (159b), was given in (159c), it is clear that they both indicate that someone is not allowed to participate in an event. They only differ in the time span of the event: the example in (159b) conveys that the time frame

of the event is now, whereas (159a) shifts the temporal frame to the future. A second comparison I would like to point out is between examples (159a) and (159c): the prohibitive marker and the future marker are morphosyntactically very different, in that the prohibitive suffixes to the verb, whereas the future cliticizes to the verb phrase. Thus, future tense and future commands are not encoded as if they belong to the same functional domain.

Examples from texts are provided in (160) to (162). Example (160) comes from a traditional story about a fight between a man and a creature. In this portion of the text, it is mentioned that the man defeated and killed the creature, and so the creature will no longer be able to eat him.

(160) *ra* *eyu-**maka**=ura;* *ikian*
3SG.M eat-P.PROH=3M.OBJ this

r=umanu-ta *utsu-n*
3SG.M=die-CAU go-NZR
'He won't be able to eat him; (because) this has been killed'

Example (161) is from a story about a party among the animals. One of them wants to laugh at the turtles, but he knows that if he does, the turtles would get mad. So, he can't laugh. In the context of the story, though, the time span can be thought to include past and future. That is, the character has been avoiding laughing and will continue to do so.

(161) *t#ma* *yawati=kana* *tsenu;* *ra* *apuka-**maka***
NEG turtles=PL.M hear 3SG.M laugh-P.PROH
'For the turtles to not hear and find (him), he wouldn't /won't laugh'
(Lit. The turtles do not hear him; he won't/can't laugh)

The example in (162) was taken from a narrative about traditional celebrations. The speaker says that during the carnival season, the people are scared to go to the forest. In this season, the mother of the carnival likes to catch people. So, if they avoid going into the forest, the carnival's mother will not be able to catch them.

(162) *awa=kana* *akicha* *ukua* *ɨwɨrati*
person-PL.M feel.fear go.around forest

mitan *tua* *yapichika-**maka*** *rana*
carnival mother catch-P.PROH 3PL.M
'The people are scared to go around in the forest, (that's why) the carnival mother won't catch them'

In the examples from texts, it seems to be a constant that actions are taken in order to prevent an event from happening. However, in elicitation, the primary function seems to be that of a prohibitive as shown in (158) and (159). However, the postponed prohibitive analysis accounts for both elicited and text data.

Having discussed in detail simple clause constructions, in the next chapter we turn the discussion to constructions that involve clause combining.

CHAPTER X

CLAUSE COMBINING

This chapter is devoted to multiclause constructions. It starts with a comparison between finite verbal clauses and nominalized clauses (§10.1), because these are the two clause types that can operate as embedded structures. Then we go on to discuss complement clauses (§10.1), relative clauses (§10.3), and adverbial clauses (§10.4). Nominalization plays an important role in the relativization processes. Relativization strategies follow an absolutive pattern (relativization of S and relativization of O are achieved via the same formal strategy, which is different from relativization of A); oblique relativization is achieved via a relativizer morpheme. There are a number of adverbial clauses — including three types of purposive constructions — that are generally indicated by specific markers attached to the subordinated verb. The notion of coordination, also known as co-ranking constructions, is only marginally relevant to the grammar of KK (§10.5); beyond prosody, no formal mechanism has been attested that exclusively link otherwise equally finite constructions. What has been found, though, is a set of conjunctions that operate at both the sentence and intersentential level (§10.5.2).

At the sentence level, they conjoin sentences to indicate various semantic relationships; at the discourse level they link sentences into chunks, like sequences, episodes, etc.

10.1. Finite verbal clause vs. nominalized clause

In KK, two types of syntactic structures can operate as embeded clauses: finite declarative verbal clauses, and nominalized clauses. In this study, clause nominalization refers to the process in which a finite verbal clause is converted into a noun phrase (cf. Givón 2001:24). As discussed in Chapter VI, §6.1.1, in KK finiteness does not pertain to the verb per se. Finite verbs need not be morphologically marked; that is to say, no piece of verbal morphology is obligatory. Thus, in KK, finiteness is fundamentally a grammatical feature of clauses rather than of verbs.

In KK, finite clauses are found in complementation, whereas nominalized clauses are found in relativization. In terms of constituent order, finite declarative clauses are overwelmingly SVO, whereas nominalized clauses are verb final. In finite clauses, the verb can take several aspectual and valence changing suffixes, whereas the set of verbal morphemes attested within nominalized clauses is more limited. To derive nominalized clauses, the verb takes the morphemes *-n* or *-tara*; although more marginally, the progressive *-ari*, and the gerund *-wa* can also function as clause nominalizers. After the verbs take one of the two nominalizers, they are able to take any other morphology associated with nouns, such as the diminutive, the augmentative, plural, etc. In terms of syntax, in finite clauses the verb is the head of the clause, whereas in nominalized clauses the verb becomes the head of the resulting noun phrase and the notional subject is encoded as a possessor. Finally, finite clauses take modal

clitics, whereas nominalized clauses do not. Table 10.1 summarizes the features in which finite clauses contrast with nominalized clauses.

Table 10.1: Differences between finite verbal clauses and nominalized clauses

FINITE CLAUSE	NOMINALIZED CLAUSE
Unmarked word order: SVO	Strict verb-final order: SOV
Verb takes aspect and valence increase suffixes	Verb takes a nominalizing morpheme: *-n* 'O-nominalizer', *-tara* 'purpose'(and *-ari* 'progressive', but only marginally)
	Verb acquires nominal morphology, like diminutive, plural, etc.
Core arguments are required to occur	Verb becomes the head noun of the resulting NP
	Notional subject becomes possessor of the deverbal head noun
Takes second position modals	Cannot take second position modals
Tense clitics follows the VP	Tense clitics follow the nominalized clause only when in object function

Consider the contrast between a finite clause (1a) and a nominalized clause (1b):

(1) a. A V O
yawara *karuta=pa* *tsa=m-im-ira=uy*
dog bite=CPL 1SG.F=woman.son=PAS1
'The dog bit up my son'
b. [O [A V-n]]$_{=AFF=FOC}$
[tsa=m-im-ira *[yawara* *karuta-n]=chasu=pura]…*
1SG.F=woman.son dog bit-NZR=AFF=FOC
'My son whom the dog bit…'

Example (1a) is a finite transitive clause. In (1b) there is a complex noun phrase that contains a nominalized clause. Note the nominalized verb in final position, suffixed

by the nominalizer -*n*, and then by the affective and focus morpheme, which show that this syntactic unit is a NP. This NP could in turn appear embedded in a matrix clause. We now go on to examine each of the various ways in which KK combines clauses.

10.2. Complement clauses

Complement clauses are defined as constructions in which a clause is the syntactic argument of a matrix clause. The embedded clause can potentially assume either subject or object argument function.

In KK, complement clauses are morphologically unmarked and restricted to object function. The embedded clause and the matrix clause may or may not share verbal arguments. Depending on the semantic type of the matrix verb the embedded clause is fully finite, keeping its full array of arguments. Then, a complement sentence construction includes a matrix clause with the subject in first position, a complement-taking-verb (CTV), and an embedded clause acting as its direct object. The complement construction could be schematically summarized as: [S V_1 [(S) V_2 (O)]]. Examples with the prototypical CTV *tseta* 'want' are given in (2) and (3); the embedded clause is in brackets.

(2) S V_1 [V_2]

a. *rama=kana* ***tseta*** ***[utsu]***
other=PL.M want go
'Some others want to go/leave'

b. *tɨma* *ra=**tseta*** ***[aki]**=tsuriay*
NEG 3SG.M=want get.in=PAS3
'He didn't want to get in'

c. **ra=**tseta*** *tɨma* ***[aki]**=tsuriay*
3SG.M=want NEG get.in=PAS3 (ED)

(3) S V_1 [V_2 O]

a. *epe* ***tseta*** ***[wanakari*** *tana]* *amutse*
2PL want send 1PL.M far
'You want to send us far'

b. *tɨma* *rana=**tseta*** ***[aki-ta*** *tana]=tsuriay*
NEG 3PL.M=want get.in-CAU 1PL.EX.M=PAS3
'They didn't want to let us in'

c.**rana=**tseta*** *tɨma* ***[aki-ta*** *tana]=tsuriay*
3PL.M=want NEG get.in-CAU 1PL.EX.M=PAS3 (ED)

From these examples, the first generalization we can make is that complement clauses follow the matrix verb. Second, the embedded verb can be intransitive (2a-b), transitive (3a), or derived transitive (3b). As discussed in Chapter VIII, one of the key features to determine the structure of a clause is the placement of the tense clitics. In complement clauses, tense clitics attach to the right edge of the embedded construction, as in (2b) and (3b). Also, note the distribution of the adverb *amutse* 'far' in (3a), which appears at the very end of the clause. The adverb is not part of the embedded clause because, upon elicitation, it can also appear in first position without any semantic consequences. As for negation, in Chapter IX we learned that KK has two negative particles: *tɨma* and *ni*. The former negates the entire construction by placing it in front of the clause or in front of the verb phrase, the latter negates only the argument that follows it. In (2b) and (3b) *tɨma* negates the whole complex sentence, but it cannot

negate the dependent clause alone; that is, it cannot be placed between the matrix verb 'want' and the dependent verb *aki* 'get in' (2c) or *akita* 'let in' (3c).

In KK complement constructions, modal markers only appear in the matrix clause, not within the complement clause. In (4a) the second position modal *=ray* 'speculative' is attached to the subject of 'want', and in (4b), the modal clitic *=mia* 'irrealis' appears at the edge of the complement clause, which coincides with the end of the verb phrase.

(4) a. *ya=**ray*** *tseta* *[yamimi]*
3SGF=SPE want hide
'It seems he wants to hide'

b. *raepe* *rana* *iyara* *[yapichika* *apu* *itsɨwatsu]=**mia***
then 3PL.M think catch well deer=MOD
'Then they decide to catch this deer'

It is well documented that, cross-linguistically, the grammar of complementation is one of the clearest expressions of iconicity in syntax (Givón 2001). The basic prediction is that: "the stronger is the semantic bond between the two events, the more extensive will be the syntantic integration of the two clauses into a single though complex clause" (Givon 2001:40). To examine this principle, verbs are often classified into three categories: modality verbs, manipulation verbs, and perception-cognition-utterance (PCU) verbs. The claim is that the first two types of verbs semantically indicate events with the strongest bond, hence the complement clause often presents greater syntactic integration with the matrix clause; the third group shows the weakest semantic-cognitive bond between events, and hence generally the least syntactic integration of the complement clause.

In KK complementation, the iconicity principle manifests not in terms of morphological coding, but in terms of co-reference restrictions that hold between the subject or object of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause. However, among the three types of verbs suggested by Givón, only complement clauses with modality and PCU main verbs display syntactic differences compared to each other. Manipulation verbs are not a type on their own. Typologically, in complement clauses with manipulation verbs the object of the main clause is coreferentialial with the subject of the complement clause, where it is left unexpressed. Some of the prototypical manipulation verbs are: 'allow', 'cause', 'make', 'tell', 'ask', and 'order.'(Givón 2001). KK does not have verbs for 'allow' and 'cause' — although causation is an extremely productive derivational process— and 'make' does not function as a manipulation verb. The only manipulation verbs in the language would be *wanakari* 'order,' *piyata* 'ask'and *kumitsa* + DAT 'tell'.[1] Yet these would be better characterized as utterance verbs, as they occur mostly with direct and indirect quotes. Most importantly, the quotes are syntactically independent, so these verbs do not take complement clauses.

In what follows, I discuss complementation with modality verbs (§10.2.1) and PCU verbs (§10.2.2), then close the section with a discussion of the syntax of clauses with quotes (§10.2.3).

10.2.1. Modality verbs

In clauses with modality verbs, the complement clause lacks independent tense-aspect-mood marking and appears in the typical object position, generally under the

[1] Recall that the verb *kumitsa* 'speak' is interpreted as 'say' if it occurs with an object, and 'tell' if with a dative phrase : *kumitsa* 'speak', [*kumitsa* OBJ] 'say', [*kumitsa* DAT] 'tell'.

same intonation countour with the matrix clause. The subject of the main clause is coreferential with the subject of the complement clause, which is left unexpressed. These findings are consistent with has been reported cross-linguistically for complement clauses of modality verbs. I illustrate this with two prototypical modality verbs : *tseta* 'want' (5-6), and *yupuni* 'start' (7-8).

(5) a. *ya=ray* ***tseta*** *yamimi*
3SGF=SPE want hide
'It seems he wants to hide'

b. *rana* *t#ma* ***tseta*** ***uka-yara***
3PL.M NEG want house-MAKE
'They don't want to build (their) house'

(6) a. *urupu-tini* *t#ma* ***tseta*** *[**ichari**=ura]*
vulture-white NEG want leave=3M.OBJ
'The condor doesn't want to leave him'

b. *ta=**tseta*** *[**purara*** *ini* *ritama]=uy* *era*
1SG.M=want find 1PL.IN community=PAS1 well
'I wanted to find our village well'

Note that in every instance above, the matrix clause and the embedded clause share an argument. In complement clauses with instransitive verbs (5), the A of the matrix clause is coreferential with the S of the embedded clause. For transitive complements (6), the shared argument is the A. For instance, in (5a), introduced already in (4a), 'he' is the subject of 'want' as well as the subject of 'hide'. As for the object of 'want', in (5a) it is 'to hide' and in (5b) the derived intransitive 'to house-make.' As for transitive constructions, the object of the 'want' in (6a) is 'leave him' and in (6b) 'find our village'. Again, the adverb *era* 'well' in (6b) appears at the very end of the clause, outside the scope of the tense clitic *=uy*.

Another verb that works in a similar way *tseta* 'want' is *yupuni* 'start.' Consider the following examples:

(7) a. *tupapenan* *ɨwatsu=kana* ***yupuni*** *[ukayma-ka]*
again esp.fish=PL.M start lose-REF
'Again the paiches (fish) start to dissapear'

b. *ra* ***yupuni*** *[yapana]=tsuri* *ɨwɨrati-kuara*
3SG.M to.start run=PAS3 jungle=INE
'He started to run in the forest'

c. *raepe* *tsa=pura* ***yupuni*** *[utsu]=tsuri* *escuela-ka*
there 1SG.F=FOC start go=PAS3 school=LOC
'Then I started to attend school'

(8) a. *ra* ***yupuni*** *[yauki urkuru]*
3SG.M start make basket
'She starts to make the basket'

b. *raepe=tsui* *ra* ***yupuni*** *[chikari* *itimu]*
then=ABL 3SG.M start look.for liana
'And then she starts looking for liana'

In terms of grammar, (7) is not different than (5), as (8) is not different than (6). It should be added that *yupuni* 'start' rarely occurs in simple clauses, it mainly appears in derived causatives, and in complement clauses like the ones in (8-9).

10.2.2. Perception-cognition-utterance verbs

Consistent with Givón's (2001) prediction, KK complement clauses with PCU verbs are syntactically less integrated . First, no co-reference restrictions exist between the arguments of the matrix clause and those of the complement clause. In fact, in the corpus used for this study, the tendency is to not share arguments.The complement clause has the normal finite structure of a main clause; it keeps its arguments and can

stand on its own. Evidence that the two clauses belong to a single complex construction is the distribution of tense clitics and adverbial elements. As for prosody, they both occur within a single intonation countour.

In what follows I provide examples with *umi* 'see' (10), *tsenu* 'hear' (11), *ikua* 'know' (12) and (13), *yakuarara* 'remember' (14), and *tsitsari* 'forget'(15).

(10) a. *amutse* *ini=**umi*** *awa=kana* *uri*
far 1PL.IN=see person=PL.M come
'From far away we see people coming'

b. *penu* ***umi*** *ipirawira=pura=nu* *ipu* *pe=ka*
1PL.F see dolphin=FOC=PL.F to.sound port=LOC
'We see dolphins making noise at the port'

c. *raepe* *ikian* *t=**umi*** *ta=nai* *amɨra=kana*
there this 1SG.M=see 1SG.M=grandmother deceased=PL.M

***yaparachi**-ka=tsuriay*
dance-REI=PAS3
'Then I saw my deceased grandmothers dance'

The examples in (10) show that in clauses with *umi* 'see', the main clause and the embeded clause do not share arguments at all. This is true for all complement clauses of 'see' in the database. Even in the one instance where the speaker is talking about seeing herself in a dream, she says 'I saw my soul…'. Although the embedded clause is finite and could stand on its own, the placement of tense markers at the right edge of the complement clause provides evidence that the second clause is the object of 'see' (10c).

(11) a. *yamua=nu* *ni* ***tsenu*** *tsa* ***kumitsa***
other=PL.F NEG hear 1SG.F talk
'Others do not even listen to me speak'

b. *yaepe=tsui ay* ***tsenu*** *ya=mena* ***tsatsats=ma***
there=ABL 3SG.F hear 3SG.F=husband scream
'Later, she hears her husband scream'

c. *raepe=tsui ay* *kanati utsu-n* *ra=****tsenu***
then=ABL already dawn go-NZR 3SG.M=hear

ikian wi=ra=ki=ra=kana ***ikara***
this bird=DIM=PL.M sing
'And then comes the morning, he hears the birds sing.'

The verb *tsenu* 'hear' behaves in the same way as 'see': the examples in (11) are representative of the entire corpus, where every example has different subjects for the main clause and the complement clause.

In contrast to *umi* 'see' and *tsenu* 'hear', the verb *ikua* 'know' shows no restrictions at all. Complement clauses of this verb may or may not share arguments. In example (12a), that the main clause verb *ikua* 'know' and the complement clause verb *muna* 'steal' share the same subject, whereas in example (12b), the main and complement verbs have different subjects.

(12) a. *ya=pura* ***ikua*** ***muna*** *awa=nu*
3SG.F=FOC know steal person=PL.F
'He knows to steal people' (makes people disappear)

b. *ti=ma ra* ***ikua*** *maniawatsun ra* *chira-ta* *r=utsu*
NEG 3SG.M know how 3SG.F name-CAUS 3SG.M=go
'She doesn't know how he is going to name/call it'

Regarding modal markers, the second position modal marker (underlined) can appear in the main clause (13a), but when the complement contains an information question, then the modal can appear in second position in the complement clause, cliticizing to the interrogative word (13b-c).

(13) a. *ene* *ray* *t#ma* ***ikua*** ***kumitsa*** *era*
2SG.L SPE NEG know say be.good
'It seems that you don't know how to speak well'

b. *ni* *ta* ***ikua*** *maka=taka* *r=**utsu**=tsuriay*
NEG 1SG.M know where-UNC 3SG.M=go=PAS3
'I didn't know where he might have gone'

c. *ay* *rana* ***ikua*** *maka=taka* ***tana*** *kak#r#*
already 3PL.M know where-UNC 1PL.M live
'They know where we might live'

To find out whether the modal could be moved to the main clause in (13c), I elicited the sentence 'They might know already where we live'. The consultant accepted *=taka* following *ay*, but said he prefers it on the interrogative word. This point merits further research, as the scope of the modal in examples like (13b-c) is still an open question.

As for complementation with *yakuarara* 'remember' and *tsitsari* 'forget', no coreferentiality restrictions are attested.

(14) a. *raepe=tsui* *wayna=k#ra* ***yakuarara***
there=ABL woman=DIM remember

kamata *ya* *ku=kuara*
work 3SG.F farm=INE
'After that the little woman remembers to work in his farm'

b. *ni=tsa=**yakuarara*** *mania-maniaka*
NEG=1SG.F=remember how-how

tsa *pai* ***#m#ntsara**-ra=pura*
1SGF uncle story-VZR=FOC
'I don't remember how my uncle tells stories'

(15) b. *rana* ***tsitsari**-ta* *[ra* *piyuka* *yuru]*
3PL.M forget-CAU 3SG.M clean mouth
'They make him forget to clean (his) mouth'

A sequence of PCU verbs can occur within a single clause. Example (16) includes two complement clauses, indicated by square brackets. The main verb is *tsenu* 'hear, whose object is 'his mom says that she already saw it', a complement clause that contains within itself another complement clause, as the object of *kumitsa* 'say' is 'she already saw it'.

(16) a. *y=**tsenu*** *[ya=mama* ***kumitsa*** *[upa* *y=**umi**-pa]]*
3SG.F=hear 3SG.F=mother say finish 3SG.F=see-CPL
'He heard his mom say that she already saw it / found it out'

To this point, I have shown that the complement clause appears in the object's canonical position, following the verb. If the object needs to be highlighted, we would expect the entire complement clause to be fronted. However, the fronted sentential object no longer has the structure of a complement clause, but of a relative clause (17) (for more details, see 10.3).

(17) *[yayakati-n* *awa=nu]* *ts=**umi*** *ajan*
go.up.river-NZR person=PL.F 1SG.F=see this

uni-ts=ma-ra
water-shore=DIF
'I see people going up the river along the edge of the water'
(Lit. going-up-the-river people I see along the edge of the water)

10.2.3. Direct-quotes

Quotes are a very salient feature of KK discourse. In spontaneous speech, several PCU and manipulation verbs occur with direct and indirect quotes. It should be pointed out, though, that indirect quotes, in general, are rather rare compared to direct quotes. Some PCU and manipulation verbs that often take direct-quotes include: *kumitsa* 'say', *piyata* 'ask', *wanakari* 'order', and *paritsari* 'invite.' Direct quotes either

precede or follow the above verbs, but in no instance is there syntactic evidence that the quote is a syntactic dependent of the PCU/manipulation verb. The remainder of this section will support that claim with multiple examples.

Examples in (18) and (19) include the typical manipulation verb *wanakari* 'order'. In (18a), the direct quote "go cook it" comes after the verb *wanakari* 'order'and one might be tempted to argue that it functions as the direct object. However, in elicitation, the tense clitic can mark *wanakari* rather than following the quote, as it would were the quote an object. Second, a direct object NP — like 'him' — can be added in (18b). (18b) includes an indirect quote. Here the object is explicitly stated by the pronominal, and the quote is within an adverbial clause of purpose, which does not fulfill a semantic or grammatical role of the finite verb 'order' (for more discussion of *-tsen* adverbial clauses see §10.4.1.3).

(18) a. *ya=**wanakari*** *[yawa apapuri r=utsu]*
3SG.F=order EXH boil 3SG.M=AUX
'He orders "go cook it"'

b. *ya=tua* ***wanakari**=ay [yatsuka-tsen ɨaku=ka]*
3SG.F=AUG ask=3F.OBJ wash-PUR3 creek=LOC
'He orders him to take a bath in the creek'

As mentioned earlier, the majority of quotes precede the PCU/manipulation verbs. This is also the case with *wanakiri* 'order' (19). In those cases, the quote appears in its own intonation unit; a falling intonation contour plus a pause is indicated by the semicolon. Syntactically, this looks identical to a sequence of finite clauses.

(19) a. *eyu=r=epe;*[2] *na=ray* *ra=**wanakari**=ura*
eat=3SG.M=2PL QT=SPE 3SG.M=order=3M.OBJ
"Eat it, you guys", that's what he orders him.

b. *kaitsuma* *na=kamika;* *y=**wanakari*** *ya=mirikua*
drink 2SG=mix 3SG.F=orders 3SG.F=wife
"Prepare your yucca beer", he orders his wife'

c. *chinta;* *na=ray* *ya* ***wanakari**(=etse)*
shut.up QT=SPE 3SGF order=1SG.L.F
'"Shut up"; that's what he orders (me)' (ED)

Things to note in (19a-c) include first, that the quote belongs to a different intonation unit. Second, the object of *wanakari* 'order' is indicated by a noun phrase or a pronoun that follows the verb (unless it is generic in which case it is left unexpressed, as in (19c)). My conclusion is thus that *wanakari* belongs to a set of ambivalente verbs with respect to syntactic transitivity (see Chapter IX): If the order is directed to someone specific, then the object is specified (19a-b); but if in a meeting where several people are making noises, someone says 'shut up', then the addressee object would be left unexpressed (19c).

Similarly, the examples in (20-21) show quotes with the utterance verbs kumitsa 'speak, say' and *piyata* 'ask'. In (20a), note that the tense clitic =*tsuri* appears between the verb and the quote, providing evidence that the quote is not the direct object of

[2] As described in Chapter 8, directive clauses with third person singular object and second person plural subject have the following structure : [V=OBJ=SUBJ]. This is the only configuration in which the subject follows the object. To demonstrate that these pieces of morphology are pronominals, I give below an example in both female and male speech.

a. *umi=y=epe* 'Look at it, you guys' (female speech)
see=3SG.F=2PL
b. *umi=r=epe* 'Look at it, you guys' (male speech)
see=3SG.M=2PL

kumitsa. In (21a-c), the presence of a DO pronoun indicates that the quote is not the direct object of *piyata* 'ask'.

(20) a. *tsa=nai* *amɨra* ***kumitsa****-ukua=tsuri ;* *napitsara=nu*
1SG.M=gr.mother deceased say-HAB=PAS3 man=PL.F

tɨma *chiru-ra* *aypuka ini-chiru=pura=nan]*
NEG clothes-PUR currently 1PL.IN=clothes=FOC=only
'My deceased grandmother use to say "men didn't wear clothes like we do now'

b. *ikuatawara* *fernando* ***kumitsa;***
teacher Fernando say

[don.victor, *piyata* *tewe]*
Victor ask salt
'The teacher Fernando says "Victor, ask for salt"'

(21) a. *uri* *rana* ***piyata;***
3SG.M.L 3PL.M ask

ene *ray* *peruano*
2SG.L also Peruvian
'(To) Her they ask "Are you also Peruvian?"'

b. *mari-tipa=uy;* *yaepe=nan* *penu* ***piyata***
thing-Q=PAS1 there=only 1PL.F ask.for
'"What happened", we then ask' (to no one in particular).

c. *puá-tipa* *tsepuni,* *rimariru;* *ikia,*
smell.bad-Q gas grandson this

*ra=****piyata****=ura*
3SG.M=ask=3M.OBJ
'"The gas smells bad, grandson?" this, he asks him'

Paritsara 'invite' is another verb that takes direct quotes; once again, the quote is not syntactically dependent of the verb 'invite', which takes the addressee as a pronominal direct object.

(22) *yantsuiya* *paritsara* *ya=tsuri*
there 3SG.F invite 3SG.F=PAS3

yapay *ini=utsu* *nawapa=pu*
JUS 1PL.IN=FUT1 river.name=INS
'Later he invites her "let's go through/via the Nawapa River"

10.3. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are subordinate clauses that operate as modifiers of a noun. They are generally embedded in a noun phrase; that is, the relative clause together with the head noun create a single complex noun phrase. From a functional perspective, a relative clauses narrow the set of potential referents to those referents of which the proposition expressed in the relative clause is true. In other words, it "delimits the reference of a NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause" (Andrews 2007:206).

As discussed by multiple typologists (e.g., Comrie 1998, Givón 2001, Shibatani 2007), relative clauses can by characterized according to several parameters, including the strategy for recovery of the identity of the head argument inside the relative clause (among others, gap, resumptive pronoun, relative pronoun, and referring nominalization), the position of the relative clause with respect to the head noun (prenominal, postnominal, head-internal, headless, or paratactic), and the syntactic function of the relativized element within the relative clause (relativization of A, S, O, etc.).

The relevant strategies for forming relative clauses in KK are nominalization and a gap for the relativized noun. Reganding the position of the head noun with respect to the relative clause, the types of relative clauses that KK displays are headed and

headless relative clauses. In headed clauses, the head is external to the relative clause either prenominal or postnominal. In the remaining subsections of this section, I offer a formal characterization of argument nominalization/relative clauses (§10.3.1), followed by a discussion of the functional load of headless versus headed relative clauses (§10.3.2), and prenominal versus postnominal relative clauses (§10.3.2.2)

10.3.1. Relative clause formation

Cross-linguistically, one of the most common strategies employed in relative clause formation is creating a *gap*. That is, the relative clause contains no overt reference to the head noun, but the role of the head noun is recognized by the fact that it is absent, or "gapped", from the relative clause. Another widely attested mechanism is the use of a *relative pronoun*: here the position relativized is indicated by means of a clause-initial pronominal element which is marked to specify the role of the head noun within the relative clause. *Resumptive pronoun* is the strategy by which the position relativized is explicitly indicated by means of an anaphoric pronominal form in its normal position in the relative clause. Relative clauses also often involve nonfinite verb forms, such as nominalizations, and special word order restrictions.

KK does not have a specific subordination construction whose canonical function is to encode a relative clause. The language makes use of nominalized structures for functionally relative constructions. The grammatical relations that can be relativized on are O , S, A, and OBL (dative, locative). It is possible to say that, to some degree, KK employs nominalization as a means to identify the grammatical role of the relativized element. In relative clauses with transitive verbs, one knows which is

the relativized argument by looking at the the suffix that attaches to the verb. Relative clause formation follows an absolutive pattern, with S and O relativized by suffixing *-n* to the subordinate verb (cf. §10.3.1.1- §10.3.1.2), whereas A is relativized by suffixing *-tara* to the subordinate verb (cf. §10.3.1.3).

10.3.1.1. Relativization of S

Relativization of the single argument in an intransitive clause is achieved via a combination of two strategies: gap and the morpheme *-n*. More specifically, the relativized intransitive verb bears *-n* and then appears either before or after the head noun, which is understood as being coreferential to the absent S of the relativized verb (schematically N [Ø V-n] / [Ø V-n] N). The elicited examples in (23a-c) show this pattern, with the relative clause in brackets and the head noun in bold.

(23) a. ***yawara*** *[ikuachi* *yapana]-n* *karuta* *tsa* *mɨmɨra=uy*
dog yesterday run-NZR bite 1SG.F son-PAS1
'[The dog [that yesterday escaped]] bit my son' (ED)

b. ***uka*** *[ukia-ri-n]* *tsa=mena* *yauki=tsuri*
house burn-PROG-NZR 1SG.F=husband make=PAS3
'[The house [that is burning/on fire]] my husband built.'(ED)

c. *victor* *[ikara-n]* ***awa***
Victor sing-NZR person
'Victor is [a person [that sings]]' (He sings ikaros/cure songs)

In (23), the relativized noun is the single core argument of the relative clause. That is, 'dog', 'house', and 'person' are the subjects of 'run', 'burn', and 'sing', respectively. Note also that the relativized noun together with the relative clause can asume any syntactic function within the matrix clause. 'The dog that yesterday escaped'

is the subject the main verb ‘bite’. ‘The house that is on fire’ is the object of make. ‘A person that sings’ is the nominal predicate. A final point to note is that while in (23a-b) the relative clause appears postposed to the head noun, in (23c) it is preposed.

The grammatical features highlighted in the elicited examples in (23) are also attested in natural text data: in (24a-c) I show relativization of S in actual utterances.

(24) a. *[mɨta-n]* ***aɨmanta****=pura* *umanu=tsuri* *tata=kuara*
lie-NZR otorongo=FOC die=PAS3 fire=INE
‘[The otorongo [that fools around]] died in the fire’

b. *[tɨma napitsara=muki kakɨrɨ-n]* ***wayna*** ***kuniati****=kɨra;*
NEG man=COM live-NZR woman girl-DIM

ay *ipirawira* *tseta* *ya* *mirikua-ra*
3SG.L.F dolphin want 3SG.F wife-PUR
‘[a young woman [who doesn’t live with a man]]; the dolphin wants her for his wife’

c. ***amaniu*** *[ts=uka* *tsapɨtari* *yatɨma-n]*
cotton 1SG=house base.of plant-NZR

tsa *maynani* *mutsana-ra*
1SG.F take.care remedy-PUR
‘I look after [the cotton [that grows at the base of my house for remedy]]’

Tense clitics can have scope over the whole matrix clause or only over the embedded relative. For instance, in (24a), the tense clitic *tsuri,* which is attached to the main verb, has scope over both the subordinate verb ‘lie’ and the main verb ‘die’. Along the same lines, a structure like the one in (25) — NP$_{subject}$ [NP Rel-C]$_{predicate}$— the tense marker at the right edge of the predicate could have scope either over the whole construction, or the embedded clause alone. In this particular utterance, *=tsuri* has scope only over the relative clause. Thus, the interpretation here is ‘the pets that I have raised.’

While the interpretation ‘These chickens were my pets’ is possible, in this particular context, this is not the appropriate reading.

(25) *ajan atawari tsa* ***mɨmanu*** *=nu [tsa aypa-ta-n]=tsuri*
this chicken 1SG.F pet=PL.F 1SG.F rise-CAU-NZR=PAS3
‘These chickens are [the pets [that I’ve raised]]’ (ED)
* ‘These chickens were my pets that I raised’

In (25), the tense marker cannot be placed right after *mɨmanu* ‘pets’ without the following portion — *tsa aypatan* ‘that I raised’— losing relative clause status. In other words, if the tense clitic *=tsuri* appears after ‘pets’, the portion ‘that I raised’ would be produced after a pause and interpreted as an afterthought. I will come back to this discussion in §10.3.2.2.

In natural discourse, one frequently finds complex constructions in which relative clauses themselves contain other embedded clauses. For instance, in (26a), the relative clause contains two adverbial clauses of purpose. That is, *r-aya-mira-n* ‘for his shooting/ his prey’ is emdebeded within ‘to look for his prey in the forest’. This, in turn, is embedded within the relative clause ‘that goes to look for his prey in the forest’. A parallel pattern is shown in (26b).

(26) a. *ikun t=ɨmɨntsara-ura=utsu ikian* ***awa***
today 1SG.M=story=3M.OBJ=FUT1 this person

[ɨwɨrati [[r=aya-mira-n] chikari-tara] utsu]-n,
forest 3SG.M=shoot-PUR2-NZR look.for-PUR1 go-NZR
‘Today I am going to tell you about [this person [who went to look for his hunting/prey in the forest]]’

b. *[[ipira chikari-tara] utsu-n] wepe* ***awa,***
fish look.for-PUR1 go-NZR one person

ya=mirikua=muki *y=ichari* *ya=kaitsuma*
3SG.F=wife=COM well 3SG.F=leave 3SG.F=drink
'[A person [who goes to look for fish]], with his wife he leaves his yucca beer'

In (27), we see the principle of recursion in action; one relative clause is contained within another.

(27) ***irara*** *[[nua-n]* *ukayma-n]* *ta* *purar=uy*
canoe be.big be.lost-NZR 1SG.M find=PAS1
'I found [the big canoe [that was lost]]' (ED)
(Lit. I found the canoe that is big, that was lost)

As mentioned earlier, the same relativizing strategy that applies to single arguments of active intransitive verbs is also employed for arguments of stative (descriptive) verbs. This is shown in (33). Again, note that the head noun can appear preposed (33a-c), or postposed (33d).

(28) a. *tsa* ***mimira*** *[wika-n]* *watari*
1SG.F woman.son strong-NZR miss
'[My son [who is strong]] is missing' (ED)

b. *sanitario* ***ipika*** *ya* *kai=tsuri* *yaepe=tsui*
nurse cut 3SG.F shin=PAS3 there-ABL

ya *uchima-ta-tsen* ***tsuwi*** *[pua-n]=pura*
3sg go.out-CAU-PUR blood rot-NZR=FOC
'The nurse cut his shin to then take out [the blood [that is decomposed]]'

c. *ikian* ***iwira*** *[ikana-n]-ari* *na* *warika*
this tree be.dry-NZR-EV=DIF 2SG go.up
'You climb [this tree [that is dried]']

d. *tsa=papa* *[wiju-n]* ***awa***
1SG.M=father old-NZR person
'My father is [a person [that is old / an old person]]'

A last point to mention here is about the ambiguity resulting from relativization of the S argument: because relativization involves nominalized clauses, a number of instances in real language are formally ambiguous. For instance, constructions where the only element within the subordinated clause is a nominalized verb could be interpreted as either a noun modified by a relative clause, [N Rel-C], or as a noun modified by another derived noun in a genitive relationship, [N_{PSSOR} N_{PSSED}], as shown in (29a-b). Such constructions are, of course, disambiguated by the context. However, constructions where the relative clause includes circumstantial information, such as the comitative in (29c), could only be interpreted as [N Rel-C].

(29) a. *ya* *uchima-ta* ***tsuwɨ*** *[pua-n]*
3SG.F go.out-CAU blood rot-NZR
i) 'He takes out [the blood [which is decomposed]]'
ii) 'He takes out [the decomposition/rottenness of the blood]'

b. ***kaɨ*** *[iruru-n]* *ya* *tsutɨma-ka* *ay*
shin swell-NZR 3SG.F thigh-LOC already
i) '[His shin [which is swollen]] has got up to his thigh' (his whole leg looks like a single piece)
ii) '[The swelling in his shin] has already reached his thigh' (it started at his shin)

c. ***ikɨratsen*** *[mai=muki* *yupi-n]* *ukayma=uy*
child grandma=COM woven-NZR dissapear-PAS1
'[The kid [who weaves with grandmother]] disappeared'
*The kid's woven (with grandmother) disappeared

10.3.1.2. Relativization of O

The most common construction to relativize the O argument in a transitive relative clause is largely similar to that employed to relativize S: In the relative clause, no O NP appears and the nominalizer *-n* marks the verb; one important difference is that

the A NP precedes the relativized transitive verb inside the relative clause. The relative clause can precede or follow the head noun, schematically: [A V-*n*] N, as in (30a-b), or N [A V-*n*], as in (30c).

(30) a. *tana erutsu-ka [rana yumi-n]* ***karamina***
1PL.M bring-REI 3PL.M give-NZR corrugated.iron
'We carry out [the corrugated iron [that they donate]]'

b. *r=yatukupe* *[r=aya-n]* ***arawata***
3SG.M=carry.on.back 3SG.M=shoot-NZR choro
'He carries on his back [the choro monkey [that he shot]]'

c. *upi* ***mari*** *[rana yumi-n]* *tana* *erutsu*
all thing 3PL.M give-NZR 1PL.M bring
'[All the things [that they donate (to us)]] we bring'

The relative clause can appear within NPs in any role within the main clause, e.g., object (30a-c), subject (31a), locative (31b), or instrument (31c).

(31) a. *tsa* ***m-im-ira*** *[yawara karuta-n]* *yapana=uy*
1SG.F woman.son dog bite-NZR run=PAS1
'[My son [that the dog bit]] escaped' (ED)

b. *ak-icha* *ya* *tsitsa* *umi* ***tseweka****=kuara* *[y=ip-ika-n]*
be.scared 3SG.F face see belly=INE 3SG.F=cut-NZR
'He looks with a scared face at [the belly [that he cuts]]'
(lit. 'Scared, his face looks...'
(*mira con la cara asustada la barriga que va a cortar*)

c. *na* *[yauki-n]* ***mutsana****=pu* *ya* *kurata-ta*
Like.this make-NZR remedy=INST 3SG.F drink-CAU

ya *m-im-irakunia=tsuriay*
3SG.F daughter.woman=PAS3
'Like this, she makes her daughter drink the natural medicine'
(Lit. Like this, with [the remedy [that is prepared]], she makes her daughter drink)

Note in (31c) that within the relative clause not only the O, but also the A argument can be omitted. In this particular example there is no reference to who prepared the medicine; the fact that 'someone' did is implicit. However, this is the only instance attested of an omitted subject and object at the same time.

In terms of tense marking, tense clitics operate as in any regular simple clause. For instance, in the example given in (32), the tense clitic appears attached to the object of the matrix clause —'the people that lived here'— and its scope is the entire sentence, hence the past reading of both the main and the subordinate verb.

(32) *yaepe* *tapi~~a~~=tu* *umanu-ta-pa*
then savage=AUG die-CAU-CPL

[ajan-ka *kaki~~r~~i-n]* ***awa****=nu=tsuri=ay*
this=LOC live-NZR person=PL.F=PAS3=already
'Then the savage killed [the people [that lived here]]'

In the database, there are no instances in which tense has scope over the relative clause alone. However, in elicitation, temporal adverbs and tense clitics can occur within the relative clause to set different temporal frames for the event expressed by the subordinate verb and the event expressed in the matrix verb (33). The scope of tense is further discussed in §10.3.2.2.

(33) *tsa* ***mi~~m~~i~~r~~a*** *[ikuachi* *yawara karuta-n]* *yapana=uy*
1SG.F woman.son yesterday dog bite-NZR run=PAS1
'[My son [whom the dog bit yesterday]] escaped (recently)'(ED)

As indicated in Chapter V, the morpheme *-n* is not a relativizer per se. It has been shown that its canonical (i.e., most frequent) function is that of *S-nominalizer* of unaccusative and stative verbs (i.e. be in pain, fall, rot, swell, etc.) or as the *O-*

nominalizer of accusative verbs (i.e. sow, eat, listen, speak, weave, clean, etc.).[3] Some examples are given in (34). See Chapter V for more discussion on this topic.

(34)	*tsachin*	tsachi-n	be.in.pain-NZR	'pain'
	eyun	eyu-n	eat-NZR	'food'
	yupin	yupi-n	weave-NZR	'hand-woven product'
	kumitsan	kumitsa-n	speak-NZR	'speech, word'
	kamatan	kamata-n	work-NZR	'work, job'

As for the origins of these morphemes, *-n* is still of unknown etymology. However, it is possible to hypothesize that the source of the A-relativizer, *-tara,* is the Tupí-Guaraní A-nominalizer **tar* (Cabral 1995:152, Jensen 1998:540). However, it should be noted that, unlike *-n*, the suffix *-tara* does not display nominalization functions in today's Kokama.[4] In addition, the relative suffix *-tara* is formally identical with a morpheme *-tara* whose function is that of a subordinator of purpose (§10.4.1.1). More precisely, there are three subordinators of purpose which, over simplifying, are employed depending on which argument is missing in the adverbial clause. The morpheme *-tara* is used to indicate that the A argument is missing within the dependent clause. Thus, it would be worth to pursue further research on the potential connection between *-tara* 'relativizer of A', *-tara* 'subordinator of purpose with missing A' and *-wara* 'A-nominalizer'.

[3] Here, *unaccusative verb* is understood as the subcategory of intransitive verb whose subject does not actively initiate or is not actively responsible for the action of the verb. An *accusative verb* may be used either transitively or intransitively, with the subject of the transitive verb also being the subject of the intransitive verb. Nominalization of unergative verbs (i.e. run, sing, dance, etc.) involve other nominalizers, such as *-wara and -tsuri* which indicate different degrees of expertise in carrying out the event expressed in the verb.

[4] Although one of the A-nominalizers in the language is *-wara* (see Chapter 5). However, suggesting any historical connection between *-tara* and *-wara* would be speculative at this point.

10.3.1.3. Relativization of A

Unlike relativization of S and O, the A argument is relativized by suffixing *-tara* to the subordinate verb and changing the word order such that the O precedes the relativized verb. Similar to relativization of S and O, the relativization of A also involves a gap. Again, the relative clause can be postnominal or prenominal, schematically: N [O V-*tara*]/ [O V-*tara*] N. These configurations are shown in the examples below. Elicited examples are presented in (35), and data from texts in (36).

(35) a. ***yawara*** *[tsa=m̶i̶m̶i̶ra* *karuta-tara]* *yapana=uy*
dog 1SG.F=woman.son bite-REL.A run=PAS1
'[The dog [that bit my son]] escaped' (ED)

b. *[nana* *erura-tara]* ***napitsara*** *muna tsa=tukini=uy*
pineapple bring-REL.A man steal 1SG.F=hammock=PAS1
'[The man [who brought the pineapple]] stole my hammock'(ED)

(36) a. *wepe* ***awa*** *[eyu-n* *yumi-tara]* *r=umi*
one person eat-NZR give-REL.A 3SG.M=see
'He sees [a person [that gives food]]'

b. ***wayna*** *[ra* *yauki-tara]* *piyata=ura*
woman 3SG.M make-REL.A ask=3M.OBJ

mariraya *ra* *chira* *yawa*
why 3SG.M name manner
'[The woman [who has made it]] asks him why its name is like this.'

c. *ikia* *kuarachi=ari* ***ini*** *[r=ikua-umi-tara]* *umi=ura*
this sky=DIF 1PL.IN3SG.M=know-see-REL.A see=3M.OBJ
'In the sky [we [who can recognize it] see it.

Interestingly, in example (36c) the relative clause is modifying the pronoun *ini* 'we' (inclusive), that is, it is restricting the set of referents of 'we'. Since it is uncommon for a relative clause to actually restrict reference on a personal pronoun, perhaps some context is in order. It comes from a text in which the speaker is talking

about the stars. In the previous segments, he said that not everyone in the village is able to see the constellations in the sky. He says in (36c) that only the community members who are curious about them — those of us 'who know how to see them' — can see the constellations.

As expected, in natural discourse the relative clause can be embedded in other subordinate clauses. For instance, in (37), it is part of an adverbial clause of purpose.

(37) *ikatapa ariwa y=atsiri-ka y=ikua-ta-tsen*
raft above 3SG.F=go.down.river 3SG.F=know-CAU-PUR3
y=irua=nu inu-umanu-ta-tsen
3SG.F=brother=PL.F 3PL.F-die-CAU-PUR3

animaru *[ya mena eyu-tara]*
animal 3SG.F husband eat-REL.A
'She goes back down the river on top of his raft to let her brothers know to come and kill [the animal [that ate her husband]]'

The language has a morpheme *-tara* whose function is that of a subordinator of purpose. More precisely, there are three subordinators of purpose; each of them is employed depending on which argument is missing in the adverbial clause. The morpheme *-tara* is used to indicate that the A argument is missing within the relative clause. There are few instances in the database where *-tara* could have either interpretation, as illustrated in (38).

(38) *ikian aeropuerto-ka ikian wepe* ***yawara***
this airport=LOC this one dog

[ikian mari chikari-tara]
this thing look.for-REL.A/PUR1
i) '[This one dog [that looks for things]] is at this airport'
ii) 'This one dog is at this airport [to look for things]'

Example (38) comes from a text in which the speaker is narrating about his first airplane flight, here describing how at the airport he saw the dog that checks the luggage. Interestingly, the consultants find interpretation (i) and (ii) quite similar. For more discussion on adverbial clauses of purpose, see §10.4.1.

10.3.1.4. Relativization of obliques

Of all the obliques, only locations are relativized in the texts for this study. No instances of relativization of comitative and instrument are attested in the database, and the one instance of dative was found only in elicitation. Relativization of locations involves a special relativizer morpheme, *-tupa*, which acts like a relative pronoun that is systematically translated as 'where'. Although in elicitation this strategy has been used to relativize datives (39b), this use of *-tupa* is not attested in the corpus.

(39) a. *uri=kana-tin* *uwata-ta* *tana*
3SG.L.M=PL.M-MOD walk-CAU 1PL.EX.M

ɨwata *[ɨwati-n]* *[rana* *mutsanaka-tupa**]***
mountain high-NZR 3PL.M cure-REL.LOC
'They do make them walk [a high mountain [where they cure]]'

b. ***napitsara*** *[uni* *tsa* *yumi-* ***tupa]*** *uman=uy*
man water 1SG.F give-REL.O die=PAS1
'[The man [to whom (lit. 'where') I gave the water] died'

Clauses nominalized by *-tupa* basically become noun phrases that can take on different syntactic functions within the matrix clause. In the database, they assume a number of oblique functions, in which *-tupa* is the element of the relative clause that bears the postposition indicating its main clause role. In (40) the *tupa*-relative clause operates as location in the matrix clause so its marked by *=ka*; in (41), it expresses the

location from which the movement originates and is thus marked by =*tsui*; and in (42), it indicates the location that is reached and is thus marked by =*rupe*.

(40) a. *rana utsu* ***rama*** *[temente ikian cerro-tupa]=ka*
3PL.M go other no.exist this hill-REL.LOC=LOC
'They go to [another (place) [where there is not this hill]]' (i.e., to a place with no hills)

b. *yawa kauki tana utsu epe*
EXH wait.for 1PL.EX.M go 2PL

ikian *[epe kakɨrɨ-tupa]-ka*
this 2PL live place=LOC
'Go wait for us [there [where you live]]'

(41) *wepe yatsɨ=tsui ya* ***kaɨ***=*pura*
one moon=ABL 3SG.F shin=FOC

[inu ɨpɨka-tupa]=tsui atsɨrɨka=tsuri
3PL.F cut-REL.LOC=ABL go.down=PAS3
'After a month, [his shin [where they cut]] went down' (i.e., the swollen part deflates)

(42) *ikian [ra uwata=tupa]=rupe* ***ritama***=*kana*
this 3SG.M walk-REL.LOC=FIN community=PL.M
'These are [villages [where he walked through]]'
Beyond location, place-relative clauses can also operate as purpose in the matrix clause. This is shown in (43).

(43) a. *marira epe tɨma chikari*
why 2PL NEG look.for

tuyuka *nua-n [epe kakɨrɨ-tupa]=ra*
ground be.big-NZR 2PL live-REL.LOC=PUR
'Why don't you look for [a big land [you can live in]]' (for you to live)

Another productive pattern for forming relative clauses on obliques is headless relative clauses of location. In (44), I show relative constructions that encode the

location of the event indicated in the matrix clause, hence marked by =*ka*. In (45), it indicates procedence and is marked by =*tsui*.

(44) a. *raepetsui* *tana* *iriwa-ka*
after 1PL.EX.M come.back-REI

[tana *yuti=tupa]=ka*
1PL.EX.M stay=place=LOC
'Later we come back to [where we were staying]' (our lodging)

b. *ikian* *[rana* *yat~~i~~ri~~-~~ka* *tupa]=ka*
this 3PL.M be.together-REF place=LOC
'This (place) [where they get together]'

c. *na* *irua-ta-tsen* *t=ukua* *[ta*
2SG mate-CAU-PUR3 1SG.M=AUX 1SG.M

kamata=tupa]=ka
work-REL.LOC=LOC
'… for you to acompany me to [where I work]'

(45) a. *ya* *kauki* *ya* *mirikua* *iriwa*
3SG.F wait 3SG.F wife come.back

[ya *kamata=tupa]=tsui*
3SG.F work-REL.LOC=ABL
'He waits for his wife to return from [where she is working]'

A last point to mention with respect to relativization of location is in reference to the morpheme =*kuara*. In Chapters IV and V, this form was characterized as displaying an intermedial status between a postposition, the 'inessive' and a relational noun, 'inside of'. In relative clause formation, =*kuara* behaves as a relational noun. That is, it attaches to the head noun rather than following the relative clause, as a typical postposition would (46).

(46) *puka tua ray ya katupe-ra ya*
Turtle=AUG PRT 3SG.F show.up-PUR 3SG.F

ku*=*kuara *[ya kamata=tupa]=ka*
farm=INE 3SG.F work-REL.LOC=LOC
'The big turtle, then, she shows up in the farm where he works'

If =*kuara* in (46) were a postposition, it would appear after the relative clause, instead of the locative =*ka*. This feature separates =*kuara* from the rest of the postpositions in the language in roughly the same way that the fact that =*kuara* generally shows up attached to the head noun separates it from other relational nouns. Thus, =*kuara* does in fact have an ambivalent status.

10.3.1.5. Relativization on arguments of non-verbal predicates

This section describes the mechanisms by which one can relativize the subject argument of a non-verbal predicate constructions; parallel to S/O relativization, the nominalizer -*n* is placed at the end of the predicate. The three types of nonverbal predicates attested in relative clauses are locatives (§10.3.1.5.1), possessive (§10.3.1.5.2), and purposive (§10.3.1.5.3).

10.3.1.5.1. Relativization and locatives

Locative predicate constructions consist of a noun phrase followed by a locative postpositional phrase; to turn this into a relative clause, the nominalizer -*n* is simply attached to the postpositional phrase Example (47a) is a basic non-verbal locative construction, NP PP. Example (47b) shows a relativize clause based on (47a): to relativize the subject, 'canoe', the nominalizer -*n* is simply attached to the predicate PP 'at the port'. As in the other cases of relatives, the resulting structure is a noun phrase,

hence in natural discourse it often appears bearing noun phrase clitics, such as the augmentative (48).

(47) a. *ɨrara* *pe=ka*
canoe port=LOC
'The canoe is at the port' (ED)

b. *ɨrara* *[pe=ka-n]*
canoe port=LOC-NZR
'The canoe [that is at the port]]…' (ED)

(48) *paniu=kɨra=pupe-a* *rana* *aya=ura* *ɨwati*
scarf=DIM=INS-REP 3PL.M shoot=3M.OBJ high

wepe ***uka*** *[arɨwa=ka-n]=tu=kuara*
one house [above=LOC-NZR=AUG]=INE
'It is said that they throw him a little scarf, high, from inside the house that is on top (of another)' [from the second floor of a house]

An interesting point to highlight here is that there is a locative morpheme in KK, *=pe*, whose distribution is somehow limited (cf. §6.2). This is an old postposition which has been resconstructed for Tupí-Guaraní as **pe* 'to, for'. Although it is no longer productive as a postposition, it can be found in some particular constructions. One of those constructions is the relative clause of location.[5] In other words, in discourse, speakers employ either *=ka* or *=pe*, plus the nominalizer, to restrict a noun with respect to location. This is shown below.

[5] In other contexts, it seems that *=pe* has somehow lost some of its adposition content to indicate location, so that it can combine with the locative *=ka*. In the example below, *=pe* shows up after the relational noun *mɨtɨrɨ*, but the locative *=ka* closes the phrase.

a. *yantsui* *tsa* *umi* *wepe* ***puka****=tua*
there 1SG.F see one turtle.es=AUG
[ku=kuara *mɨtɨrɨ=****pe****-ya=ka* *yuti-n]*
farm=INE middle=LOC2=CMP=LOC stay-REL
'There I see a big turtle [that stays like in the middle of the farm'

(49) a. *[ɨpatsu=kuara=**pe**-n]* ***kukuna,***
lake=INE-LOC2-NZR cocona

*[tsɨmara=**pe**-n]* ***kukuna**=pura*
shore-LOC2-NZR cocona=FOC
'The cocona [that is in the lake] is the cocona [that is along the shore]'

b. *ikian kuarachi tsaku=pupe ra aypa-ta*
this sun heat=INS 3SG.M grow.up-CAU

*ikian mui=watsu **taɨra** [tseweka=kuara=**pe**-n]*
this snake=AUG man's.son belly=INE=LOC2-NZR
'With the heat of the sun, he makes the son of the boa [that is within the belly] grow'

In contrast to these locative relative clauses in texts, some consultants seem to prefer, at least in elicitation, the use of verbal constructions for relativization of location. In this case, the verb *yuti* 'stay' is employed. An example is given in (50). Example (50a) is the declarative construction that locates 'canoe', and (50b) offers the relativization of 'canoe'.

(50) a. *ɨrara yuti pe=ka*
canoe stay port=LOC
'The canoe stays at the port' (ED)

b. ***ɨrara** [pe=ka yuti-n] rana eruts=uy*
canoe port=LOC stay-NZR 3PL.M bring=PAS
'They brought the canoe [that stays at the port]' (ED)

Another locative construction that quite often appears relativized is the one that indicates procedence via the ablative morpheme =*tsui*; (51a-b) offers two examples.

(51) *a. raepe ikian **arkare** [rakuna ritama=tsui-n]*
then this mayor Lagunas community=ABL-NZR

uri *rana=muki*
come 3PL.M=COM
'Then this mayor [that is from Lagunas city] comes with them'

b. *ikian* *[raepe=tsui-n=kana];* *ikian* *[bolivia=tsui-n]=kana*
this there=ABL-NZR=PL.M this Bolivia-ABL-NZR=PL.M

[guatemara=tsui-n]=kana
Guatemala-ABL-NZR=PL.M
'These who are [from over there]; these [who are from Bolivia], [who are from Guatemala]…'

10.3.1.5.2. Relativization and possession

As described in Chapter VIII, among several strategies to express possession is one in which the verbalizer *-yara* attaches to a noun, like e.g., *tsupia* 'egg' (52a), deriving a verb that means 'to have eggs'. The relativization of this construction is then achieved by adding the nominalizer *-n* (52b-c).

(52) a. *atawari* *tsupia-yara*
chicken egg-HAVE
'The hen has eggs' (is ready to lay)

b. ***atawari*** *[tsupia-yara-n]* *chikari* *tiyupa*
chicken egg-HAVE-NZR look.for nest
'The hen [that has eggs] looks for a nest'

c. ***atawari*** *[tsupia-yara-n]* *tiyupa* *chikari-ari*
chicken egg-HAVE-NZR nest look.for-PROG
'The hen [that has eggs] is looking for a nest'

Additional examples of this pattern are shown in (53), with the declarative clause in (53a), the relativization of the possessor in (53b-c). In both cases the nominalized clause is interpreted as a headless relative clause. Also, note the placement of tense clitics: while in (53a) a clitic goes directly on the *yara*-derived verb, in (53c) it attaches to the possessor. This is evidence that in (53b-c), the possessor, *Juria*, is a

separate constituent rather than the head of the following relative clause; the possessor is the subject and the headless relative clause is the predicate, schematically: [[NPpossessor] [RCpossessed]].

(53) a. *juria* *t-ma* *kuriki-yara(=tsuri)*
Julia NEG money-HAVE=PAS3
'Julia doesn't (didn't) have money' (ED)

b. *juria* *[t-ma* *kuriki-yara-n]*
Julia NEG money-HAVE-NZR
'Julia is who doesn't have money' (ED)

c. *juria=tsuri* *[t-ma* *kuriki-yara-n]*
Julia=PAS3 NEG money-HAVE-NZR
'Julia was who didn't have money' (ED)

10.3.1.5.3. Relativization and purpose

Another postpositional phrase that often appears nominalized is the purposive phrase marked by *-ra*. An elicited example is given in (54), and examples from texts in (55).

(54) ***ajan*** *[tsa* *mena=ra-n]* *kak-ri* *rima=ka*
this 1SG.F husband=PUR live Lima=LOC
'This [who is going to be (lit. 'for') my husband] lives in Lima' (ED)

(55) a. *r-erutsu* *ra* ***awarindi*** *[mutsana-ra-n]*
3SG.M=bring 3SG.M cachasa remedy-PUR-NZR
'He bring his cachasa [that is for remedy]'

b. *yapay* *in-tsapuki-ta* *[ini* *-rara-ra-n]*
lets.go 1PL.IN.C-call-CAU 1PL.IN canoe-PUR-NZR
'Let's call it [what we will (lit 'is for') use as our canoe]'

c. *tsa=yauki-tsen* *[inu* *marawe-ra-n]*
1SG.F=make-PUR3 3PL.F fan-PUR-NZR
'… so that I make [something that they will fan themselves with]'
(lit. 'what is for their fan')

d. *raepe* *rana=yumi* *[tana* *uk#r-i-chiru-ra-n]*
there 3PL.M=give 1PL.EX.M sleep-cloth-PUR-NZR
'There they give (us) this blanket [for us to sleep]'
(lit. 'There they give [what is for our sleeping cloth]')

Note that only the relative clause in (55a) has an external head; (55b-d) are all headless relative clauses. In the next section, I explore the functional load of headed versus headless relative clauses.

10.3.2. Types of relative clauses and their functional correlates

In the preceding sections, we have seen various formal strategies for forming relative clause constructions. This section investigates the distinct functional loads carried by some of these different formal types. Although I have not conducted a comprehensive study to examine the distribution of relative clauses in discourse, I offer some general observations regarding the relationship between relative clauses and their heads that I hope will be worthy of further analysis in the future: first contrasting headless relative clauses with those that have external heads (§10.3.2.1), and then contrasting those in which the relative clause precedes its external head versus those in which it follows an external the head (§10.3.2.2).

10.3.2.1. Headless versus externally-headed relative clauses

We have seen so far that the language has both headed and headless relative clauses. In the database, both patterns seem about equally frequent. Consistently, headless relative clauses do not introduce new information into the discourse; on the contrary, they always make reference to already available information. Headless relative clauses are employed to anaphorically indicate which entity, of the several available in

the discourse context, is the one being talked about in a particular utterance. Recall that in KK, already introduced participants are anaphorically referred to by either short forms or clitic pronouns. Thus, in contexts that involve several third person pronouns, ambiguity might arise. Headless relative clauses can be are then employed to specify which referent out of the various posibilities is the appropriate referent. Consequently, headless relative clauses are restrictive in the sense that they narrow down the set of potential referents; but, in contrast to headed relative clauses, the head noun has already been introduced in previous utterances.

Consider the following passage from a narrative about three community members that, led by one of them, went into the forest hunting, where they found people that wanted to kill them.

(56) a. *ay* *ya=tua=nu* *tseta* *umanu-ta=tsuri=ay*
3SG.L.F 3SG.F=AUG=PL.F want die-CAU=PAS3=already
'Him, they wanted to kill already'

b. *[inu* *erutsu-**tara**]=pura=tua=nan*
3PL.F bring-PUR1=FOC=AUG=only

tua-n=nu *umanu-ta=tsuri=ay*
be.big-NZR=PL.F die-CAU=PAS3=already
'Only [(the one) who brought them (the leader)], these ones killed'

c. *mukuika=nan* *ya=tu=chasu=nu*
two=only 3SG.F=AUG=AFF=PL.F
'only two of them…'

d. *tapɨa=tua=nu* *umanu-t=ay=tsuri*
savage=AUG=PL.F die-CAU=3SG.L.F=PAS3

iyan *mukuika-n=chasu=nu* *yapana*
and two-NZR=AFF=PL.F run
'The savages killed him, but two escaped'

In (56a) the speaker mentions 'him', which in the discourse context could refer to any of the three men that went hunting; then in (56b), he specifies which one among the three is the correct referent for 'him' using a nominalization, or what I am calling a relative clause. It turns out that only the man that was the leader of the group —'(the one) who brought them'— was killed. Then we learn in (56c-d) that the other two managed to escape.

In the previous section we saw that headless relativization can apply to all three core arguments of a clause, A, S, and O, and also to locations. In what follows I show additional examples of headless relative clauses, starting with relativization of the A argument in (57), of the S argument argument in (58), and of the O argument in (59).

(57) a. ah *[na* *chikuarata-**tara**]* *yapana*
2SG follow-REL.A run
'Ah, so [(the one) who chases you] runs'

b. *[inu* *erutsu-**tara**]=pura=tua* *[umanu-ari utsu-n]=tua*
3PL.F bring-REL.A=FOC=AUG die-PROG AUX-NZR=AUG
'[(The one) who takes them] is [(the one) who is going to die]'

(58) a. *[uwata-tara uri-n]* *[tsamiria-ka* *kakiri-n]*
walk-PUR1 come-NZR Samiria=LOC live-NZR
'[(The one) who comes to walk around here] is [(The one) who lives in the Samiria (River)]'

b. *[yamachi-]n=chasu* *iriwa-uri,*
be.hungry-NZR=AFF come.back-come
'[(The one) who is hungry] comes back'

(59) *[kaku-pa* *utsu* *upuri-n]* *ajan=tua=nu*
creek-CPL go fall-NZR this=AUG=PL.F

aya=tsuri *rejon=tua=pu*
shoot=PAS3 spear=AUG=INS
'[(The one) who fell into the creek] they shot with a spear'

Another function of headless relative clauses is to add emphasis to the referent of the relative clause. To be more precise, in addition to indicating which is the appropriate referent among several candidates, headless relative clauses often also add emphasis upon the 'correct' argument. This is especially true when the headless relative clause appears fronted in the sentence. This means that, if the relative clause is the object argument, the constituent order is the non-canonical (but well-attested) OSV. Consider the examples in (60), which is a sequence from a text.

(60) a. S V O

naniwa tapɨa=tua mɨta ***kun apu*** *[puna erutsu-tara]=tu*
like.this savage=AUG lie DEF chief rifle bring-REL.A=AUG
'This way the savage deceives the leader [that carries the shotgun]'

b. O S V

[puna erutsu-tara]=tu ya=mɨta
Rifle bring-REL.A=AUG 3SG.F=lie
'[(The one) who carries the rifle] he deceives'

While the relative clause in (60a) is postnominal, the one in (60b) is headless. In both examples the NP that contains the relative clause is the object of the matrix clause. Note that in (60a), the object occupies its canonical position (SVO), whereas in (60b) the NP object is fronted. In terms of content, note that (60b) basically repeats the propositional meaning of (60a). The difference, however, is with respect to information structure. While (60a) is a pragmatically unmarked utterance, in (60b), there is clear emphasis upon '(the one) who carries the rifle'. In the discourse context, this construction is contrastive, and could be paraphrased as : « it is the one with the rifle that he deceives, not the others ».

Additional examples that illustrate this function are given in (61). Note that all of them display OSV order. As expected, headless relative clauses combine with morphology dedicated to express focus, such as *=pura* (as in (61a)) and the restrictive marker *=nan* (as in 61b). For a detailed discussion of focus constructions, see Chapter XI (§11.2).

(61) a. *[tana yat-ma]-n=pura uni erutsu.* OSV
1PL sow-NZR-FOC water bring
'[What we have sowed/our sowing], the water takes away'

b. *[ts=ikua]-n=chasu=nan tsa=-m-ntsara-yara* OSV
1SG.F=know-NZR=AFF=only 1SG.F=story-MAKE

ya=k-ra=nu=tsui
3SG.F=DIM=PL.F-DAT
'Only [what I know] I tell to the little ones'

However, many instances of headless relative clauses appear in the canonical constituent orders, as well. In the examples below, the matrix clause in which the relativized clause appears displays the order SVO. In these cases, there is no apparent emphasis on any particular argument. These specific utterances happen to occur towards the end of their corresponding narratives, seeming to function as wrap-up sentences.

(62) a. *ria ta=-m-ntsara-ra [ra mama=pura*
like.this 1SG.M=story-VZR 3SG.M mother=FOC

ra umanu-ta-n]=pura
3SG.M die-CAU-NZR=FOC
'Like this I talk about [(the one) who killed his mother]'

b. *raepetsui in=yapichika [ikua-n=pura]*
after 1PL.IN.C=catch know-NZR=FOC
'After that we just pick up [(the ones) that we know]'

c. *[marawe tseta-tara=nu] piyata ya=ukua tsa=tsui*
fan want-REL.A=PL.F ask 3SG.F=AUX 1SG.F=DAT
'[Who wants a fan] just asks me' (so that I can make one for him/her)

Finally, a few headless relative clauses in the corpus could be characterized as afterthoughts. In this role, as well, they assume the canonial, restrictive function: to specify the referent of a pronominal element for which competing candidates exist. In (63), the relative clause further specifies the demonstrative pronoun *kuin* 'this' which is syntactically encoded as the subject of the previous utterance.

(63) a. (…) *inu umanu-ta-tsen kuin-uri; [rejun ɨrɨrɨta-**tara**]*
3PL.F die-CAU-PUR3 this-come spear take-REL.A
'…so they come to kill this (one); (the one) who takes the spear'

10.3.2.2. Postnominal versus prenominal relative clauses

This section examines the discourse distribution of postnominal and prenominal relative clauses, that is relative clauses that follow and precede their head nouns, respectively. As described in Chapter V, regarding the noun phrase, modifiers like demonstratives, numerals, and other nouns precede the noun they modify. Relative clauses, however, can either precede or follow the head noun. In this section we will see that the position of the relative clause with respect to the head noun correlates with the semantic relationship between the two.

In elicitation, prenominal and postnominal relative clauses seem to be semantically equivalent, that is, speakers give both patterns and most are aware of no apparent semantic consequences. Some consultants, however, suggest that the first element may be contrastive (64).

(64) a. *[ipurkari-n]* ***kunumi*** *umanu-ta* *mui=uy*
hunt-NZR young.man die-CAU snake-PAS1
'The young boy [who is a hunter] killed the snake'
(i.e., not the one who is a fisherman)

b. ***kunumi*** *[ipurkari-n]* *umanu-ta* *mui=uy*
young.man hunt-NZR die-CAU snake-PAS1
'The young boy [who is a hunter] killed the snake' (i.e., not the older boy)

On the basis of these hints provided by some speakers, it is possible to hypothesize that perhaps in sequences of RC-N and N-RC, the preceding element modifies the second. Cross-linguistically, the primary function of relative clauses is to restrict the set of potential referents of the head noun; crucially, the propositional content of restrictive relative clauses is pressuposed, that is, known and accessible to the hearer. However, there are also non-restrictive relative clauses, in which the event or state encoded in the relative clause is "typically not presupposed, but is rather asserted as new information" (Givón 2001:179). Non-restrictive relative clauses are also refered to as *parenthetical assertions* (which just happen to use the same grammar as relative clauses). Importantly, not only semantic but also formal differences seem to exist between the two constructions.

In the following sections, I explore the formal features and the (non-) restrictiveness function of prenominal and postnominal RCs in KK by looking for patterns of distribution in the connected speech in my text database. Preliminary results show that both postnominal and prenominal relative clauses partially can play a role in restrictiveness: relative clauses that precede the head noun can have either restrictive function or non-restrictive function, whereas relative clauses that follow the head noun

are only restrictive. Prenominal relative clauses seem to be more tighly bound syntactically to their heads, as compared to postnominal relative clauses. The syntactic tightness of the relative clause and its head noun can be evaluated by looking at whether interceding material can be placed between the two, including clitics for tense, plural and focus, as well as temporal adverbials and pauses. Not all of these patterns are attested in the text database; if a pattern has been attested only in elicitation, this is explicitly indicated (ED is added immediately following the translation.) Because a preceding noun can modify a head noun within a noun phrase, in Table 10.2 there is a column dedicated to the sequence N-N, to compare it with relative clauses —i.e., clausal nominalizations — that precede the head (RC-N) and follow it (N-RC).

Table 10.2: Intervening material between head noun and RC

	N-N	N-RC	RC-N
Tense clitics	No	No	Yes
AUX	No	No	Yes
Plural	No	No	?
Focus	No	No	?
Temporal adverbs	No	Yes	No

As indicated in Table 10.2, tense clitics do not intervene in the sequence N-RC (illustrated in 66a-c), but it is possible to interpose a tense clitic between the RC and a following head N (65a-b).

(65) RC-N=Tense

a. *[tsa=m-m-ra karuta-tara] yawara=**tsuri** inu umant-uy*
1SG.F=son bite-REL.A dog=PAS3 3PL.F kill=PAS1
'The dog [that bit my son (long ago)] they killed (recently)' (ED)

b. *[tsa=m-m-ra karuta-tara]=**tsuri** yawara inu umant-uy*
1SG.F=son bite-REL.A=PAS3 dog 3PL.F kill=PAS1
'The dog [that bit my son (long ago)] they killed (recently)' (ED)

(66) N-RC

a. *yawara* *[tsa m-im-ra* *karuta-tara]=**tsuri*** *inu* *uman=uy*
dog 1SG.F=son bite-REL.A=PAS3 3PL.F kill=PAS1
'The dog [that bit my son (long ago)] they killed (recently)' (ED)

b. **yawara=**tsuri*** *[tsa m-im-ra* *karuta-tara]* *inu* *uman=uy*
dog=PAS3 1SG.F=son bite-REL.A 3PL.F kill=PAS1

c. ?*inu* *umanuta* *yawar=**uy*** *[tsa m-im-ra* *karuta-tara]=tsuri*
3PL.F kill dog=PAS1 1SG.F=son bite-REL.A=PAS3
'They (recently) killed the dog [that bit my son (long ago)]'(ED)

The examples in (65-66) demonstrate that the relative clause can have its own tense frame. If the order is RC-N, as in (65), then tense attaches to the head noun (65a) or to the right edge of the RC (65b), between the RC and N. If the order is N-RC, as in (66), the tense clitic can attach to the end of the RC (66a), but the tense clitic does not appear between N and RC (66b); that is, in this pattern the head noun cannot carry the tense clitic. However, note that in (66c), where the NP occurs in the canonical position for O, the head noun carries the tense clitic and the consultant does not find this example as ill formed as (66b). The question mark in (66c) means "I can understand it, but I wouldn't say it." What happens is this: the word order here is SVO, which means the relative clause occurs at the end of the clause. Tense markers in this position are possible if the noun carrying the tense clitic and the following relative clause do not constitute a single unit. In other words, the tense marker breaks this sequence into two noun phrases, a noun and a headless relative clause, which are now in an appositive relationship. For instance, the consultants add that (66c) would be better if a small pause is added after *yawar=uy.*

Consider these examples from texts, which perhaps demonstrate this phenomenon more clearly:

(67) a. *ya* *purara* *yuwama=chasu=**utsu*** *[kamata-ri-n]*
3SG.F find daughter.law=AFF=AND work-PROG-NZR
'She goes to find her poor daughter in law when she is working'

b. *r=yatukupe* *ikian=**tsuriay,*** *[r=aya-n]* *arawata*
3SG.M=carry this=PAS3 3SG.M=catch-NZR sp.monkey
'He carried this, the monkey [that he had shot]'

In (67a) the relative clause consists of the verb *kamata* 'work' which is marked by the progressive *-ri* and the nominalizer *-n*. However, the andative auxiliary *utsu* appears after 'daughter in law', not after 'working' as expected if the nominalized structure *kamatarin* would be part of the NP object. As a result, the relative clause is interpreted not as modifying 'daughter in law', the object of the verb 'find', but rather as adverbial information about the subject, 'when she is working'. The consultant explains that if the auxiliary were to show up after *kamatarin*, then the translation would be: 'the poor daughter that is working'. It is worth pointing out that this temporal interpretation becomes available only if the subordinate verb is marked by the progressive. In (108b) we have a parallel situation. Here the tense marker *=tsuri* sets the boundary of the object.

As described in Chapter V, plural and focus markers belong to the set of noun phrase clitics. Considering that the head noun together with the RC constitutes a noun phrase, we expect plural and focus to show up at the right edge of the construction, whether this is RC-N or N-RC. In (68) notice that the RC 'that fell down' follows its head, 'house'; accordingly, the focus marker attaches after the nominalized verb. In

addition, the plural marker =*kana* occurs at the end of the complex NP, but it is clear that its scope includes 'house'.

(68) N-R C
a. *uka* *[uwari-n]=**pura=kana*** *tseniapupe-ra-pa*
house fall-NZR=FOC=PL.M knee-VBLZ-CPL
'The houses that fell down [with the earthquake] are kind of kneeling'

The focus markers and the plural markers can occur twice within complex noun phrases. That is, they can attach to both the head noun and the RC. Unfortunately, in the database, this only occurs in postnominal RCs (69a-c); at this time, I cannot determine whether or not this is possible in prenominal RCs.

(69) a. *inu=**pura*** *[#ts#ka-ka]-n=**pura=nu*** *tsapuki*
3PL.F= FOC be.scared-REC-NZR=FOC=PL call
'They [who are scared/the scared ones] call'

b. *#k#ratsen**=pura=nu*** *[uka-ka* *yuti-n]=**pura=nu***
child=FOC=PL.F house-LOC stay-NZR=FOC=PL.F

ya=tu *tsapu-pu-ki*
3F=AUG call-RED-call
'To the children [who stay in the house], he calls and calls'

c. *penu* *yawachima-ka-t=utsu,* *uyarika*
1PL.F arrive-REI-CAU-FUT again

*awa=**pura*** ***[** *ukuata-ri-n]=**pura=nu***
person=FOC pass-PROG-NZR=FOC=PL
'We will reach again the people [who are crossing (the street)]'

In addition to the fact that the heads and the RCs in (69) are independently marked by focus and plural, evidence from prosody and information structure suggest that in constructions like (69a-c), the head and the RC are each behaving as independent syntactic units (Vallejos 2009, see also Chapter XI). At the same time, they function

together as either the subject or object of the clause. Thus, a better interpretation of these examples is that they consist of two NPs in an appositive relationship. These appositive NPs have the same referent, which in the communicative context happens to be in focus.

The final element listed in Table 10.2 is temporal adverbs. In (70a) I show that it is possible to place an adverb between N-RC. Although speakers find an adverbial between RC-N to be understandable, it is considered odd (70b). That is, when the RC precedes its head, adverbs must precede the RC (70c).

(70) N-RC

a. *yawara* ***[ikuachi*** *yapana-n]* *karuta* *tsa* *m-m-ra=uy*
dog yesterday run-NZR bite 1SG.F woman.son=PAS1
'The dog [that yesterday escaped] bit my son' (ED)

RC-N

b. *?[yapana-n* ***ikuachi]*** *yawara* *karuta* *tsa* *m-m-ra=uy*
run-NZR yesterday dog bite 1SG.F woman.son=PAS1
'The dog [that yesterday escaped] bit my son' (ED)

RC-N

c. ***[ikuachi*** *yapana-n]* *yawara* *karuta* *tsa* *m-m-ra=uy*
yesterday run-NZR dog bite 1SG.F woman.son=PAS1
'The dog [that yesterday escaped] bit my son'(ED)

The distribution of adverbs in (70a-c) seems to suggest that RC-N is a syntactically tighter unit than N-RC. However, it is also possible to argue that these restrictions in the placement of adverbs are due to the verbal-final character of the embedded clause. In simple declarative sentences, adverbials show up either at the beginning or the end of the clause. Thus, if the clause ends in a verb, there is no problem for an adverbial to occur after the verb. Therefore, the problem of having an adverb between the RC and the N need not have to do with the tightness of the bond

between the RC and the N, but rather with the requirement for the verb to be the final element in subordinate clauses.

Overall, it is possible to say that the sequence RC-N is syntactically less tight than the sequence N-RC. Tense clitics and auxiliaries can occur between RC and N, but they cannot occur between N and RC. Plural and focus markers must occur once, at the end of the complex NP in order for it to be interpreted as a unit. If plural and/or focus occur on the noun in the order N-RC, the sequence is interpreted as appositive NPs, similar to what happens with tense. Since the database does not contain any examples of prenominal RCs with focus and plural in both the head and the RC, this question must be further explored in the future.

10.4. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses, by definition, do not fulfill a core semantic or grammatical role in a matrix clause. Adverbial clauses modify an associated main clause, and because of their adjunct status, they can be omitted.

To form adverbial clauses, KK employs a set of adverbial subordinators that indicate a specific semantic relationship between main and adverbial clause. The set of clausal subordinators include purposives (-*mira*, -*tara*, -*tsen*), reason (-*ikua*), cause (-*rikua*), temporals (-*npu* 'after', -*puka* 'when/while/since', -*anan* 'before'), and the conditional (-*ra*/*ri*). Based on their syntactic distribution, these morphemes can be organized into two subsets. The first subset, which includes the three purpose markers and the conditional marker, always attach to the subordinated verb, or to an auxilary, if one occurs. The second subset, which consists of the cause marker and the temporal

markers, always attaches to the last element in the adverbial clause, whether this is a verb (in intransitive clauses), a noun (if the clause includes an object), or any other element.

In KK, adverbial clauses show different degrees of integration with the main clause. With the exception of purpose clauses, KK adverbial clauses are not embedded in the same sense as complement clauses and relative clauses. As will be discussed in §10.4.1, the language has three purpose clauses, two of which obligatorily share an argument with the main clause; but the co-reference relations are established in a typologically rare fashion. Table 10.3 summarizes the defining features of adverbial clauses in KK.

Table 10.3: Adverbial clauses and their degree of integration with the main clause

FUNCTION	FORM	SHARED ARGUMENT	POSITION WITH RESPECT TO MATRIX CLAUSE
Purpose	V-*tara*	A	Postposed
Purpose	V-*mira*	O	Postposed
Purpose	V-*tsen*	no	Pre- & postposed
Conditional	V/AUX-*ra*	no	Pre- & postposed
Cause	clause-*ikua*	no	Pre- & postposed
Temporal 'after'	clause-*npu*	no	Pre- & postposed
Temporal 'when'	clause-*puka*	no	Pre- & postposed
Temporal 'while'	V-*ri* AUX-*n*	no	Pre- & postposed
Temporal 'before'	*anan* clause-*n*	no	Mostly preposed

KK adverbial clauses can occur either before or after their matrix clause. However, specific semantic types of adverbial clauses tend to either precede or follow the main clause. Conditional and causal/reason clauses are almost always preposed, while purpose are generally postposed. The distribution of temporal clauses is less categorical. They are mostly preposed, but a number of instances of postposed temporal clauses are also attested. In the following sections, each type of adverbial clause is presented in more detail.

10.4.1. Purpose clauses

Semantically, purpose clauses provide reasons, accounts, or explanations for the occurrence of the event described in the matrix clause. As indicated in Table 10.3, three types of adverbial clause constructions for expressing purpose have been attested in KK. Each type bears its own morphological marker *(-tara, -mira, -tsen*) which attaches to the subordinate verb, and each requires different co-reference conditions between one argument of the matrix clause and one of the purpose clause. While multiple purpose constructions are well documented across languages, some languages have different syntax for purpose clauses to indicate distinctions such as whether or not the adverbial clause and the main clause share any arguments (e.g., same subject versus different subject, cf. Thompsom *et al* 2007) or whether the two events are simultaneous, consecutive, or temporally distant (e.g., visual versus non-visual as in Tariana, cf. Aikhenvald 2003:395), among others.

However, purpose constructions in KK do not explicitly indicate temporal distance between the events, and only indirectly which arguments are shared with the

main clause. From a typological point of view, KK purpose clause constructions constitute a rare phenomenon: the main clause absolutive argument (S of an intransitive clause and O of a transitive clause), controls co-reference with a missing argument in the purpose clause —i.e., is the "pivot." The choice of purpose clause marker thus varies only depending on which argument in the subordinate clause is coreferential with the matrix clause absolutive: specifically, in purpose clauses marked by *-tara*, the obligatorily absent nominative (S/A) argument, whereas in those marked by *-mira*, the absolutive (O) is obligatorily absent. In contrast to *-mira* and *-tara*, *-tsen* occurs when all the arguments of the purpose clause are expressed, either as an NP or a pronoun, and as such no co-reference is required with any main clause arguments. While the choice between *-tara* and *-mira* is automatically conditioned by the semantics of reference, the choice between *-mira/-tara* and *-tsen* is pragmatically driven. In the following, each subtype of purpose clause is discussed in detail in its own section.

10.4.1.1. *-tara* clauses

Purpose clauses marked by *-tara* are structurally quite similar to A-relative clauses (see §10.3.1.3). Both A-relatives and *tara*-purpose clauses, like (71a), cannot include the A argument. Importantly, *-tara* attaches to bare verbs; that is, the verbs do not receive any other verbal inflectional or derivational morphology, except for the suffix *-ta* that generates transitive verbs from nouns (see §7.3.2.1). Also similar to headed A-relatives, in *tara*-purpose clauses the verb occurs in final position and the morpheme *-tara* attaches to it. Yet they appear in rather different syntactic slots within

the clause: headed A-relatives follow a head noun (71b), whereas *tara*-purpose clauses simply appear sentence-finally (71a), outside of the verb phrase.

(71) a. *apu* *uri=uy* *[arutsu* *yumi-**tara**]*
chief come=PST rice give-PUR
'The chief came [to give rice]' (ED)

b. *apu* *[arutsu* *yumi-**tara**]* *uri=uy*
chief rice give-REL.A come=PST
'The chief [that gives rice] came' (ED)

Beyond conveying purpose, the subordinator -*tara* indicates that the A/S argument is missing in the adverbial clause, with its referent being either the S or the O argument of the main clause. In other words, the Absolutive argument of the main clause controls the ellipsis of the Nominative argument in the adverbial clause. This is illustrated with elicited in examples in (72) and (73).

(72) a. S_i V [$Ø_{i\text{-}S}$ V-*tara*]
tsumi *uri=uy* *[* *yatsuka-**tara**]*
shaman come take.bath-PUR1
'The shaman came [to take a bath]' (ED)

b. S_i V [O $Ø_{i\text{-}A}$ V-*tara*]
tsumi *uri=uy* *[nai* *mutsanaka-**tara**]*
shaman come =PAS1 g.mother cure-PUR1
'The shaman came [to cure grandmother]' (ED)
*The shaman came for grandmother to cure him.

Both examples in (72) have an intransitive main clause, and in both the S of the main clause, 'shaman' controls referentiality of the missing argument of the adverbial clause. In (72a), the purpose clause is intransitive, hence co-reference is with the missing S argument; in (72b), the purpose clause is transitive, and so co-reference is with the missing A argument.

Both examples in (73) have transitive matrix clauses, and here it is the O argument in the main clause that controls reference of the missing argument in the adverbial clauses, with the intransitive S in (73a) and with the transitive A in (73b).

(73) a. A V O_i [S_i V]
*rana erutsu ta tai=ra [Ø yatsuka]-**tara***
3PL.M bring 1SG.M son take.bath-PUR
'They bring my son [in order (for him) to take a bath]' (ED)
*They bring my son so that he helps them/ they all take a bath.

b. A V O_i [O A_i V]
*rana erura tsumi [nai Ø mutsanaka-**tara]***
3PL.M bring shaman g.mother cure-PUR1
'They bring the shaman [in order (for him) to cure grandmother]' (ED)
*They bring the shaman so that they cure grandmother.

In what follows I offer examples from texts that further illustrate the patterns described above. All three examples in (74) demonstrate that the S of the intransitive main clause controls co-reference with the missing S in and intransitive purpose clause (74a) and with the O of a transitive purpose clause (74b-c).

(74) a. S_i V S_i V-*tara*
rikua tsamiria=tsui tana iriwa [Ø umanu-tara
because Samiria-ABL 1PL.EX.M come.back die-PUR1
'That's why we come back from Samiria River [to die (here)]'

b. S_i
raepe kuin=pura upi=nan, ra=tu=kana
then that=FOC all=only 3SG.M=AUG=PL.M

V O A_i V-*tara*
warika-pa raepe [kai=ma Ø eyu-tara]
go.up-CPL there guava eat-PUR1
'Then all of them, they go up there [to eat guava]'

c. S_i	V		O	A_i	V-*tara*
ra	*katupe*	*ɨpɨtsa*	*[ta*	*Ø*	*irua-ta-tara]*
3SG.M	show.up	night	1SG.M		buddy-CAU-PUR1

'She shows up at night [to accompany me]'

The two examples (75) have transitive main clauses, and so the O of the main clause controls co-reference with the S of the intransitive purpose clause (75a) and A in the transitive purpose clause (75b).

(75) a.

		A
ene-tsenu	*animaru=pura,*	*animaru=pura=nu*
2SG.L-hear	animal=FOC	animal=FOC=PL.F

V	O_i	S_i	V-*tara*
tseta	*yapichika=ene*	*[Ø*	*yaparachi-tara]*
want	catch=2SG.O		dance-PUR1

'Listen to the animals; the animals want to catch you [(for you) to dance]'

b.

	A	V	O_i		
raepetsui	*rana*	*yumunu*	*tana*	*[ikian*	*ɨmɨnan*
after	3PL.M	send	1PL.EX.M	this	long.ago

	O	A_i	V-tara
rana	*ritama=pura*	*Ø*	*umi-tara]*
3PL.M	community=FOC		see-PUR1

'After that they send us [to see their old town]'

10.4.1.2. -*mira* clauses

Similarly to -*tara*, -*mira* attaches to bare verbs; that is, *mira*-marked verbs do not receive any other morphology, except the derivational -*ta* (77a-2, 77a-c). Purpose clauses formed with the morpheme -*mira* also obligatorily are missing an argument, in this case the transitive O, which is understood as being coreferential with the main clause absolutive. The elicited examples in (76) and (77) illustrate this; to facilitate comparison, they are parallel to examples (72) and (73), respectively.

(76) a. *S_i V S_i V-*mira*
tsumi *uri=uy* *[Ø* *yatsuka-**mira]***
shaman come take.bath-PUR2

b. S_i V O_i A V-*mira*
tsumi *uri=uy* *[Ø* *nai* *mutsanaka-**mira]***
shaman come =PAS1 g.mother cure-PUR1
'The shaman$_i$ came for grandmother to cure (him$_i$).'
*The shaman came to cure grandmother'

In (76), the main clauses are intransitive, and so the S controls co-reference between the main clause and the missing argument of the purpose clause. However, as seen in (76a), an intransitive purpose clause cannot receive the morpheme *-mira*. With the transitive purpose clause in (76b), the single expressed arugment, 'grandmother', is understood as the A argument (the one who cures), whereas the main clause S, 'shaman' is coreferential with the missing argument, the O of 'cure'.

Both examples in (77) give transitive matrix clauses, so the controller of co-reference will be the O. Again, the intransitive clause cannot bear *-mira* (77a); when consultants were asked to fix whatever was wrong with (77a), they gave me the pattern presented in (77a-2). In this example, (77a-2), the consultants derived a transitive verb from 'take a bath' by adding the causative *-ta*. So we find the expected pattern, in which the main clause O controls coreferentiality with the missing O of the purpose clause.[6]

[6] One speaker provided the example below, which represents the only example of a pattern not found in the texts: the purpose clause is missing both A and O arguments, and the main clause A and O are interpreted as coreferential with, respectively, the missing A and O of the purpose clause (cf. 79c).

a. A_i V O_j [O_j A_i V-*mira*]
rana *erutsu* *ta* *ta~ra* *[Ø* *Ø* *yatsuka-ta-**mira]***
3PL.M bring 1SG.M son take.bath-PUR2
'They bring my son to make him take/give him a bath'

(77) a. *A V O_i S_i V-*mira*
rana *erutsu* *ta* *tai~~r~~a* *[Ø* *yatsuka-mira]*
3PL.M bring 1SG.M son take.bath-PUR
'They bring my son in order for him to take a bath'

a-2. A V O_i O_i A V-*mira*
rana *erutsu* *ta* *tai~~r~~a* *[Ø* *rana* *yatsuka-ta-mira]*
3PL.M bring 1SG.M son 3PL.M take.bath-PUR
'They bring my son to make him take/give him a bath'
*They bring my son so that he helps them/ they all take a bath.

b. A V O_i [O_i A V-*mira*]
rana *erura* *tsumi* *[Ø* *nai* *mutsanaka-**mira]***
3PL.M bring shaman g.mother cure-PUR2
'They bring the shaman$_i$ for grandmother to cure (him)$_i$' (ED)
*They bring the shaman $_i$ in order for him$_i$ to cure grandmother.
*They$_i$ bring the shaman so that they $_i$ cure grandmother.

Finally, example (77b), which was elicited on the basis of (73b), confirms that the gapped argument in the adverbial clause is the O; this is coreferential with the O argument in the main clause, and any other interpretation is not allowed.

For comparison purposes, Table 10.4 it presents the coreferential relations in both *tara*-clauses and *mira*-clauses.

Table 10.4: Co-reference control in purpose clauses

MATRIX CLAUSE CONTROLLER OF CO-REFERENCE	*-tara* CLAUSE TARGET OF CO-REFERENCE	*-mira* CLAUSE TARGET OF CO-REFERENCE
S	S	*
S	A	O
O	S	*
O	A	O

For completeness, examples (78a-c) give text examples with instransitive main clauses and transitive *-mira* purpose clauses. In all three examples, the O argument of the purpose clause is coreferential with the S of the main clause.

(78) a. S_i V
tsawa=nu *yayti* *uchima*
spirit=PL.F also go.out

O_i A V-*mira*
[Ø *ya=irua=nu* *tsenu-**mira**]*
3SG.F=brother=PL.F hear-PUR2
'The souls$_i$ of the people also go out [to be heard by their relatives]'
(lit. 'for their relatives to hear Ø$_i$')

b. S_i V
ya *irua-ya=wa* *ya* *katupe*
3SG.F brother-CMP-GER 3SG.F show.up

[O_i A V-*mira*]
[Ø *ya=umi-**mira**]*
3SG.F-see-PUR2
'He (the spirit) appears as if he were his brother [in order for him (the brother) to see/pay attention to (him, the spirit)$_i$]'

c. S_i V [O_i A
aykua-n *ikaku* *[Ø* *ti=ma* *awa* *timi-n=nu*
be.sick-NZR diet NEG person separate-NZR=PL.F

V-*mira*]
*umi-**mira**]*
see-PUR2
'The sick one$_i$ goes on a diet (which includes hiding) so that strangers don't see (him$_i$)'

The examples in (79) have transitive clauses in both main and subordinate clause, so the O argument in the main clause is coreferential with the O argument in the purpose clause. For instance, in (79a) the object of main clause 'give' is 'all kinds of things', which in turn is the unexpressed object of the subordinate verb 'bring'. Similar patterns can be seen in (79b-c).

(79) a. A O_i
aytsemeka *rana* *yumi* *upi* *mari=pura* *tana=tsui*
truth 3PL.M give all thing=FOC 1PL.M-DAT

[O_i A V-*mira*]
*[Ø tana erutsu-**mira** ikian tana kak#ri-tupa-ra-n]*
1PL.M bring-PUR2 this 1PL.M live-REL.LOC-PUR-NZR
'For real they give us all kinds of things$_i$ [for us to take Ø$_i$ to where we live]'

b.

A	V	O_i
ikun	*tsa #m#ntsara-ra*	*ipirawira*
today	1SG.F story-VZR	dolphin

#m#ntsar=utsu
story=FUT1

[O_i A V-*mira*]
*[Ø na=tsenu-**mira**]*
2SG=hear-PUR2
'Today I'm going to talk about the story$_i$ of the dolphin [for you to hear Ø$_i$]'

c.

A	V	O_i	[O_i	A	V-*mira*]
#p#tsa	*ta*	*tsuwa*	*n=uri*	*[*	*ta*	*erutsu-mira]*
night	1SG.M	catch	2SG=AUX		1SG.M	bring-PUR2

'At night I'll pick you up to take (you) (there)'

I would like to call attention to one element in example (79c). In elicitation, one consultant was able to omit both A and O in the adverbial clause when exactly the same A and O occur in the matrix clause (cf. fn. 6). This is the exact scenario that we have in (79c), in which the matrix clause A is 'I' and the O is 'you', and the same two participants have the same two roles in the purpose clause. Note, however, that only the object is omitted in the purpose clause, whereas the A argument is explicitly stated. That is, in the database for this study, both arguments in the adverbial clause are never omitted together.

In the next section, we shift from purpose clauses with co-reference restrictions to purpose clauses with no co-reference at all between arguments of the main clause and the purpose clause.

10.4.1.3. *-tsen* clauses

As is typical of adverbial clauses, in KK there is no requirement for any arguments of purpose clauses marked with *-tsen* to share any arguments with the main clause; in other words, the main clause and the purpose clause may or may not share arguments. As might be expected, no argument is missing in the *-tsen* adverbial clause; they are always explicitly stated, whether or not co-reference occurs. The arguments in the main clause are expressed by either pronominals or full NPs, and if an argument is shared, in the purpose clause it is generally indicated by an anaphoric pronoun, but not by zero.

Another important feature that separates *tsen*-clauses from *-tara*/*mira* clauses is to word order. Recall that *-tara*/*mira* clauses were verb final. On the contrary, *tsen*-clauses exhibit SVO order. That is, like in the default order for main clauses, the object follows the verb marked by *-tsen*, schematically: [S V-*tsen* O (OBL)].

Examples provided in (80) involve intransitive verbs in the purpose clause. Note that in both examples, there is a proclitic pronoun attached to the subordinate verb to indicate the subject. In (80a-b), note that a postpositional phrase follows the *tsen*-marked verb.

(80) a. *ra* *t#k#a* *ikian=tsuriay* *arawata*
3SG.M tie this=PAS3 monkey

*[ra=ichima-**tsen*** *ra=pe=ka]*
3SG.M=get.out-PUR3 3SG.M=way=LOC
'He tied this monkey (to his back) [(in order] for him to get out (from the deep jungle) to his path'

b. *uri-ari* *ikian* *rama* *mai=kana* *ikia-ka*
come-PROG this other spirit=PL.M here=LOC

*[epe kumitsa-ka-**tsen** rana=muki]*
2PL say-REC-PUR3 3PL.M=COM
'These other mestizos are coming here [for you to talk with them]'

c. *ay kuashi ɨwati-n ra uyepe tuyuka=ri*
already sun get.up-NZR 3SG.M go.down ground=DIF

*tupapenan [r=utsu-ka-**tsen**]*
again 3SG.M=go-REI-PUR3
'When the sun is already up, he again goes down to the ground [for him to keep going'

Examples in (81) demonstrate *tsen*-constructions with transitive verbs. Here, both the subject and the object are explicitly indicated. For example, in (81a), the subject, *ta* 'first person' precedes the *tsen*-verb, whereas the object *ene* 'second person' follows it. Similar patterns are presented in (81b) and (81c).

(81) a. *ta erutsu ene raepe [ta mutsanaka-**tsen** ene]*
1SG.M bring 2SG.L there 1SG.M cure-PUR3 2SG.L
'I take you there [for me to cure you]'

b. *yankata na yauki=ay [tsa yauki-**tsen**=ay*
put 2SG make=3F.OBJ 1SG.F make-PUR3=3F.OBJ

era-pa-ka na uka=kɨra-ya]
be.good-CPL-REI 2SG house DIM=CMP
'Put (show me) what you make [so that I can do it well like your little house]'

c. *ikia=ura wayna [ra yupuni-ta-**tsen**=ura]*
this=3M.OBJ woman 3SG.M start-CAU-PUR3=3M.OBJ

ɨyatira ra=chikari itimu
first 3SG.M=look.for liana
'This one, this woman, she first looks for liana [for her to start it (basket)]'

In (82) I provide an example in which the postpositional phrase of purpose, 'for my house' is nominalized by means of *-n* to operate as the object of the *tsen*-verb 'make'.

(82) *ta* *ikia=tsui* *yumunu* *kuriki=chasu* *[ta=mirikua*
1SG.M here=ABL send money=AFF 1SG.M=wife

*yauki-**tsen*** *t-uka-**ra**-n]*
make-PUR3 1SG.M=house-PUR-NZR
'From here I send money [for my wife to make what will be my house]'

Another interesting fact with respect to *tsen*-clauses is that they can occur in sequence. However, in these contexts, no syntactic evidence for subordination of one *tsen*-clause to another has been found. This is illustrated in (83).

(83) a. *tana* *kumitsa* *ikian* *ikua-ta-wara=tsui* *[...]*
1PL.EX.M say this know-CAU-NMZR=DAT

*[r=utsu-**tsen*** *yurimaka]* *[ra=kumitsa-**tsen*** *mai=kana=muki]*
3SG.M=go-PUR3 Yurimaguas 3SG.M=say-PUR3 spirit=PL.M=COM
'We talked to this teacher [for him to go to Yurimaguas city] [for him to talk to the mestizos]'

b. *era=ay* *tsen* *[t=erutsu-**tsen**=ura]*
be.good=3F.OBJ be.sweet 1SG.M=bring-PUR3=3M.OBJ

[ta *yauki-**tsen*** *mutsana]*
this 1SG.M make-PUR3 remedy
'This is sweet and good [for me to take it] [for me to make remedy]'

10.4.1.4. Nominalized purpose clauses

The purpose clauses described above often appear in nominalized constructions. Consider the following examples:

(84) a. *penu* *kauki* *taxi* *[[penu* *tsuwa-tara]-n]*
1PL.EX.F wait taxi 1PL.EX.F take-PUR1-NZR
'We wait for the taxi [that will take us]' (lit. 'that is for taking us')

b. *kantun* *epe* *utsu* *rakuna-ka*
tomorrow 2PL go Lagunas=LOC

[epe erura-tsen karamina [epe [amana tsakari-tara]-n]]
2PL bring-PUR3 corrugated 2PL rain break-PUR-NZR
'Tomorrow go to Lagunas to pick up corrugated iron to protect you from the rain' (Lit. 'Tomorrow go to Lagunas [to bring corrugated iron [that is for your breaking of the rain]]')

c. *[[aya-tara]* *utsu-n]*
shoot-PUR1 go-NZR
'(The one) who goes to hunt in the forest…'

In (84a), the *tara*-clause 'to take us' is nominalized by means of *-n* to operate as a relative clause modifying 'taxi'. In (84b), the purpose clause 'to block the rain' is nominalized and becomes the possessed element of 'you'. In (84c), the purpose clause 'to shoot' is nominalized and turns into a headless relative clause '(the one) who goes to hunt'.

Similar nominalized patterns are found with *mira*-clauses as well. In (85a), the purpose clause 'to drink' is nominalized to operate as the possessed element of 'turtles'; In (85b), 'for you to know' is nominalized and is interpreted as 'your knowledge.'

(85) a. *ra* *yawati=kana* *kurata-mira-n=pura*
3SG.M turtle.sp=PL.M drink-PUR2-NZR=FOC
'it is [something for the turtles to drink/the turtles' drink]'

b. *uri* *yumi* *ikian* *n=ikua-mira-n*
3SG.M.L give this 2SG=know-PUR2-NZR
'He gives this for you to know (lit. 'that is for your wisdom, knowledge)'

10.4.1.5. A comparison of *-tara*, *-mira* and *-tsen* clauses

The functions of the three purpose clauses, i.e., their propositional semantics, are quite similar. That is, they convey the purpose, motivation, explanation, etc. for the realization of the event indicated in the matrix clause. The formal properties of purpose clauses discussed present more differences, as summarized in Table 10.5.

Table 10.5: Formal and functional properties of purpose clauses

FORM	ARGUMENTS ABSENT	SHARED ARGUMENT WITH MATRIX	VERB MORPH.	WORD ORDER	POSITION RELATIVE TO MATRIX C.	FUNCTION
-tara	S/A	Yes	No	V-final	Postposed	Purpose
-mira	O	Yes	No	V-final	Postposed	Purpose
-tsen	all present	No	Yes	SVO (OBL)	Pre- & postposed	Purpose (no implication on the factuality of the event?)

As discussed above, while the distribution of *-tara* and *-mira* can be accounted for on grammatical grounds, *tsen*-clauses cannot. More specifically, speakers have two choices when they want to indicate purpose by means of adverbial clauses: *-tara/mira* clauses (whose distribution depends on the missing argument in the adverbial clause), and *-tsen* clauses. However, what triggers the speaker's choice seems to be too subtle to have been adequately captured at this point in the analysis.

A preliminary explanation I propose here is that the choice is driven by pragmatics. This claim is based on speakers' observations about examples like the one in (86), which was taken from a personal narrative:

(86) *yantsui* *doctor* *yumunu* *penu=tsuri* *[penu*
there doctor send 1PL.EX.F=PAS3 1PL.EX.F

*iriwa-**tsen*** *penu* *uka-ka]*
come.back-PUR3 1PL.EX.F house=LOC
'Then the doctor sent us/let us free to go back to our house'

Given that the purpose clause contains an intransitive verb, hence an S argument, I asked two speakers if the *tsen*-clause in (86) could be replaced by a *tara*-clause. That is, I offered the apparently parallel sentence in (87):

(87) *yantsui* *doctor* *yumunu* *penu=tsuri* *[iriwa-tara]*
there doctor send 1PL.EX.F=PAS3 come.back-PUR1
'Then the doctor sent us to go back'

The two speakers agreed that, while (87) is good, in the context of the narrative *-tsen* is the appropppriate construction. One speaker explained it this way: "With *-tsen* it means that the doctor told us we were free to go, and so we go back by ourselves, by our own means. With *-tara* it would mean that they not only told us what to do, but also that perhaps they provided us with a boat to travel."

For me, this means that in *tsen*-clauses the purpose event is more independent from the main event, as opposed to in *-tara/mira* clauses. That is, the event indicated in the adverbial clause is not only presented as unrealized but also implies that the subject of the adverbial clause has more control/volition as to whether to execute the purpose clause or not. This nicely correlates with the fact that *-tsen* clauses are syntacticaly less integrated than *-tara/mira* clauses. For instance, they do not share arguments, and no-coreferentiality has to exist. Further, *tsen*-clauses are more finite: they have their complete array of arguments, the word order is SVO, and the verbs marked by *-tsen* can

take other morphology such as the reiterative. However, while this explanation can account for an important number of instances, it is clearly not sufficient.

Another parameter I explored is collocational restrictions. A quick examination of the database reveals that the three purpose constructions apparently do not exhibit collocational restrictions, at least with reference to the verbs on which they occur. I found a number of verbs that appear marked by all three subordinators (in different utterances, that is). For instance, consider the examples in (88), showing all three possibilities with verb *aya* 'shoot'; in (89), all three are with the verb *yauki* 'make'; and in (90), all three with *erutsu* 'bring, carry'. The example in (90b) is repeated from (79c); the relevant portions are in bold.

(88) a. *ya=puna=pura=pupe=nan* *y=aya=ay*
3SG.F=rifle=FOC=INS=only 3SG.F=shoot=3F.OBJ

ya=puna=pupe=nan=tua *aya=tsuri,* *inamu* ***aya-tara***
3SG.F=rifle=INS=only=AUG shoot=PAS3 sp.bird shoot-PUR1
'With his own rifle he shoots him, with the rifle [to shoot panguana]'

b. *ɨwɨrati* *y=utsu=uy* *animaru* *chikari-tara*
forest 3SG.F=go=PAS1 animal look.for -PUR1

*y=**aya-mira***
3SG.F=shoot-PUR2
'He went to the forest [to look for animals to shoot]'

c. *tsaniuri* *kumpa* *nanin* *tsapuki=ay*
come.in buddy like.this call=3F.OBJ

*y=**aya-tsen**=ay* *yay*
3SG.F=shoot-PUR3=3F.OBJ also
"Come on, buddy", like this he calls him [for him to shoot him too]'

(89) a. *raepe* ***yauki-tara*** *tsarɨwa* *ra* *kumitsa* *wija=tsui*
then make-PUR1 be.happy 3SG.M say older-DAT

ikun=tsui *tɨma* *tsa* *tsitsari* *ya* *chira=utsu*
today=ABL NEG 1SG.F forget 3SG.F name=FUT1
'Then, [to make her happy], she says to the old woman: "from now on, I will not forget its name'

b. *ya=puka* *ts=utsu* *ɨwɨrati* *aja-mia*
3SG.F=when 1SG.F=FUT1 forest this-MOD

tsuwa *chikari-tara* *ts=****yauki-mira*** *marawe=ra*
palm.bulb look.for-PUR1 1SG.F=make-PUR2 fan=PUR
'When (they want a fan), I go to the forest [to look for bulb of palm] [to make it into a fan]'

c. *marawe* *tseta-tara=nu* *piyata* *ya=ukua*
fan want-NZR.A=PL.F ask 3SG.F=habitual

tsa=tsui, *tsa=* ***yauki-tsen*** *inu* *marawe=ra-n*
1SG.F=DAT 1SG.F make-PUR3 3PL.F fan=PUR-NZR
'The ones who want a fan usually ask for it to me, [so that I make them something to fan themselves with]'

(90) a. […] *ta* *ayuma=chasu* *yumayari* *ta,* *ikian*
1SG.M brother.law=AFF help 1SG.M this

[tana *utsu-tsen* *ikian* *yapɨka-tupa=kana* ***erutsu-tara]***
1PL.EX go-PUR3 this sit-REL.LOC=PL.M bring-PUR1
'My poor brother in law helps me [to go carrying these seats]'

b. *ɨpɨtsa* *ta* *tsuwa* *n=uri* *[ta* ***erutsu-mira]***
night 1SG.M pick.up 2SG=AUX 1SG.M bring-PUR2
'At night I'll pick you up [to take you (there)]'

c. *[ra* ***erutsu-tsen****=ura* *ra=papa* *kakura]*
3SG.M bring-PUR3=3M.OBJ 3SG.M=father side

ra *ɨwati-ta* *r=utsu*
3SG.M get.up-CAU 3SG.M=FUT1
'He will pick him up [for him to take him to his father's side]'

The distribution of the purpose clauses in (88), (89) and (90) leaves many unanswered questions. For instance, in (90a), why is *-tara* better than *-tsen* given that two *-tsen* clauses in sequence are possible (as shown in (83))? Along the same lines, why, in (90b), is *-mira* better than *-tsen*, and in (90c) *-tsen* better than *-mira*, where in both examples, the syntactic conditions to use either of them are met? These questions are left to be addressed in future research.

10.4.2. Cause/reason clauses: *-ikua*

Cause/reason clauses in KK are formed by attaching the form *-íkua* to the last word of the subordinated clause.[7] In terms of semantics, these clauses indicate the cause or reason for the event indicated in the matrix clause. Causal clauses can be thought of as the motivating events for the event indicated in the matrix clause. In short, [Clause]-*ikua* can be translated into English as 'because of X'. In (91a), the adverbial clause 'because they speak only with mestizos' is presented as the cause or explanation for the event expressed in the matrix clause 'they forget it (the Kokama language)'. Along the same lines, in (91b), 'because I saw no one' is offered as the reason, or the motivating factor for why 'I entered in your house'.

(91) a. *[mai=pura=nu=muki=nan* *inu* *kumitsa-ka]-**ikua***
mixed=FOC=PL.F=COM=only 3PL.F talk-REI-RSN

escuela-ka *raepe* *inu* *tsitsari-pa=uy*
school=LOC there 3PL.F forget-CPL=PAS1
'[Because they speak only with mestizos], at school, there they forget it'

b. *[temente* *ts=umi* *awa]-**ikua***
no.exist 1SG.F=see person-RSN

[7] The language has the form /ikuá/ 'medial past'. Note that the tense marker has stress in the last vowel, while the subordinator is stressed in the first vowel, /íkua/.

ts=aki=uy *na=ku=kuara*
1SG.F=get.in=PAS1 2SG=farm=INE
'[Because I see no one], I entered in your house'

c. *[uri* *ikua* *r=yak~~i~~=kuara]-**ikua*** *mari*
3SG.M.L know 3SG.M=head=INE-RSN thing

kuatiashira-n-taka *ikian* *wayna* *nan*
last.name-NZR-MOD this woman like.this
'[Because he knows in his head] what this woman's last name may be'

Examples in (92) show that cause clauses can also occur postposed to their main clause. The adverbial clause in (92a) indicates cause, whereas in (92b) and (92c) it expresses reason. Note also that (92c) includes two adverbial clauses; the causal clause 'because the animals come' occurs after a purpose clause 'to wake him up).

(92) a. *ay* *ikian* *awa* *~~i~~ts~~i~~-kaka* *[ni* *ra=purara* *pe]-**ikua***
already this person have.fear-rec NEG 3SG.M=find way-RSN
'He is already scared [because he doesn't find the way]'

b. *atsimin* *inu-chira-ta* *[in-=chasu*
true 3PL.F-give.name-CAU 1PL.IN.C-=AFF

ajan=tsui *ini=kak~~i~~r~~i~~]-**ikua***
this=ABL 1PL.IN=live-RSN
'For real, they call us (this way) [because we live there]'

c. *aha* *ya=mirikua* *karuta=ay* *ya=upaka-tsen*
ah 3SG.F=wife bite=3F.OBJ 3SG.F=wake.up-PUR3

[animaru=pura=tua=nu *uri]-**ikua***
animal=FOC=AUG=PL.F come-RSN
'His wife bites him to wake him up [because the animals come]'

In the database, there are a few instance in which the reason is syntactically just a noun phrase, as shown in (93).

(93) a. *[t-]**ikua*** *kukama=kana* *chita*
1SG.M-RSN kokama=PL.M a.lot
'[Because of me], the Kukamas are a lot'

b. *ta* *uri* *ikia-ka* *yurimaka* *[ta* *ta-ra=kana]**-ikua;***
1SG.M come this=LOC Yurimaguas 1SG.M m'son=PL.M-RSN

raepe *ta-ra=kana* *kak-ri*
there m'son=PL.M live
'I come to Yurimaguas [because of my children]; my children live there.'

There is another construction that also involves -*ikua* 'cause'. In this construction, the third person singular pronoun fuses with *ikua* 'cause' — *r-ikua* or *y-ikua*, depending on the gender of the speaker — to indicate that the previous clause is the cause of the event that follows. In other words, the proclitic pronoun anaphorically refers to the preceding clause. However, as will be shown in §10.5.2.3, the clause introduce by *rikua/yikua* is syntactically independent from the preceding clause. For instance, it generally occurs with its own intonation unit, and sometimes also after a small pause. Thus, this construction is described under intersentential connectors §10.5.3. Here, I give one example (94); the comma indicates a pause.

(94) a. *ra=tseta* *ikua=ura,*
3SG.M=want know=3M.OBJ

*[**r-ikua*** *riayti* *ra=tsenu-ari]*
that's.why also 3SG.M=hear-PROG
'He wants to know it; that's why he is also listening'

10.4.3. Conditional clauses: *-ra*

In conditional clauses, the condition is the subordinate adverbial clause, and the consequence is the main clause. To make an adverbial conditional clause, the

morpheme *-ra* attaches to either the verb or an auxiliary in the subordinate clause. The main clause, the consequence, is not morphosyntactically marked, though the clitics *-mia* 'potential (POT) and *-era* 'hyphotetical (HYP)' can occur at the end of the verb phrase. Conditional clauses can occur in sentence-initial position or sentence-final position.

Semantically, conditional clauses signal that the proposition in the main clause depends on certain conditions indicated in the subordinate clause. The condition can be factual (present, past, or habitual) or unreal (hypothetical or counterfactual).

In (95) I offer examples of real conditional clauses. In (95a), 'if you stay in your tent' is described as the condition for the proposition in the main clause to take place, 'he eats you up'. The context for (95b) is this: one of the characters in the story gives some kids permission to climb a fruit tree. Thus, 'if you go up and reach it' is presented as the condition to 'feel free to eat (the fruit)'. Another point to note is that in (95a) the conditional clause appears in sentence-initial position, whereas in (95b) it appears in sentence-final position).

(95) a. *[na-tiyupa-ka* *n=yuti]-**ra*** *yaepe*
2SG=nest=LOC 2SG=stay-COND then

y=eyu-pa=ene
3SG.F=eat-CPL=2SG.O
'If you stay in your tent, then he eats you up'

b. *eyu-ra-epe* *yukan* *eyu=nan* *[epe*
eat=3SG.M=2PL that eat=only 2PL

yankata=ura *epe* *warika]-**ra***
put=3M.OBJ 2PL go.up-COND
'Eat it, you guys, just feel free to eat that, if you go up and reach it'

In contrast to the temporal adverbial clauses discussed in §10.4.4, in conditional clauses the subordinator must be attached either to the verb, as in (95), or to an auxiliary within the adverbial clause. In (96a), the adverbial clause includes the locative phrase *na=ka* 'to you'; however, the verb of the adverbial clause is *upuka* 'go out', so the conditional morpheme *-ra* attaches to it. A comparable example is given in (96b).

(96) a. *[awa upuka-**ra** na=ka], ni,*
person go.out-COND 2SG=LOC NEG

ni in=kurata kun kaitsuma ikara-pa-n
NEG 1PL.IN.C-drink DEF yucca.beer sing-CPL-NZR
'If someone comes to you, we don't drink this yucca beer which is cured (bewitched through singing)'

b. *[ay tsukuta-tara wepe kuniati uyepe-**ra** ya pe-ka*
3F.LF clean-PUR1 one girl go.down-COND 3SG.F port=LOC

ya tsuwi=pura ti-witi-ari] ipirawira amutsewe-ta=ay
3SG.F blood=FOC stink-PROG dolphin close-CAU=3F.OBJ
'If a young girl goes down to the port to wash it and her blood stinks, the dolphin approaches her'

Sometimes the conditional clause yields a sense of causation. In (97a), the event 'if you will have a baby' is presented as the motivating factor for the event expressed in the main clause, 'you better face my parents'. In (97b), 'if they want to build the house' is understood to be the reason for 'there is no reason for us to refuse to give them land'.

(97) a. *[ay na mi-mi-ra yara=utsu]-**ra** ta ta-i-ra*
already 2SG woman.son own=FUT1-COND 1SG.M m'son

mejor na katupe ta tuan=kana
better 2SG show.up 1SG.M parent=PL.M
'If you will have a baby, my son, you better show up/face my parents'

b. *r-ikua tana ti-ma marira tana*
3SG.M-RSN 1PL.EX.M NEG why 1PL.EX.M

ukɨra-tsen *tuyuka* *[rana* *tseta* *uka-yara-**ra**]*
refuse.to.share-PUR3 land 3PL.M want house-HAVE-COND
'That's why there is no reason for us to refuse to give (them) land, if they want to build (their) house'

As mentioned above, conditional clauses can combine with the hypothetical marker *-era* in the main clause. Note in (98), that *=era* appears at the end of the main clause verb phrase. Thus, 'if we get late' is presented as the condition for the hypothetical event 'the people might find us'.

(98) *tsani-tin* *uri* *ipurapani* *in=warika-tsen*
come.on-MOD come fast 1PL.IN=go.up-PUR3

sino *awa=kana* *purara* *ini=utsu=**era***
otherwise person=PL.M find 1PL.IN=AND=HYP

[ikia=ka *in=tapiara]-**ra***
here=LOC 1PL.IN.C=be.late-COND
'Come on, come quickly to go up or else people might find us if we get here late' *(Ven rápido para subir, o la gente nos podría encontrar si nos demoramos aquí)*

Conditional clauses that include the potential form *=mia* at the end of the verb phrase in the main clause yield counterfactual conditionals.

(99) a. *[tɨma* *chɨpɨ-yara]-**ra*** *utsu-taka* *ini=erura* *ra=**mia***
NEG price-possessed-COND go-UNC 1PL.IN=bring 3SG.M=HYP
'If it weren't so pricy, maybe we would have brought it'
(Si no costaría quizás le traeríamos)

b. *[na=papa* *kumitsa]-**ra*** *ay* *na* *ikua=ra=**mia***
2SG=father speak-COND already 2SG know=3SG.M=HYP
'If your father would have talked, you would have known/recognized him'
(Si tu padre hablaría tú le reconocerías (la voz)'

c. *maka=tsui=tipa* *awa* *uri=**mia***
where=ABL=Q person come=HYP

*[ini=nan kakɨrɨ-**ra** ikia=ka]*
1PL.IN=only live-COND this=LOC
'Where would a person have come from if only we live here?'
(De donde vendría esa persona si solamente nosotros vivimos aquí)

Finally, *ra*-clauses can also be employed as conditional complements within matrix clauses (100a), or to convey conterfactual-wish (100b).

(100) a. *ikian awa umi-tara ikian awa=kana iya=tsuriay*
this person see-PUR1 this person=PL.M heart=PAS3

*[maitsankara-taka-**ra**]*
spirit-MOD-COND
'The people that saw this person wonder if it might be a spirit'

b. *yamimi=nan in=kakɨrɨ utsu-ra*
hide=only 1PL.IN.C=live AUX-COND
'If we could live just hiding!'

10.4.4. 'After' adverbial clauses: *-npu*

To indicate that an event happened subsequently to the main clause event, the suffix *-npu* is attached to the last element of the adverbial clause. In some instances, a clause marked by *-npu* yields temporal posteriority, with the sense of immediacy following the completion of a given action. In short, the construction [clause]-*npu* can be translated into English as 'after [clause]'. This adverbial clause occurs in both sentence-initial and sentence-final position. Some examples are shown below.

(101) a. *[mukuika kuashi ra=tsupara]-**npu** r=ichima*
two day 3SG.M=lost-after 3SG.M=get.out

ɨaku tsɨma-ka
creek edge=LOC
'After being two days lost, he gets out to the shore of a creek.

b. *[ɨwɨra* *arɨwa* *inu* *yapɨka]-**npu***
tree up 3PL.F sit-after

wepe-n=tu *ray* *yatsuka* *sonsonasomasi*[8] *yatsuka*
one-NZR=AUG MOD take.shower stupid take.bath
'After they sit above the tree, one of them takes a bath, the stupid one takes a bath'

c. … *[ini* *tɨkɨta* *y=ɨwa]-**npu***
… 1PL.IN tie 3SG.F=trunk-after

ajan *uyarika* *ini* *yapara-ta-ka*
this again 1PL.IN be.coiled-CAU-REI
'After we tie its handle, we fold it again'

Note in (101) that the embedded clause and the matrix clause may or may not share an argument. In (101a) both subjects are the same, however in (101b) they are not. But even when the subject is the same, they must me marked explicitly in both clauses (101a). As expected, this type of clause is extremely productive in procedural texts, an example of which is presented in (101c)

This type of adverbial clause can include a small pause after the subordinator. This is indicated in (102a) by a comma. In (102b), note that a shared argument can take all the morphology (i.e., augmentative, plural) in both places, in the adverbial and in the main clause.

(102) a. *[ra* *eyu* *ikian* *tsu* *[memuki-n]]-**npu***
3SG.M eat this meat roast-NZR-after,

r=ukɨrɨ *ɨrakari=kuara*
3SG.M=sleep mosquito.net=INE
'After he eats the meat that is roasted, he sleeps in the mosquito net.

[8] *Sonsonasomasi* is an common expresion in Amazonian Spanish for 'stupid'. It consists of two forms : sonso, from Spanish *sons-aso* 'stupid-AUG' and *masi* from Quechua *masi* 'friend, fellow, peer'

b. [*ya=tua=nu eyu]-**npu*** *ya=pura=tua=nu* *utsu*
3SG.F=AUG=PL.Feat-after 3SG.F=FOC=AUG=PL.F go
'After they eat, they go'

Only in a very few instances, the subject is omited in the adverbial clause.

(103) [*nua* *ya=ti* *uwata-**npu**]* *ɨwɨrati* *ra* *purara*
a.lot already-MOD walk-after forest 3SG.M find

ikian *kay=kana*
this monkey=PL.M
'After having walked a lot in the forest, he finds these monkeys'

10.4.5. 'When/while' clauses: *-puka*

When the event indicated in the adverbial clause is co-termporal with the event expressed in the main clause, the subordinating morpheme *-puka* is attached to the last element of the adverbial clause. The [clause]-*puka* yields the meaning 'when/while X'. In the examples in (104), the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, and the semantic range of the *-puka* clause is on display. In (104a), the *-puka* clause creates a temporal frame during which the main event happens; in (104b), the *-puka* clause indicates a point in time immediately before the event in the main clause occurs; in (104c), the *-puka* clause indicates an activity which either precedes (and perhaps stimulates) the activity in the main clause (the 'when' reading), or which is simply cotemporal (the 'while' reading).

(104) a. *[parinari=ka* *tsa* *kakɨrɨ]-**puka***
Parinari=LOC 1SG.F live-when

yaepe *etse=pura* *ya=mutsanaka=tsuriay*
there 1SG.F=FOC 3SG.F=cure=PAS3
'When I lived in Parinari, there he cured me'

b. *[tsa=mama* *ɨmɨntsa-ra-yara* *ya=tsui*
1SG.M=mother story-VZR-MAKE 3SG.F=DAT

*nanin]-**puka*** *ya* *ikua* *ya=tsuri=ay*
like.this-when 3SG.F know 3SG.F=PAS3=PRF
'Only when my mom told him, he got to know it'

c. *[ra* *uwata]-**puka*** *chita* *awa=kana*
3SG.M walk-when too.much person-PL.M

chikuara-ta=ura
buttock-CAU-3OM
'When/while she walks, a lot of people follow her.'

Co-temporal clauses can also occur postposed to the main clause, although with less frequency. An example is given in (105).

(105) *ikian* *ra* *tuntu-kira* *ra* *ipu-ta*
this 3SG.M drum-Dim 3SG.M sound-CAU

[ra *uwata]-**puka***
3SG.M walk-when
'She plays her little drum when she walks'

A combination of the temporal adverb *anantseme* 'before' and *-puka* yields the interpretation of 'before X'; that is, it forces the reading that the adverbial clause is no longer understood to be cotemporal, but it must be chronologically prior to the main clause (106).

(106) a. ***[anantseme*** *dius* *warika]-**puka*** *kuarachi-ka-taka*
before god go.up-when sun=LOC-MOD

ya *ya* *uwata-ukua=tsuriay* *tuyuka=ri*
like.this 3SG.F walk-HAB=PAS3 ground=DIF
'Before God went up, maybe to the sky, he used to walk around on earth'

b. *[ɨmɨnua* ***anantseme*** *ini* *dius* *uwari]-**puka***
long.ago before 1PL.IN god fall-when

tuyuka-ri *ya* *kakɨr-ɨ-tsen*
ground=DIF 3SG.F live-PUR3
'Long ago, before our god was born to live on earth…'

The temporal adverb *anantseme* has a short counterpart, *anan*, which together with nominalized clauses also generates chronologically prior events. That construction is discussed in §10.4.6.2.

10.4.6. Temporal adverbial clauses and clause nominalization

So far we have seen adverbial constructions which are created via specialized subordinator morphemes. However, there also some temporal clauses that are formed via different syntactic mechanism that involve clause nominalization. Two of the most productive are described in this section.

10.4.6.1. [V-*ri* AUX-*n*] 'While'

In Chapter VI, when describing the progressive morpheme *-ri*, it was indicated that this morpheme often occurs within nominalized constructions. More specifically, the construction includes a verb marked by the progressive plus an auxiliary that takes the nominalizer *-n*. The auxiliaries attested in this construction are *yuti* 'durative' and *utsu* 'andative'.

From a semantic perspective, the [V-*ri* AUX-*n*] construction is understood as an adverbial clause which could be translative into English as 'While [clause]'. In contrast to *puka*-clauses, which often also indicate temporal overlap (see §10.4.5), this construction serves as the background that temporally contains the event indicated in the matrix clause. The main event is generally a punctual event.

In (107a), the event indicated in the adverbial clause, 'she is working', is presented as a continuous event which starts before the main event, and potentially continues after it. 'I found your wife' is understood as a punctual event.

(107) a. *ikun* *tsa=purara* *na* *mirikua* *utsu=uy*
today 1SG.F=find 2SG wife AUX=PAS1

[ya *ku=kuara* *kamata-ri* *yuti-n]*
3SG.F farm=INE work-PROG stay-NZR
'Today I found your wife when/while she was working in her farm'

b. *ta* *ikara* *tupapenan* *ay*
1SG.M sing again already

rana *upa-ri* *kumitsa-ka* *utsu-n*
3PL.M finish-PROG say-REI go-NZR
'I sing again while they finish talking'

c. *[ay* *kuarachi* *aki-ari* *utsu-n]*
already sun get.in-PROG go-NZR

tana *yawachima* *raepe*
1PL.EX.M arrive there
'While the sun is already getting in (at sunset) we arrive there'

A similar semantic effect can be gained via nominalizations based on the progressive form (108a-b).

(108) a. *ya* *purara* *yuwama=chasu=utsu* *[kamata-ri-n]*
3SG.F find daughter.law=AFF=AUX work-PROG-NZR
'She goes to find the daughter in law while working'

b. uka desamparadu-ka penu utsu-tsen,
house Desamparado-MOD 1PL.EX.F go-PUR3

inaugurashi-ka… *[inaugurashi-ka-ri-n]* *umi-tara*
opening-REF opening-REF-PROG-NZR see-PUR1
'… to go to the Desamparados's House to see the opening… while (the exhibit) gets opened'

10.4.6.2. [*anan* [clause]-*n*] 'Before'

The form *anan* is an adverbial word which seems to be the short form of *anantseme* 'before'. This construction is semantically similar to the construction [*anantseme* [clause]-*puka*], described in §10.4.5, which also indicates temporal anteriority. The temporal adverb *anan* plus the nominalized clause yields an adverbial clause which may translate into English 'before [clause]'. Examples are given in (109).

(109) a. ***[anan*** *tsa=mɨmɨra=pura=nu* *aypa-pa-pa-**n**]*
before 1SG.F=w'son=FOC=PL.F grow.up-CPL-CPL-NZR

tsa=mɨmɨra=pura=nu=muki=nan *tsa kakiri=tsuriay*
1SG.F=w'son=FOC=PL.F=COM=only 1SG.F live=PAS3
'Before my sons were all grown up, I lived just with my sons'

b. ***[anan*** *tua* *eyu-ari-**n**]*
before spirit eat-PROG-NZR

n=yapana *ichari* *ra=tu*
2SG=run leave 3SG.M=AUG
'Before the spirit eats (you), you run and leave him'

In (109a), the event expressed in the main clause, 'I lived just with my sons', is understood to be chronologically prior to the subordinate clause 'my son are all grown up'. Example (110b) is an advice or suggestion in which 'run and leave him' is presented as temporally anterior to 'the spirit eats'.

10.5. Co-ranking constructions

In co-ranking constructions, also known as coordinate clauses, every clause can stand on its own. That is, the clauses involved in the complex sentence are not syntactically dependent one on another, and can have independent existence. In KK, coordinate clauses can be joined by means of juxtaposition or parataxis, and by means

of a set of forms referred here as conjunctions. However, as will be shown in the subsequent sections, some of the conjunctions operate at both the sentence level and the discourse level. Because from a formal view point they constitute a coherent set, they are discussed in this chapter, rather than in Chapter XI, which is dedicated exclusively to discourse phenomena.

10.5.1 . Juxtaposition

Cohesion between juxtaposed finite clauses is indicated via prosody. That is, there is a non-final pause in sentence medial position after the first clause, such that both clauses are under the same intonation contour with a clear falling contour at the end of the complex sentence. In KK coordinate clauses, omitting repeated elements is allowed, but not required. Functionally, coordinate clauses are conjoined to express an abstract connection between events, which may be interpreted as causation (111a), contrast (111b), justification or reason (111c), or temporal sequence (112), among others.

(111) a. *[ta purepe ikian kɨchɨ=uy]*
1SG.M buy this machete=PAS1

[ta kuriki upa]
1SG.M money finish
'I bought this machete, my money is gone' (ED)

b. *[papa utsuy ku=ka] [mama uts=uy ɨyaku=ka]*
papa go=PAS1 farm=LOC, mother go=PAS1 creek=LOC
'Father went to the farm, mother went to the creek' (ED)

c. *[Inanpika kurata ikian kaitsuma] [tsaku=ra]*
watch.out drink this yucca.beer be.hot=3SG.M
'Be careful drinking this yucca beer, it's hot' (ED)

As mentioned earlier, in coordinate clauses, repeated elements can be omitted. In my text examples, the most common element that gets omitted is the subject. That is, if the coordinate clauses share the subject argument, it is only mentioned once, in the first clause. Schematically: [[S_i V (O)] [$Ø_i$ V (O]]. In (112a-c), the coordinate clause construction links two clauses that are related temporally, the events in the first clauses occurring chronologically before those in the clauses that follow. Note also that the subject is only mentioned in the first clause and omitted in the second. The predicates are in bold.

(112) a. *mania* *wepe* *waina,* *[ra* ***uwata*** *tupa-ka]* ***[purara***
how one woman 3SG.M walk place=LOC find

yapu=kana *uka* *ukuki-n* *tuyuka-ri]*
paucar=PL.M house fall-NZR ground=DIF
'(Who knows) how one woman, she **walks** in a place (and) Ø **finds** paucar's house that is fallen on the ground'

c. [*ay* *ni* *tapia=nu* ***purara]*** ***[atsirika]***
3F.LF NEG savage=PL.F find go.down.river
'Him the savages don't **find** (and they) **go down** the river'

10.5.2. Conjunction

This section deals with a set of morphemes that work at different levels: that is, they are sentence-level connectors, but they are also markers whose scope of operation includes the discourse. At the sentence level, they join two adjacent clauses to indicate a number of semantic relationships; at the discourse level they indicate cohesion between successive stretches of discourse. I avoid using the term *paragraph* here, because the relevance or validity of this notion for KK discourse has yet to be explored.

The forms under discussion are presented in Table 10.6. The last two columns provide information about the level of operation of each form.

Table 10.6: Sentence and discourse connectors in KK

FS	MS	GLOSS	SENTENCE	DISCOURSE
yay	*riay*	'and, also'	Yes	Yes
iyan	*urian*	'but'	Yes	Yes
y-ikua	*r-ikua*	'that is why'	Yes	Yes
ya-npu	*ria-npu*	'and then'	Yes	Yes
ya-nan	*ria-nan*	'just like that'	No?	Yes
yaepe	*raepe*	'there, then'	Yes	Yes
yaepe-tsui	*raepe-tsui*	'after that, later'	No	Yes
yaepe-n-ka	*raepe-n-ka*	'at that moment'	No	Yes

I would like to point out a few distinctive characteristics of the forms listed in Table 10.6.

i) All of them exhibit the male-speech (MS) versus female-speech (FS) opposition.

ii) Synchronically, some of them, but not all, can be further analyzed into smaller pieces (indicated by hyphens in the table).

iii) Even the constructions that cannot be analyzed further involve phonological pieces (*ria, rae,)* which strongly resemble pronominal forms for third person male-speech (*ra, uri, =ura*). More importantly, this is also true for the set of female-speech forms, which include forms (*iya/yae*) that also bear a resemblance to third person female-speech pronominals (*ya, ay*).

iv) In addition to the third-person-like element, these constructions involve adverbial subordinators (i.e., -*ikua* 'reason', -*npu* 'later'), postpositions

(i.e., =*tsui* 'ablative', =*ka*, 'locative), as well as the nominalizer -*n*, and the marker of restrictive focus =*nan*.

In what follows I discuss the form and function of each of these conjunctions, beginning with those that have double functions.

10.5.2.1. Coupling: *riay/yay* 'also/and'

In KK, two clauses can be conjoined by adding the particle *riay/yay* between the two. This is illustrated in (113). In (113a), both the subject and the verb are identical, so they can be omitted in the second clause. Speakers say that omitting the verb in (113b) could result in an odd sentence. The reason for this is that if the verb is omitted, the tense marker would have to attach to the pronominal subject, and that pattern is not allowed in the language.

(113) a. *[ra* *uchima-ta* *itaka]* ***riay***
3SG.M go.out-CAU yam also

[(ra *uchima-ta)* *yawiri]*
3SG.M go.out-CAU yucca
'He takes out yams, also yucca' (ED)

b. *[uri* *yatsuk=uy]* ***riay*** *[ta* *yatsuk=uy]*
3SG.L.M swim=PAS1 also 1SG.M swim=PAS1
'He swam, and so did I' (ED)

However, the conjunction *riay* can also occur after the subject of the second clause, as in (114a). Note that, since in (113c) and (114a) *riay* links same events, the proposition is equivalent to the simple clause in (114b), in which both subjects are replaced by a plural pronoun.

(114) a. *[uri yatsuk=uy] [ta* ***riay*** *yatsuk=uy]*
3SG.L.M swim=PAS1 1SG.M also swim=PAS1
'He swam, and so did I'

b. *[tana yatsuk=uy]*
1PL.EX.M swim=PAS1
'We swam'

As indicated in Table 10.6, the pair *riay/yay* exhibits a wider scope of operation. In fact, its canonical function does not seem to be that of a sentence-level conjunction, but more of a discourse connector. In natural texts, *riay/yay* appears at either the beginning or the end of clauses. Of course, it could be argued that even in those instances *riay* is operating as a conjunction, hence creating coordinate clauses. However, I believe that the examples below demonstrate that this is not the case. The first evidence comes from prosody. In discourse, significant pauses can occur before *riay/yay* if it appears in sentence-initial position, or after it if *riay/yay* appears in sentence-final position. Most importantly, a considerable amount of interceding material —i.e. clauses, discourse particles, etc.— can be placed between the two sentences that are being semantically linked by means of *riay/yay*. An example is presented in the following extract from a text. From now on, semicolons indicate pauses.

(115) *t=ikiratse=tsui-ka t=umi rana=tsuri*
1SG.M=be.kid=ABL=LOC 1SG.M=see 3PL.M=PAS

hasta t=aypa ;
until 1SG.M=grow.up

t=utsu=tsuri tsuntaru-tara ikitu-ka;
1SG.M=go=PAS3 soldier-PUR1 Iquitos=LOC

raepe ***riay*** *t=umi* *rana* *=m=na*
there also 1SG.M=see 3PL.M long.ago
'While I was a kid I saw them until I grew up. I went to become a soldier in Iquitos. **Also** there I saw them, a long time ago'

In (115), the two propositions that are semantically linked by *riay* are: 'When I was a kid I saw them' and 'there I saw them'. But we can see that there is one clause — 'I went to become a soldier in Iquitos'— between the two clauses. This makes it impossible to argue for a single complex construction in (115).

Furthermore, not only can multiple clauses occur between the linked propositions, but also utterances from different speakers. In (116) I give an extract from a conversation among three speakers. The theme of the conversation is a recurrent topic among them: the fact that the Kokama language is becoming extinct. In this extract, what is being linked by *yay* are the propositions 'they don't speak (Kokama)' produced by Speaker A (first line), and 'my sons and daughthers don't speak (Kokama)', produced three clauses later by Speaker B (fifth line).

(116) Speaker A: *inu* *ni-kumitsa;*
3PL.F NEG-talk
'They don't speak (Kokama)'

Speaker B*:* *=m=a* *ini=kumitsa-ta=inu*
NEG 1PL.IN=talk-CAU-3PL.F
'We didn't make them speak.'

Speaker C: *=m=a,* *=m=a* *pues*
NEG NEG true
'No, we did not'

Speaker B*:* *yikua* *=m=a* *inu* *ikua*
because NEG 3PL.F know
That's why they don't know.

Speaker B: ***yay-****ti* *tsa* *mɨmɨra=pura=nu*
also-CER 1SG.M w'son=FOC=PL.F

tsa *mɨmɨrakunia=nu* *ni* *ikua* *kumitsa*
1SG.M daughter.woman=PL.F NEG know talk
'A**lso** my sons (and) daughters do not speak (Kokama).'

Again, it is difficult to posit a single complex syntactic unit in (116). Consequently, it becomes clear that the role of *riay/yay* is beyond the sentence level. As indicated earlier, in terms of distribution, the pattern presented in (115) and (116) is the most prominent function of *riay/yay*.

10.5.2.2. Contrast: *urian/iyan* 'but' (FS)

Two clauses can be conjoined by means of *urian/iyan* to indicate some type of semantic contrast between the two. As indicated by Longacre (2007:378), in contrast relationships, "there must be at least two opposed pairs of lexical items." It can be expressed by positive and negative values of the same predicate (*I went down, but she didn't*), antonyms (*I went down, but she stayed home*), or exception (*Grandfather didn't go to sleep, but everybody else did*), among others.

The following are examples of disjunction in KK. In (117a), the contrast is established between 'die/kill' versus 'escape'. Example (117b) contrasts 'gone' with 'left behind'. Example (117c) involves a negative clause: 'the bulb of chambira-palm whitens' versus 'the bulb of aguaje-palm does not'.

(117) a. *[*ya=tu=chasu=nu *tapɨa=tua=nu* *umanu-ta=tsuri]*
3SG.F=AUG=AFF=PL.F savage=AUG=PL.F die-CAU=PAS3

iyan *[mukuika-n=chasu=nu* *yapana]*
but two-NZR=AFF=PL.F run
'The savages kill them, **but** two (of them) run'

b. *[rana* *utsu=tsuri=ay]* ***urian***
3PL.M go=PAS3=already but

[rana *kunia=pura* *ray* *rana* *ichari=tsuri=ay]*
3PL.M man's.sister=FOC SPE 3PL.M leave=PAS3=already
'They are gone **but** it seems they left their sister'

c. *tuku* *tsuwa* *ay* *era* *uchima* *marawe-ra*
chambira bulb 3F.LF be.good go.out fan-PUR

[tini *ya=kɨra=nu* *ikana* *kuarachi=pu]*
white 3SG.F=DIM=PL.F dry sun=INS

iyan *[ajan* *mɨrɨti* *tsuwa* *ay* *tɨma* *tini-ka]*
but this aguaje bulb 3F.LF NEG white-REF
'The bulb of the chambira-palm, it goes out well (off the palm) to make it into a fan. These ones dry and whiten with the sun, **but** the bulb of the aguaje-palm, it doesn't whiten'

Similarly to *riay/yay* 'and/also', the adversative conjunction *urian/iyan* can play a role beyond the sentence. However, compared to its sentence level function, the intersentential function of *urian/iyan* is more rare. An example is presented in (118). The propositions being contrasted are not in adjacent clauses. Here, the disjunction is established between '(the one) who runs on the ground, they don't find' and '(the one) who goes up the river, they find'. However, the proposition 'they don't find' is expressed not in the clause that is right before the connector *iyan*, but in the previous utterance.

(118) *ay* *ni* *tapɨa=nu* *purara* *atsɨrɨka […]*
3F.LF NEG savage=PL.F find go.down.river

aja *[tuyuka-ri* *yapana-n]*
yeah ground=DIF run-NZR

iyan *[warika-n=pura* *inu-purara]*
and go.up-NZR=FOC 3PL.F find
'The savages don't find him (and) go down the river. Yeah, (the one) who runs on the ground (the savages don't find), **but** (the one) who goes up (the river), they find'

Two additional examples that illustrate the discourse function of *riay/yay* are presented in (119) and (120). In (119), the contrast is established between 'live with you' and 'leave you'. However, this is inferred from the sequence of utterances; that is, it is not explicited in the two joined clauses themselves. Strictly speaking, in (120) *iyan* does not join two clauses into a complex syntactic unit. In terms of prosody, for instance, a semicolon at the end of the first line indicates a pause. In those contexts, *iyan* adds to the cohesion of a stretch of discourse, rather than contrasting two adjacent clauses, as it does in examples (117) and (118).

(119) *upa* *inu* *uti-ta-pa-etse*
finish 3PL.F embarrasment-CAU-CPL-1SG.F
yantsui *ts=ichari-tsen=ene*
there 1SG.F=leave-PUR3-2SG.L

tsa=tseta *kakɨrɨ=tsuri* *na=muki*
1SG.F=want live=PAS3 2SG=COM

iyan *na* *tuan=inu* *ucha-yara*
but 2SG parent=PL.F guilty-HAVE
'They made me feel embarrassed so that I leave you. I wanted to live with you **but** it is your parents' fault (that I'm leaving you)'

(120) *emete tsa* *mɨmɨrakunia=nu* *ay* *ikua* *yauki-tara=nu;*
exist 1SG.F woman's.daughter=PL.F 3F.LF know make-REL.A=PL.F

iyan *t=ima* *tsa* *m=m=rakunia=nu=nan*
but NEG 1SG.M woman's.daughter=PL.F=only

yay *yamua kuniati=nu*
also other girl=PL.F
'There are my daughters who know how to make it. **But** not only my daughters (know it), **also** other young girls'

10.5.2.3. Cause-result: *rikua / yikua* 'that's why'

The forms *rikua/yikua* consists of the third person singular clitic *r/y* and the adverbial subordinator of cause *-ikua.* The forms *rikua/yikua* indicates that the previous clause must be construed as the motivating factor for the event being introduced by *rikua/yikua*. In other words, the pronominal form anaphorically refers back to the event indicated in the preceding clause, 'because of that'. The examples in (121) show that a cause/result relationship is established between adjacent clauses.

(121) a. *[animaru=tua* *inu* *tseta umanu-ta]*
animal=AUG 3PL.F want die-CAU

*y=**ikua*** *[in=erutsu* *kerusen]*
3SG.F=RSN 1PL.IN.C=bring kerosen
'They want to kill this animal, **that's why** we carry kerosene'

b. *[ra=tseta* *ikua=ura]*
3SG.M=want know=3M.OBJ

*r**=ikua*** *pues* *[riay-ti* *ra=tsenu-ari]*
3SG.M=RSN then also-MOD 3SG.M=hear-PROG
'He wants to know it, **that's really why** he is also listening'

c. *[na* *rana* *kumitsa* *tana=tsui]*
QT1 3PL.M say 1PL.EX.M-DAT

r=ikua *[tana* *yuriti* *kauki-ri]*
3SG.M=RSN 1PL.EX.M stay wait-PROG
'Like this they talk to us (that's what they told us), **that's why** we remain waiting'

As is common in conjoined clauses, identical elements may be omitted from the second clause. In (122) the subject of the second clause is understood as the same as the object of the first.

(122) *[ni na=mayana na m-m-rakunia]* ***r=ikua***
NEG 2SG=guard 2SG woman's.daughter 3SG.M=RSN

[yatsuka uni=pu]
take.shower water=INS
'You don't keep an eye on your daughter, **that's why** (she) takes a bath'

There are a few instances in which *rikua/yikua* seems to be linking propositions expressed in non-adjacent clauses. Each clause occurs in its own intonation unit, or at least after a small pause. In those instance, the clause introduced by *rikua/yikua* is syntactically independent from the preceding clause. One example is presented below.

(123) *upa r=-p-ka-pa ra*
end 3SG.M=cut-CPL 3SG.M

tsai-rapa yuru piruara=pura=tu;
tooth=only mouth skin=FOC=AUG

***r=ikua**=ray petro*
3SG.M=RSN=SPE Petro

marira-tipa n=-p-ka-pa ta=kawariu yuru piruara, dice
why-Q 2SG=cut-CPL 1SG.M=horse mouth skin he.says
'He (the horse) is all beaten up. (There's) only teeth, skin around his mouth. **That's why**, it seems, "Pedro, why do you cut the lips of my horse?" he says'

10.5.2.4. Succession: *rianpu/yanpu* 'after that, and then'

The form *rianpu/yanpu* appears to consist of the pieces *ria/ya* plus the adverbial subordinator morpheme *-npu* 'after'. However, even though the element *ria* does show

up in another discourse level conjunction, *ria-nan/ya-nan* ‘just like that’, it does not exist as either an independent or bound morpheme related to third person.

There are only few instances in which it could be argued that the form *rianpu/yanpu* joins two clauses into a single complex sentence. The only evidence for this claim would be prosody, because no example with omitted repeated elements are attested in the database. Recall that omission of identical elements is attested in clauses with the conjunction *riay/yay* ‘and/also’, and *urian/iyan* ‘but’, discussed above. To illustrate the absence of omission, consider the example in (124) where, although the two clauses share the subject, *ya/y=* ‘he’, the second subject is still explicitly stated.

(124) *ya* *timitsama-ta* *y=irara* ***ya=npu***
3SG.F full-CAU 3SG.F=canoe 3SG.F=after

y=iriwa
3SG.F=come.back
‘He fills up his canoe and then he comes back’

In the majority of cases, *rianpu/yanpu* has an intersentential function. For instance, the extract in (125) is organized into three intonation units; note that there is a pause before *rianpu*. At the notional level, the events ‘get in’, ‘tie him’, ‘ hit him’ constitute a coherent sequence, where the events before *rianpu* are presented as if they need to take place first, before the event introduced by *rianpu*. In that sense, *rianpu* flags the event that closes the sequence. A quite similar example is presented in (126).

(125) *ini* *aki=utsu,* *yawa* *tikita* *ra;*
1PL.IN get.in=FUT1 go tie 3SG.M

r=iya-ri *na=tikita* *r=utsu;*
3SG.M=heart=DIF 2SG=tie 3SG.M=go

rianpu *n=inupa-ra uri yapana-tsen*
after.that 2SG=hit=3M.OBJ 3SG.M.L run-PUR3
"Let's get in. Go tie him. Go tie him by his heart. **And then**, hit him so that he runs away"

(126) *ay rana tsarɨwa rana ichari=ura;*
already 3PL.M be.happy 3PL.M leave=3M.OBJ

rianpu *rana utsu-ka=tsuri tupapenan*
after.that 3PL.M go-REI=PAS3 again
'They get happy and leave him. **After that**, they again go away'

Example (127) shows a slightly different function of *rianpu/yanpu*. Since there is interaction between Speaker A and B, *rianpu* not only indicates temporal sequence, but also seems to aid Speaker A to re-take the floor.

(127) Speaker A: *ururi eyu kun=tsuri=ay wepe awa*
Ururi eat DEF=PAS3=already one person
'The Ururi ate this, one person'

Speaker B: *ay senior akɨcha-ra-wa*
already lord be.scared-PUR-GER
'Oh my god, that's scary'

Speaker A: ***yanpu*** *utsu ya=tua=nu*
after.that go 3SG.F=AUG=PL.F

iriwa=tsuri=ay
come.back=PAS3=already
'**After that**, they go back'

10.5.2.5. Sequence: *raepe / yaepe* 'then/there'

Synchronically, *raepe/yaepe* is a single morpheme. Diachronically though, it is possible to see that it contains the old Tupi-Guaraní locative postposition **pe*. Nowadays, *raepe/yaepe* has two main functions. At the sentence level, it operates as the spatial demonstrative 'there'. I illustrate this in (128). Note that in all its spatial uses,

raepe occurs at the end of the clause. In those instances, *raepe* can also take the ablative postposition, *=tsui*, as well as the restrictive focus *=nan* 'only'. It should be pointed out that ablative is the only postposition that *raepe* can take, unless it is previously nominalized by *-n*, as will be shown in §10.5.3.2.

In (128a), *raepe* 'there' indicates the location where the event, 'the killing', takes place. In both, (128a-b), *raepe=tsui* indicates a location from where movement originates.

(128) a. *uri* *ikian* *umanu-ta* *rana* *chita* ***raepe***
3SG.M.L this die-CAU 3PL.M a.lot there

rikua *rana* *uchima* ***raepe****=tsui*
that's.why 3PL.M go.out there=ABL
'He kills many of them there, that's why they go out from there'

b. *ikian* *utsu-n* *costarica=ka=ti=nan*
this go-NZR Costa.Rica=LOC=CER=only

uri *iriwa-ka* ***raepe****=tsui=nan*
3SG.M.L come.back-REF there=ABL=only
'This (plane) that goes only to Costa Rica, it comes back from there only.'

The second function of *raepe/yaepe*, the most frequent in my database, is that of a temporal connector that can be translated as 'there, then'. Importantly, *raepe* receives this interpretation when it occurs at the beginning of the clause.

Consider the extract in (129), taken from a story about one man that likes to make fun of people. In this portion, he is making fun of another man by asking him to perfom a stupid task. Note that the first two lines express a command, which in turn enables the event introduced by *raepe*.

(129) *yuka* *na=tsawiti=ura* *utsu-ari* *ini*
that 2SG=support=3M.OBJ AUX-PROG 1PL.IN
mundo *aywa* *nanin* *ray* *[laughs]*
world be.bored like.this PRT …

raepe *r=yiwapika-ri* *itaki=pura=tu* *utsu*
then 3SG.M=shoulder-PROG rock=FOC=AUG AUX
"Go to hold (the rock), our world is about to end". [laughs]. **Then**, he goes to hold on the (huge) rock on his shoulder'

The portion in (130) illustrates the temporal function of *raepe*. Here, the event introduced by *raepe* is understood to follow the previous event.

(130) *ra* *uwata* *tupa-ka* *purara*
3SG.M walk place=LOC find

yapu=kana *uka* *ukuki-n* *tuyuka-ri;*
paucar=PL.M house fall-REL ground=DIF

raepe *waina* *yapichika=ura*
then woman catch=3M.OBJ
'She walks in a place (and) finds a paucars' house that is fallen on the ground. **Then,** the woman takes it'

When *raepe* occurs in setence-initial position, it can take the second position modal/evidential clitic *-(i)a* 'hear say', as shown in (131).

(131) ***raepe-a*** *rana* *irua=pura=kana* *yachu-ari*
then-hear.say 3PL.M brother=FOC=PL.M cry-PROG
'Then, it is said that their brothers are crying'

10.5.3. Other connectors

As indicated in the introduction to conjunctions, in KK there is a set of connectors that operate beyond the sentence level. These are the topic of this subsection.

10.5.3.1. Sequence: *raepetsui* / *yaepetsui* 'and then/after that'

The pair of forms *raepetsui*/*yaepetsui* consist of *raepe,* the place demonstrative 'there', plus the ablative postposition =*tsui*. As illustrated in the previous section for *raepe / yaepe*, when *raepetsui* occurs at the end of the clause it is interpreted as just the spatial demonstrative plus the ablative, *raepe=tsui* 'from there (that place)'. However, when it occurs after a pause, which is to say at the beginning of a chunk of speech, *raepetsui/yaepetsui* is better translated into English temporal expressions like 'from then on', 'after that', or 'and then'.

In discourse, the canonical function of *raepetsui*/*yaepetsui* is at the intersentential level. Overwhelmingly, *raepetsui* occurs fronted and indicates temporal relationship between sequences of events, adding cohesion to the discourse. That is, events expressed after *raepetsui/yaepetsui* are presented as temporally posterior to the events before the connector. Importantly, these events are not necessarily expressed in adjiacent clauses, hence they cannot be considered coordinate constructions.

Example (132) comes from a text about a man who is looking for his mother, a boa. In this portion of the narrative, he starts to call the boas, and many respond to his call. At the end of this sequence of events, *raepetsui* introduces the utterance when he finally finds his mother. In the second line of (132), note the discourse function of *riay* 'also'.

(132) *ramua uri-ka;*
other come-REI

riay *ene* *t-ma* *ta* *tsapuki=uy*
also 2SG.L NEG 1SG.M call=PAS1

ta=mama *ta= tsapuki;*
1SG.M=mother 1SG.M=call

awɨrɨ *tsukuri=kana* *uri=tsuri* *ra=kakura;*
how.many boa=PL.M come=PAS3 3SG.M=side

tɨma *ra* *tseta* *ikua-kaka* *rana;*
NEG 3SG.M want know-rec 3PL.M
raepe=tsui *ra* *mama* *tapiara=tsui* *katupe-uri*
there=ABL 3SG.M mother be.late=ABL show.up-AUX
'Another (boa) comes again. "I didn't call you either, I call my mother". A number of boas came to his side. He does not want to recognize them. **And then**, after a while, his mother shows up

In (133) I offer a second example, from a tradititonal story in which a mother tells her son he needs to complete a number of tasks before he can join his father. Towards the end of the sequence, *raepetsui* introduces the closing utterance.

(133) *na=papa* *ya* *umi=pupe=nan*
2SG=father 3SG.F see=INS-there=only

mɨmɨra-ta *tsa=tsuri=ay,*
w'son-CAU 1SG.F=PAS3=already

ene ***yay*** *utsu* *na* *umi=pupe=nan;*
2SG.L also go 2SG see=INS-there=only

na *era-ta* *upi* *awa=utsu;*
2SG be.good-CAU all person=FUT1

na=mɨmɨra-ta *wayna=nu=tsu;*
2SG=w'son-CAU woman=PL.F=FUT1

ria *na=kakɨrɨ=utsu;*
like.this 2SG=live=FUT1

raepe=tsui *na* *utsu* *na=papa* *kakura*
there=ABL 2SG go 2SG=father side
'Like your father made me pregnant with only his sight, also you go around only with your sight. You will cure everyone. You will make women pregnant. Like this you will live. **After that**, you can go to your father's side.'

10.5.3.2. Co-temporality: *raepenka / yaepenka* 'at that moment'

The form *raepenka* consists of the demonstrative *raepe 'there'* plus the nominalizer *-n* and the locative postposition *-ka*. This construction is systematically interpreted as 'at that moment, by then'. Similarly to the other conjunctions, *raepenka* occurs fronted in the clause; generally, but not necessarily, it indicates that the event it introduces is cotemporal with the event in the previous clause. More precisely, the previous utterances are presented as the background for the event introduced by *raepenka*. Examples are provided in (134-136).

(134) *pikichu* *uri* *yapɨtu=utsu;*
Pikichu come stop=FUT1

rey *ra* *tutɨra* *tsikuayara;*
King 3SG.M father.in.law replace

mai-tsuni *r=umanu-ta;*
mix-be.black 3SG.M=die-CAU

raepe-n-ka *ra* *tsapuki-ta* *r=ima=kana*
then-NZR=LOC 3SG.M call-CAU 3SG.M=m.brother=PL.M
'Pikichu comes to stop this. The King, his father in law is replaced. He kills the black mestizo. **At that moment**, he calls/invites his relatives.'

(135) *ay* *ra* *kuashi* *yawachima*
already 3SG.M day arrive

raepe-n-ka *ra=tu* *umanu-ta* *ɨmɨna*
then-NZR=LOC 3SG.M=AUG die-CAU long.ago
'His day has arrived already. **At that moment** he kills, a long time ago'

(136) … *chiwiki-tara* *rana=utsu*
… make.hole-PUR1 3PL.M=FUT1

raepe-n-ka *rana* *ay* *rana=utsu*
then-NZR=LOC 3PL.M already 3PL.M=FUT1

chamura *yat#ma-tara*
dead sow-PUR1
'(Later), they go to make a hole. **And right then**, they go to bury the deceased person'

10.5.3.3. Connectors based on =*nan* 'only'

In addition to the forms described above, KK exhibits a number of other elements that would have to be categorized as discourse particles. In generic terms, these elements contribute to the vividness of the discourse. In natural speech, speakers do not produce objective statements but they imprint those statements with their perspective, attitudes and beliefs about the facts being reported. This is commonly referent to as the expressive use of language (cf. *subjectivity* in linguistics (Finegan 1995). The KK discourse elements referred to here would be employed to serve this function. A list of them is provided in Table 10.7.

Table 10.7: Discourse particles generated from =*nan* 'only

FORM		GLOSS	FUNCTION
=*nan*		'only' (*solamente*)	Indicates that the piece of information to which it attaches is in restrictive focus.
nanin	nan-i-n only-V*-NZR	'like this' (*así nomás*)	Adds emphasis; occurs in several positions within the sentence.
naniwa	nan-i-wa Only-V-GER	'just like that' (*y así nomás*)	It's function is quite similar to that of *nanin*. Can add disbelief, evaluation.

*The epenthetic vowel *-i-* is inserted at morpheme boundaries to avoid consonant clusters. For more discussion on morphophonology, see Chapter III.

A complete characterization of discourse elements is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Here I only call some attention to these forms generated on the basis of the morpheme *na/nan* 'like this/only'. Some examples that show these particles are presented below.

The example in (137) illustrates the form *nanin*, which in the story, breaks a direct quote. The speaker is imitating the one being quoted. He produces *amigu* with high pitch and a very long final vowel, trying to reproduce the quote as it was originally produced. In this context, the speaker uses *nanin*, to indicate that this was the manner in which the person being quoted actually spoke.

(137) *ya* *ra=tsapuki-ra=uy*
already 3SG.M=call=3M.OBJ=PAS1

amiguuuu, ***nanin;***
friend like.this

yuka=ka *n=yumayari* *t=uri*
that=LOC 2SG=help 1SG.M=come

upa *ta* *mɨma=kana* *aki-pa* *ɨpɨpe*
end 1SG.M pet=PL.M get.in-CPL sink
'He then called him. "Friend"; **like this;** "Come help me, my animals are sinking'

Example (138) shows the use of *naniwa*. Here the speaker seems to be using *naniwa* to show his stance about the facts being reported. In the story, a group of people, led by one man, goes hunting in the forest. The leader of the group is the one that has a rifle. Once in the forest, they meet someone that easily tricks the leader and disarms him. Thus, in this portion of the story, the speaker, by using *naniwa*, reveals his point of view. The utterance introduced by *naniwa* can be understood as 'it was easy to

trick the leader'. Note in (138, second line) that =*nan* operates as the restrictive marker 'only.'

(138) *na=puna* *n=yumi*
2SG=arm 2SG=give

ta *chikari=**nan*** *inamu* *ini-emera*
1SG.M look.for=only sp.bird 1PL.IN=eating

naniwa *tapɨa=tua* *mɨta* *kun* *apu*
only-EV-GER savage=AUG lie DEF leader

puna *erutsu-tara=tu*
arm bring-REL.A=AUG
'Give me your rifle. I only look for panguana (bird) for us to eat. **Just like that,** the savage lies to the chief that brings the rifle'

As indicated above, the language has many elements that function in comparable ways to the items introduced here. A comprehensive examination of them would be certaintly interesting, but we leave that for future research.

In the next chapter, we center the discussion on specific topics on the syntax-discourse interface, including focus constructions, constituent order alternations and the distribution of pronominal forms.

CHAPTER XI

TOPICS IN THE SYNTAX-DISCOURSE INTERFACE

This chapter is dedicated to topics in Information Structure and focuses on four morphosyntactic mechanisms to express some discourse-pragmatic factors: pronominal forms, tense/aspect marked clauses, constituent ordering, and focus constructions.[1] After a brief introduction to the core notions of information structure in §11.1, §11.2 looks at the distribution of focus constructions that involve the particle *=pura*. Along the same lines, §11.3 examines the driving forces behind the distribution of the three sets of pronouns. §11.4 goes on to explore the pragmatics of the various constituent orders attested in the language, and §11.5 explores the interactions among tense, progressive aspect, and constituent order, focusing on the pragmatic conditions triggering the employment of these patterns in combination. The theoretical assumptions relevant to specific topics are introduced within the respective subsections.

[1] A considerable amount of the data and analysis presented in this chapter come from talks given at the Workshop on Indigenous Languages of the Americas, University of California at Santa Barbara (Vallejos 2005), the Conference on Indigenous Language of Latin America III, University of Texas at Austin (Vallejos 2007), and from a published article (Vallejos 2009).

11.1. Information structure

In this document, information structure is understood as the component of grammar that deals with the study of grammatical patterns driven by pragmatic forces. As Lambrecht puts it, information structure is concerned with psychological phenomena such as the speaker's hypotheses about the hearer's mental states "only inasmuch as they are reflected in grammatical structure." (1994:3). It should be pointed out that information structure differs from (conversational) pragmatics, in that the latter is concerned with the interpretations of sentences that emerge from conversational settings. That is to say, "while conversational pragmatics is concerned with the question of why one and the same sentence form may express two or more meanings, discourse pragmatics is concerned with the question of why one and the same [propositional] meaning may be expressed by two or more sentence forms." (Lambrecht 1994:5). A basic claim of information structure is then that different constructions that seem to be describing the "same" scene in a single language express different ways of conceptualizing that scene. That is, different constructions appear to have a different conceptual content (cf. also Croft 1993).

It has been found that languages exhibit a number of strategies speakers use to give the hearers instructions about how to integrate incoming information into the mental representation of the discourse (Chafe 1987, Payne 1993, Mithun 1993). KK is no exception in that it displays several mechanisms to attract the hearer's attention to the structure of the discourse, including: focal stress, intonation contours, constituent order, different pronominal forms, specialized morphology, etc. Overall, the grammar

of KK adds to the literature that supports general claims regarding the interrelation between grammar and discourse.

11.1.1. Assertion and presupposition

For the purposes of this document, it is assumed that two fundamental categories of information structure are: 1) what is part of the already established common ground between the speaker and hearer; and, 2) what the speaker wants the hearer to come to realize by making the utterance. It is said that most, or perhaps all, of communication relies on the relationship between these two cognitive categories, by relating a new idea to some kind of background or knowledge (Givón 1995). When a speaker makes a statement, he makes an *assertion*. This is a proposition the speaker hopes the addressee will come to know or be aware of as a result of the sentence. Following Lambrecht (1994:52), *assertion* is "the proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or believe or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered." On the other hand, the set of assumptions that make up the context necessary for understanding the utterance is called the *presupposition*. In Lambrecht's words, *presupposition* is "the set of propositions lexico-grammatically evoked in an utterance which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or believes or is ready to take for granted at the time of speech" (1994:52).

11.1.2. Focus as a pragmatic notion

For the purposes of this study, we assume Lambrecht's fundamental categories of information structure: presuppositions (the common ground between the speaker and hearer), and *assertions* (what the speaker wants the hearer to realize by making the

utterance). Related to these is the term *focus*, which is defined in different ways. While for Dik et al. (1981), focus is the pragmatic function attaching to the most important or salient information, for Chafe (1976) it is an attention-getting mechanism, and for Jackendoff (1972:230) it is the information which the speaker assumes or knows the hearer does not share with him. Lambrecht (1994) defines *focus* as the semantic element that is unpredictable or unrecoverable from the context and which makes a proposition into an assertion. That is, *focus* is "the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition" (Lambrecht 1994:213).

Following Lambrecht, by focus construction I understand a semantically complex construction that results from the superposition of two propositions. For instance, the semantic structure of a sentence like (1a) consists of a proposition with an open variable X (1b) and one that instantiates, or re-instantiates the value of X (1c):

(1) a. It's the kid who is crying.
b. Someone is crying. (**Fx**)
c. It's the kid. (**x = a**)

A focus construction thus consists of a presupposed part (1b), information that is presumed to be already accessible to the addressee, and an asserted part (1c), information that the speaker assumes is not already shared by the addressee. The presupposed proposition can be contained within the utterance itself, as in the case of (1), but it can also be derived from the pragmatic context. For example, (1c) may follow a crying sound in the surroundings that the speaker assumes to have been noticed by the

addressee. As for the assertive part of focus constructions, in our example the variable-instantiation (X=kid) is overtly signaled by the cleft construction.

Dik et al. (1981) and Watters (1979) claim the existence of *unmarked focus* constructions, i.e., *focus neutral*; but Lambrecht (1994) argues that no sentence is *pragmatically-neutral,* i.e., without information structure. For him, *pragmatically-unmarked* constructions are those whose domain of application is larger compared to *pragmatically-marked* constructions. That is, given two semantically equivalent but formally and pragmatically divergent sentences, "one is unmarked if it serves two discourse functions while the other serves only one of them" (1994:17). Lambrecht then proposes *predicate-focus* structure as the universally unmarked type of focus construction. For instance, a sentence like *she likes tea* could have predicate focus because it could be a reply to 'tell us about her'. In this case, 'she' is the common ground, and what is the focus of assertion is the predicate, 'likes tea.' But it could also be an answer to 'does she like coffee or tea?', in which case the focus of assertion is just 'tea.'

In one typology, focus subtypes can be characterized according to two parameters: pragmatic information (contrastiveness) and scope. In what follows, I discuss both parameters, and briefly introduce the typologies proposed by Dik et al. (1981), Lambrecht (1994), and Watters (1979). The table below compares the distinctions and terminology suggested by these authors.

Table 11.1: Typology of focus

		PRAGMATIC INFORMATION					
		NON-CONTRASTIVE			CONTRASTIVE		
SCOPE		Dik et. al. (1981)	Watters (1979)	Lambrecht (1994)	Lambrecht (1994)	Watters (1979)	Dik et al. (1981)
	NARROW	Completive focus	Assertive focus	Argument focus		Counter-assertive focus Exhaustive listing focus	Replacing focus Restricting focus Expanding focus Selective focus Parallel focus
	BROAD	Predication focus	Polar focus	Sentence focus	Counter-presuppositional (?)	Counter-assertive polar focus	Predication focus

One issue for a theory of focus is whether contrast, belongs to sentence grammar. A speaker's assumptions and expectations about the hearer's knowledge may range between two extreme points: a) ignorance, the hearer does not know any of the information; versus b) contrary belief, the hearer holds strong contrary beliefs (Givón 2001:223). Assertion involving the former can be identified as *non-contrastive focus* — i.e. presentational or informational focus (Haspelmath 2001; — and assertion involving the latter as *contrastive focus*. *Non-contrastive focus* is interpreted as new, context-incrementing information and is chosen from an open, unlimited set of possible alternatives. *Contrastive focus* denotes a candidate from a limited set of contextually given alternatives (Chafe 1976). Within this approach, the element being contrasted needs to be already introduced or presupposed in the discourse. For Dik et al. (1981: 58)

'contrast' refers to cases "in which one piece of information, say x, is explicitly or implicitly opposed to some other piece of information, say y, which stands in some specific relation of opposition to x in the given setting". However, based on his analysis of stress in English, Lambrecht (1994:290) argues that, since a given sentence could have either a contrastive or a non-contrastive interpretation depending on the conversational context, contrast need not be reflected in sentence form. He suggests that contrast should be treated not as a category of grammar, but as a generalized conversational implicature. However, it has been reported that some languages have syntactic constructions dedicated to expressing contrastive focus (Watters 1979). The problem that prevents simple resolution of these competing empirical claims seems to be the lack of a replicable methodology to recognize *contrast* in real discourse (Myhill & Xing 1996).

In terms of scope — the syntactic domain within a sentence where the focused piece of information is expressed — a fundamental distinction is often made in the literature between narrow and broad focus. When a single constituent within the clause is focused, this is called **narrow focus**. For *non-contrastive narrow* focus, Dik et al. (1981) use the term **completive focus**, and Watters (1979) the term **assertive focus**. Typical examples of this subtype of focus are answers to information questions (e.g. *What did Inah give to his friends? Inah gave FUFU to his friends*). As mentioned earlier, Lambrecht does not recognize different subtypes of narrow focus on the bases of contrast; as such, he uses the term **argument focus** for both contrastive and non-contrastive narrow focus.

It is in the area of narrow plus contrastive focus where the typologies under discussion differ the most. While Watters (1979) suggests two subtypes, Dik et al. (1981) propose five subtypes. Watters proposes **counter-assertive focus** ("information the speaker substitutes for a previous utterance asserted by the hearer", e.g. *Inah gave FUFU to his friends {not yams}*) and **exhaustive listing focus** ("the sentence is true only with respect to this piece of information, and false with respect to other possible alternatives", e.g. *Inah gave FUFU ONLY to his friends*). Dik et al. identify these same subtypes, calling the former **replacing focus** (i.e. a specific item in the pragmatic information of the hearer is removed and replaced by another correct item), and the latter **restrictive focus** (i.e. the presupposed set is restricted to one or more values). However, Dik et al. (1981) specify that these subtypes should be characterized as counter-presuppositional rather than counter-asserted because, according to them, what matters is not what the hearer said, but the speaker's assumptions about the hearer's pragmatic information at the time of the utterance. In addition, Dik et al.'s typology distinguishes the following subtypes: **selective focus** (selecting an item from a set of presupposed possibilities, e.g. *Did John buy coffee or rice? John bought RICE*), **expanding focus** (adding information to the antecedently presupposed information, e.g. *John bought rice. Yes, but he also bought COFFEE*), and **parallel focus** (two pieces of information are contrasted within one linguistic unit, e.g. *JOHN bought RICE, but PETER bought COFFEE*).

Broad focus refers to constructions where the focus domain includes more than a single constituent. If the focus domain is the whole sentence and it has non-contrastive

interpretation, Dik et al. calls it **predication focus**, and Watters **polar focus.** Watters' polar focus occurs when "the truth value 'true' or 'false' is asserted or counter-asserted" (e.g. *Inah DID give fufu to his friends*). For Lambrecht, if the focus domain includes all but the subject, this is **predicate focus** (recall that for him this is the pragmatically unmarked focus construction); however, if it includes the whole sentence, this is **sentence focus** (e.g. *What happened? My CAR broke down*.) Finally, Watters also distinguishes sentence focus constructions with contrastive interpretation. He refers to the latter as **counter-assertive polar focus** defined as "the speaker's reply contradicting the hearer's assertion about the truth value 'true' or 'false' of the sentence" (e.g. *Inah DID TOO give FUFU to his friends*). While for Lambrecht, counter-assertive polar focus may be a potential subtype of focus, Dik et al. refers to both Watters' asserted and counter-asserted polar focus as predication focus.

The grammar of KK provides an opportunity to test the distinctions between the typologies presented above. The morpheme *=pura* is mainly concerned with information structure; it guides the hearer about how particular sentences, and pieces of sentences, relate to the overall discourse. Examining the uses of *=pura* turns out to take us well beyond the morpheme itself, to a set of constructions involving the interaction of *=pura* with other morphemes, constituent order and stress. On the one hand, KK appears to lack grammar devoted to coding several of the distinctions suggested by Dik et al.; on the other hand, KK has a distinct construction dedicated to coding narrow focus contrast, which appears to force Lambrecht's model to acknowledge the relevance of that category in theories of the grammar of focus.

11.1.3. Prosody: focal stress, lexical stress and intonation contours

Throughout this chapter, the term *intonation* will be associated with speech acts (declarative, imperative, interrogative, etc.), *word stress* with lexical items (as assigned by phonological rules), and *focal stress* (or *prosodic peak, sentence accent*) with utterances. Focal stress is driven by information structure (focus, activation, etc.), and is said to coincide with, or override, lexical stress (Lambrecht 1994:240).

As explained in Chapter III (§3.3), in KK word stress has a delimitative function, occurring on the penultimate syllable of the word, unless the word ends in a consonant in which case it occurs on the final syllable. In terms of intonation, certain contours are associated with pragmatically unmarked declarative sentences: a slightly homogeneous volume plus decline in both at the end of intonation units. However, focal stress—characterized as raising pitch (F_0) and volume, plus optional lengthening of vocalic segments — proves more relevant for this paper. For the remainder of this chapter, when I use the term *stress*, I intend it to refer only to focal stress.

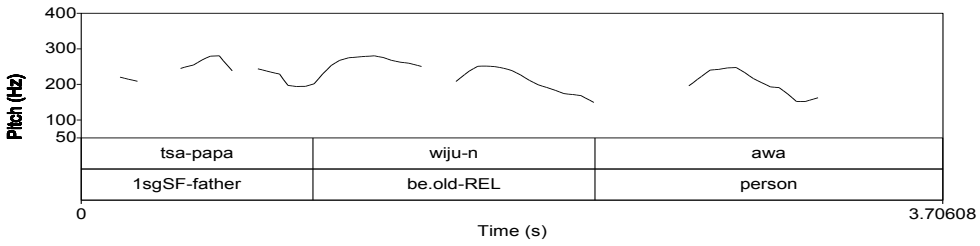
Unmarked focus constructions do not exhibit a strong focal stress in any constituent. In the language, focal stress can be characterized as raising pitch (F_0) & volume, and, optionally, lengthening vocalic segments. Also, certain intonation contours can be associated with unmarked structures: slightly homogeneous pitch level and volume plus decline at the end of intonation units. Consider examples (2a-c) and the associated pitch contours in Figures 11.1-3.

(2) a. *tsa-papa* *wiju-n* *awa* .
1sgSF-father be.old-REL person
'My father was an old person'

b. *+wati-tsui ts-umi lima ritama=pura*
high-ABL 1F-see Lima community=FOC
'From above, I see Lima city'

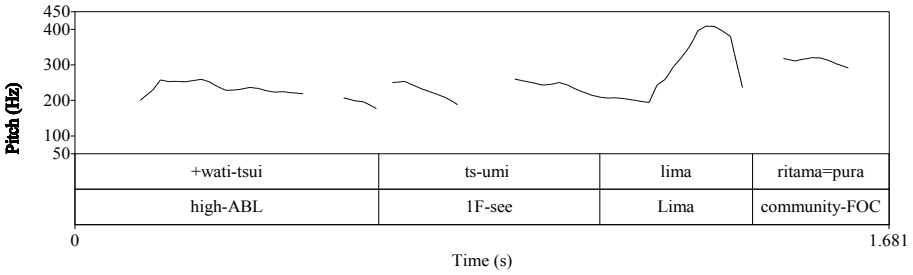
c. *aytsemeka rana yumi upi mari=pura tana-tsui*
it's.true 3PL.M give all thing=FOC 1PL.EX.M-ABL
'For real, they give us all kinds of things'

Figure 11.1: Pitch contour for example (2a)



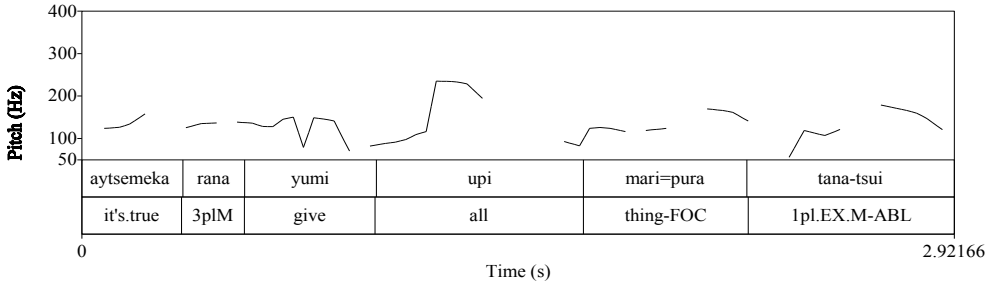
(2a) 'My father was an old person' (Female speaker)

Figure 11.2: Pitch contour for example (2b)



(2b) 'From above, I see Lima city' (Female speaker)

Figure 11.3: Pitch contour for example (2c)



(2c) 'For real, they give <u>all kinds of things</u> to us' (Male speaker)

Across languages, it is common to find a strong correlation between focal stress and focus. For instance, in KK, while the pitch contours for (2a) are relatively uniform (see Figure 11.1, in (2b) and (2c), there is a peak on the element in focus, '(the city of) Lima' in (2b/ Figure 11.2), and 'all (kinds of things)' in (2c/Figure 11.3). This observation can be generalized for any element in focus, whether they are arguments, predicates, or adverbials: if an element is in focus, it generally coincides with the prosodic peak within the clause.

However, high pitch does not necessarily coincide with narrow focus — we will see that the focus domain could be elsewhere within the clause. These correlations are further explored in §11.2 when discussing the interactions among *=pura*, constituent order, and stress to express broad focus.

11.2. Focus constructions that involve *=pura*

This section examines the functional nuances of *=pura*, a focus marker. This morpheme is best analyzed as a clitic because it exhibits very few restrictions with respect to its phonological host, and lacks a fixed position in the sentence. The marked element may be a noun phrase (NP) in subject, object, or oblique functions, a verb, a

dependent clause, a particle, and, most interestingly, *=pura* can focalize individual elements within more complex syntactic units, such as an argument of a dependent clause. In terms of pragmatics, *=pura* can potentially participate in various subtypes of narrow-focus constructions, but also in broad-focus constructions. To fully account for the function of *=pura* we need to include prosody and constituent order in the discussion, as the interaction among these is relevant for expressing focus in KK. That is, *=pura* cannot be associated by itself with specific subtypes of focus because it is the larger constructions involving *=pura* that have either a narrow/broad or contrastive/non-contrastive interpretation. Overall, this paper shows that although the appearance of *=pura* is pragmatically motivated, its distribution can be grammatically described.

Section 11.2.1 introduces the problem, and the data for this particular study. Section 11.2.2 presents an overview of the multiple focus constructions in which *=pura* is involved, section 11.2.3 discusses narrow-focus constructions, section 11.2.4 examines broad-focus constructions, and section 11.2.5 draws the conclusions of this study.

11.2.1. The problem and the data

The clitic *=pura*[2] combines with a wide range of stems and lacks a fixed position in the sentence. In previous studies of KK, the morpheme *=pura* is barely mentioned. It has only been reported as either "the emphatic particle which attaches to nominalized sentences to indicate something that is definitely completed or has already happened"

[2] The etymology of *=pura* is uncertain. Two hypotheses can be entertained: the verb *purara* 'find' and the Spanish adjective *puro/a* 'authentic, unadulterated'. Both need further examination, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

(Faust 1972:99; translation mine) or "the single emphatic particle, which generally follows the completive particles *ay* and *úcu* occurring sentence initially" (Cabral 1995:182). However, in the database for this study, *=pura* seems far more functionally productive and distributionally complex. The morpheme *=pura* is attested on nouns, verbs, pronouns, interrogative words, and particles as shown below:

(3) a. *s-i-i-i-h* *iy=ir-ir-ita* *p-ita=**pura*** *naniwa*
[ideophone] 3SG.F=pull foot=FOC like.this
'In this way, he pulls (my) foot'

b. *-im-ina* *animaru=kana* *yaparachi=**pura***
long.ago animal=PL.M dance=FOC
'Long ago, the animals danced'

c. *-ts-ikaka=nan* *tsa=**pura*** *upaka-ka-ta* *uri*
feel.fear=only 1SG.F=FOC wake.up-REI-CAU come
'Again I end up waking up so scared'

d. *mari=**pura**, ikwa-ta-wara,* *na* *ikian=**pura*** *ta* *kumitsa*
what=FOC know-CAU-DER, QT DEM=FOC 1SG.M say
'What, teacher, this is what I say'

e. *t-ima=**pura**=ay* *ra= tsenu*
NEG=FOC=already 3SG.M=hear
'So, he is no longer able to hear'

Compared to its frequency on nouns (3a), the frequency of *=pura* on verbs (3b) is very low and it only occurs on a restricted set of them. Also, in the majority of cases, the host verb is not the nucleus of the clause, but rather it tends to be the predicate of a dependent clause. Very often, *=pura* appears on pronominal forms (3c). In addition, *=pura* can attach to interrogative words and demonstrative pronouns (3d). Finally, *=pura* combines with the negative particles (3e).

Generally, *=pura* occurs appended to the last word of a constituent or phrase (e.g., 3a-d). On nouns, however, *=pura* exhibits an odd distribution because it occupies a slot position close to the root. That is, it shows up between derivational morphemes and the evaluative morphemes, as shown in the following examples:

(4)	*tsuwɨ**=pura***	blood=FOC	'the blood'
	*yawati**=pura**=tua=nu***	turtle=FOC=AUG=PL.F	'the huge turtles'
	*panara-pan**=pura**=kana***	banana-DER=FOC=PL.M	'the banana farms'

The distribution of *=pura* in natural discourse raises questions regarding its function. If *=pura* is a focus marker, what type(s) of focus does it express? That is, how does the function of *=pura* fit in the typology of focus? Does *=pura* encode focus independently from other widely attested mechanisms, such as stress and constituent order, or does it interact with such mechanisms to produce formal distinctions resulting in various subtypes of focus? The remainder of this section addresses these questions.

The database for this study is a portion of the texts described earlier (§2.9). The texts altogether consist of about 2539 intonation units, among which 351 instances of the focus morpheme *=pura* have been identified. Thus, this morpheme occurs in about 14% of all intonation units.

11.2.2. The scope and function of *=pura*: an overview

In order to understand the function of *=pura* in discourse, one has to understand how this morpheme behaves in the internal structure of sentences themselves. From a morphosyntactic point of view, *=pura* can be associated with specific particles, NPs, verbs and sentences. In this section I argue that the focus domain and the focus subtype are marked by a combination of *=pura*, constituent order and stress.

Following the typologies introduced in Table 11.1, the focus constructions attested in KK can be organized by mapping out their scope (narrow/broad) on the vertical axis with their function (non-contrastive/contrastive) on the horizontal axis. This is presented in Table 2, below. At the right of each construction, the number of instances attested in the database is included. In what follows, the pragmatic characterization of each construction will be discussed immediately after its structural characterization.

Table 11.2: Focus constructions that involve *=pura*

SCOPE	*PRAGMATIC INFORMATION*	NON-CONTRASTIVE	CONTRASTIVE
	NARROW	=pura & stress on focused NP; constituent order: canonical (in situ) S V **O**$_{=pura}$ n = 143 41% **S**$_{=pura}$ V (O) n = 7 2%	=pura & stress on focused NP; constituent order: non-canonical (fronted) **O**$_{=pura}$ S V n = 56 16% **O**$_{=pura=nan}$ S V n = 12 3% **OBL**$_{=pura}$ S V n = 21 6%
	BROAD	=pura & stress do not coincide (except in negation); constituent order: canonical SVO S$_{=pura}$ **V(O)** n = 67 19% **Neg**$_{=pura}$ [clause] n = 28 8% **Adv** S V O$_{=pura}$ n = 11 3%	

11.2.3. *=pura* and narrow focus

In natural discourse, *=pura* most frequently assumes narrow focus function. As a narrow-focus clitic, the most common syntactic unit to which *=pura* attaches is a NP

functioning as a core argument within the main clause or within the subordinate clause. In the main clause, the focused NP could be the object, an oblique, and, quite sporadically, the subject of the clause. When encoding narrow focus, a strong stress occurs upon a *pura*-marked NP.

11.2.3.1. Non-contrastive narrow focus constructions

Focus constructions in which the *pura*-marked NP remains in its usual position — focusing in situ — do not have contrastive interpretations. In other words, focusing in situ occurs when the clitic *=pura* attaches to either the object or the subject in the pragmatically unmarked order pattern SV(O).

11.2.3.1.1. Marking core arguments in the main clause

In the examples below, the NPs marked by *=pura* are the O arguments. In example (5), repeated from (2b), the scope of *=pura* is 'Lima (city)', and in (6), repeated from (2c), 'all (kinds of things).' In terms of encoding, notice two things: both examples display pragmatically unmarked constituent order, and the beginning of the focused constituent coincides with the prosodic peak. The construction is [S V $\underline{O}_{=pura}$].

(5)

	S V	O
ɨ wati=tsui	*ts=umi* *[lima*	*ritama=pura]*
high=ABL	1SG.F=see Lima	community=FOC

'From above, I see Lima city'

(6)

	S	V	O
aytsemeka	*rana*	*yumi*	*[upi mari=pura]* *tana=tsui*
it's.true	3PL.M	give	all thing=FOC 1PL.M=ABL

'For real, they give us all kinds of things'

When we turn to the communicative context in which the examples above are used, the speaker typically signals his concern with a particular instantiation of a variable that is not evident by itself. In (5), reporting about her first trip by airplane, the speaker asserts that while still in the air, she could see Lima; that is, suddenly Lima appeared. In example (6) the speaker is talking about the fact that when a catastrophe occurred in his community, they asked the authorities for help and they did in fact receive 'all kinds of things'. Thus, the examples in (5) and (6) evoke presuppositions with an open variable. The variables are saturated in the following way:

(5') Presupposition: <I see X>; assertion: <X= Lima city>

(6') Presupposition: <they give X to us>; assertion: <X= all kinds of things>

In spontaneous conversations, instantiation of a variable can also come from the interlocutor. Some of the interlocutor's interventions could be understood as a communication that he "got the point"; that is, the interlocutor confirms that the variable has been correctly instantiated. The passage below comes from a conversation in which speaker A is saying that she learned from her grandmother and other relatives the stories that she knows. Speaker B's intervention is in (7b):

(7) a. Speaker A: *tsa=nai* *ɨmɨntsara-yara* *ukua=tsuri*
1SG.F=gmother story-own habitual=PAS3
'(Also) my grandmother used to tell stories'

b. Speaker B:

S	V	O
ah,	*na=tsenu*	*[ɨmɨna-n=pura=kana]*
ah	2SG=listen	old-NZR=FOC=PL.M

'Ah, you listen to the elders'

(7b') Presupposition: <you listen to X>; assertion: <X = the elders>

In narratives, another prominent use of *=pura* is when the speaker "repeats" a piece of information to ensure that the hearer is fully aware of the proposition and does not doubt it any further. In (8), the speaker is talking about her experience with a non-human creature. In (8a) she mentions that it touches 'her foot'. In (8b), she repeats 'foot' and marks it with *=pura*, in case the hearer did not "get the point" that is essential for understanding the subsequent part of the narrative. Notice that only in (8b) is the O argument marked by *=pura.*

(8) a. S V LOC

tsa=ukɨrɨ arɨwa, ya=tu kamata=tsuri=ay tsa=pɨta=ri

1SG.F=sleep up 3SG.F=AUG touch=PAS3=already 1SG.F=foot=DIF

'When I was sleeping, he touched (me) around my foot'

b. S V O

sɨɨɨɨɨh, y=ɨrɨrɨta [tsa=pɨta=pura]

[Ideophone] 3SG.F=take 1SG.F=foot=FOC

'He takes my foot'

Following Lambrecht (1994), I analyze (8a) and (8b) as having different information structures.[3] While the focus domain in (8a) is the VP (i.e. predicate-focus), the focus domain in (8b) is the NP functioning as the O argument (i.e. argument-focus).

(8a') Presupposition: <he does X>; assertion: <X = touches around my foot>

(8b') Presupposition: <he takes X>; assertion: <X = my foot>

The examples discussed so far involve NPs functioning as the O argument, but *=pura* can also appear attached to a stressed NP subject, summarized as [$\underline{S}_{=pura}$V(O)].

[3] Examples like (8a-b) could be also analyzed as re-instantiation of a variable which is said to occur not only when a speaker corrects himself, but also when he is not sure whether a previous instantiation of a core variable was well-enough established to continue a narration.

This construction, however, is extremely rare in the database.[4] Here, the subject must be instantiated by either a full NP or a long form pronoun. Examples in (9), illustrate the narrow-focus function of *=pura* on the subject; these come from a traditional story about a party thrown by the animals from the jungle. During this party some animals got their names. In (9a) the speaker asserts that 'the black monkey (Sp. Pichico)' is one who got his name. During the celebration 'the huge turtles' are the animals who started to dance (9b).

(9) a.

		S	V	O	
na	*ikian*	*itsatsuni=pura*	*chikara*	*ra*	*chira*
like.this	DEM	black.monkey=FOC	look.for	3SG.M	name

'And this black monkey looks for his name'

b.

S	V
ikian	*yawati=pura=tu=kana*	*yaparachi*
this	turtle.sp=FOC=AUG=PL.M	dance

'These huge turtles dance

In the discourse context, the portions under focus are filling a gap in the hearer's knowledge. That is, these utterances are answers to questions like 'who (among the participants) finds his name?' and 'who (among the participants) dances?'

(9a') Presupposition: < X finds his name>; assertion: <X=the black monkey>

(9b') Presupposition: <X dance>; assertion: <X=the huge turtles>

11.2.3.1.2. Marking arguments inside subordinate clauses

The morpheme *=pura* can not only mark constituents within the matrix clause, but also specific arguments within subordinate clauses. The following examples involve

[4] In contrast, there are a considerable number of instances in which the *pura*-marked NP in subject function appears unstressed. In §11.2.4, it will be argued that sentences where *=pura* attaches to unstressed subjects serve a broad-focus function.

subordinate clauses with adverbial and complement functions. In (10) the subordinate clause specifies the purpose of the event expressed in the matrix clause. The context is the following: the speaker is talking about his visit to Guatemala. He mentions that his host took him on a tour to visit several places. In this example, the subordinate clause is 'to see their old town'. Looking at the prosody, (10) includes a clear stress on *=pura,* attached to 'community.'

(10) *raepe* *rana* *erutsu* *tana* *[[ikian* *imanan* *rana*
then 3PL.M bring 1PL.M this old 3PL.M

*ritama=**pura]** umi]-tara*
community=FOC see-PUR1
'After that, they took us to see their old town'

What needs to be noticed about example (10) is that, within the discourse context, it would not be responding to a question like 'what did they take you for?' but to a question like 'what did they take you to see?' Thus, the focused portion, 'their old town', is the O argument of the subordinate verb 'see'. This means two things: i) it is unlikely that we can interpret the whole subordinate clause as being in focus; [5] and, ii) the presupposition for this utterance contains an open variable, i.e. it does not evoke a set of variables.

(10') Presupposition: <they took us to see X>; assertion: <X=the old town>

[5] There are other utterances containing *=pura* in which the stress is upon other elements of the subordinate clause. In the example below, for instance, the stress is on the verb 'be cold'. Thus, 'because they feel cold' is in focus. Cases like this are better analyzed as broad focus constructions (see Section 4.2).

[[nanin *awa=**pura]** *tsiri]-ikua* *in=ukua* *yawa*
like.this person=FOC be.cold-SUB.RSN 1PL.IN=go.around manner
'Because these people feel cold, they go around (wear) this way'

Similar examples of *=pura* marked NPs are found within subordinate clauses expressing the reason why the event in the matrix clause is realized. In (11), the speaker is talking about an earthquake that destroyed the city. The subordinate clause is 'because the earthquake destroyed all their houses', but the part under the scope of *=pura* is the NP 'all their houses', i.e. the O argument of 'destroy'. Notice the stress on 'all'. In the communicative context, this construction is not about 'why they left,' but about 'what the earthquake destroyed.'

(11) *[karura* *uwari-ta* *[upi* *rana* *uka=pura]-ikua]*
earthquake fall-CAU all 3PL.M house=FOC-RZN

rana *ichari* *ikian*
3PL.M leave DEM
'Because the earthquake destroyed all their houses, they left this [place]'

(11') Presupposition: <they left because the earthquake destroyed X>;
Assertion: <X=all the houses>

11.2.3.2. Contrastive-narrow focus constructions

The clitic *=pura* does not always occur in structures displaying canonical constituent order. Recall that an unmarked clause could be summarized as: (ADV) S V (O) (OBL). Constructions where a *pura*-marked O or oblique NP appears fronted have contrastive interpretations. Following Chafe, an utterance is contrastive if there is a set of possible alternatives for the element being contrasted. To identify the set of

alternatives, I follow, to some extent, the methodology provided by Myhill and Xing (1996).[6]

11.2.3.2.1. Marking NPs in the O argument function

The interaction of *=pura* with the pragmatically marked ordering OSV is one of the strategies to express contrastive-narrow focus. In the examples (12-14), the focus constituent is a full NP, or a long form pronoun, in the O argument function. In terms of prosody, the stress occurs on the *pura*-marked NP.

(12) a. *temente* *timi-n* *musica*
no.exist be.separate-NZR music
'(Before) there was no other (type of) music'

b. O S V
aypuka-tin, [maniamaniakan musica=pura] *inu* *yauki*
currently-MOD, all.kinds music=FOC 3PL.F make
'Nowadays, all kinds of music they make'

(13) a. *emete* *tana* *yawiri,* *panaki ra*
there.is 1PL.M yucca banana
'There we have yucca, banana'

b. O S V
[upi mari=pura] *tana* *yati ma*
all thing=FOC 1PL.M sow
'Everything we sow'

(14) O S V
yaepe; [etse=pura] *ya=mutsana-ka=tsuri.*
there 1SG.L.F=FOC 3SG.F=medicine-REI=PAS3
'Then, he cured (bewitched) me'

[6] Myhill and Xing (1996) propose, among other things, two operational definitions: 'contrast' and 'list,' which approximate Chafe's 'double contrast' and 'contrast,' respectively. They provide a list of seven types of groupings that may constitute a set (1996:311), and suggest considering 6 clauses to be the maximum distance separating two contrastive or listing constructions (1996:319).

Example (12b) was produced when the speaker was talking about traditional celebrations. In utterances prior to (12b), he said the Kokamas used to make and dance to only traditional music. He contrasts this with what is being produced now, 'all kinds of music'. Example (13b) comes from a story about the relocation of the speaker's community after it got destroyed by a flood. He reports that in the new place they have good soil and are able to grow all that they want. In (13a) he lists the things they now plant, and in (13b) he expands the set to the limit by saying 'everything.' Prior to example (14), the speaker says that a shaman, who was in search of a wife, came to her community and stayed at her house where she was living with her mother and grandmother. It turns out that he selected 'her' as the one to bewitch and take as his wife. Schematically, the examples above involve explicitly established presuppositions and instantiate the variables in the following manner:

(12b') Presupposition: <they make X>; assertion: <X=all kinds of music>
Set of alternatives: <traditional music, all kinds of music>

(13b') Presupposition: <we sow X>; assertion: <X=everything>
Set of alternatives: <banana, yucca, others… >

(14') Presupposition: < he bewitched X>; assertion: <X=me>
Set of alternatives: <mother, grandmother, me>

It should be pointed out that the same structure, [$\underline{O}_{=pura}$ S V], expresses different semantic operations. Within the discourse context, each of the focused pieces of information entails a modification of the hearer's mental representation of the discourse. Following Dik et al. (1981), in (12b) the previous value of the variable is being replaced by another value (i.e., replacing focus), in (13b) the new value of the variable includes the previous values (i.e., expanding focus), and in (14) a value is selected from a set of

available values (i.e., selective focus). Note, however, that if we further examine the examples above, one could argue that (13b) is somehow less contrastive than (12b) and (14). Even so, example (13b) is clearly contrastive if we take into consideration cultural knowledge. Every Kokama knows that relocating a community is one of the best strategies for better agriculture. Then, the contrast would be between <before we sowed few crops> and <now we sow everything>. What these examples all have in common is a presupposition containing a variable for which a set of alternatives exists. In contrast, the previous construction, [S V $\underline{O}_{=pura}$], consistently involves a presupposition with an open variable.

At this point, it needs to be mentioned that out of 89 instances of the construction [$\underline{O}_{=pura}$ S V], for 15 examples (17%) it is difficult to clearly establish a set of alternatives from the previous discourse. That is, these 15 instances did not fulfill Myhill and Xing's requirement because for some of them contrast can be built in various ways, for others no candidates for a set of alternatives can be reconstructed. In some sense, this supports Lambrecht's (1994) view that contrast is pragmatically inferred rather than expressed by grammar. However, looking at these examples more closely, contrast is obvious in all cases despite the absence of a clear set of alternatives.[7] In what follows, I present in detail a representative sample.

The examples in (15) come from a portion of a conversation in which speaker A is describing her several marriages. In the previous discourse, she mentions that with her

[7] Although Myhill and Xing's main goal is to avoid subjective judgments as to what constitutes contrast, they acknowledge finding "clear cases of implicit contrast" and counting them as part of the sample (1996:320).

third husband she had two children, then she separated from him and stayed alone. In (15a) she asserts that she found another man. The contrast might be built in at least two ways: <another man> versus <previous men> or <another man> versus <no one else>. Among the Kokamas it is unexpected that a woman could get married so many times, and the surprise expressed in the interlocutor's reply (15b) shows the cultural counter-expectation of <finding another man>.

(15) a.

	O	S	V
Speaker A: *raepetsui,*	*[yamua=pura]*	*tsa*	*purara-ka=tsuri*
then,	other=FOC	1SG.F	find-REI=PAS3

'Then, another (man) I found again'

b. Speaker B: *ah, rama napitsara na purara-ka*
ah other man 2SG find-REI
'Ah, another man you find again!'

The context for (16) is a conversation about traditional celebrations. The speaker mentions that they used to get drunk with 'masato', a drink made out of yucca. All members of the KK community would be aware that in today's Kokama celebrations *aguardiente*, a drink made out of sugar cane, plays this role. As such, even though *aguardiente* is not explicitly mentioned, the use of *aguardiente* is the implicit presupposition against which the traditional drink is contrasted: <before we drank masato> versus <now we drink aguardiente>.

(16)

O		S	V	
rana tsaipura=tsen,		[kaitsuma=pura]	rana	kurata
3PL.M be.drunk=PUR3,		masato=FOC	3PL.M	drink

'To get drunk, masato (yucca-drink) they drink'

Example (17) does not need much context. Finding hair in a drink is contrary to expectation in almost every imaginable situation.

(17) O S V LOC

[yakɨ tsa=pura] *rana* *purara* *ra* *kaitsuma=kuara*

hair=FOC 3PL.M find 3SG.M masato=INE

'Hair they find in her masato (yucca-drink)'

To sum up, even though for 15 of the 89 examples it is difficult to establish a set of alternatives to saturate the variable of the proposition, we argue that in every case of the construction [O$_{=pura}$ S V] the element in focus involves counter-expectation. In the less explicit cases, the contrast is with implicit cultural presuppositions. Thus, to fully understand the dimensions of contrast in a given culture, we need to take into consideration ethnographic information regarding the common background beliefs that make up the "universe of discourse" in that culture.[8]

11.2.3.2.2. Marking NPs in oblique function

The next examples show that the *=pura*-marked NP may have an oblique function within the clause. Notice that the core arguments are in their canonical positions, but the postpositional phrase (PP) occurs in sentence initial position. The construction could be summarized as [OBL$_{=pura}$ S V (O)]. The morpheme *=pura* has been attested with the comitative NP, and in a few instances with the instrumental NP. That is, *=pura* is not attested as attaching to other oblique NPs such as locative, directional, comparative, etc. In (18) the marked element is the NP 'the price of their work', which functions as the instrument; and in (19b) the marked NP is the comitative

[8] The universe of discourse is understood as the "body of facts which both speaker and hearer believe they agree on" (Kempson 1975).

'the other (man)'. Usually, the focused PPs attract focal stress: in (18) the stress is on =*pura*, in (19b) on =*muki* 'comitative'.

(18) INS S V O

*nanin [inu kamata-n chiipi=**pura**=pu]*
like.this 3PL.F work-NZR price=FOC-INS

inu mainani tsa=tsuri.
3PL.F care 1SG.F=PAS3
'Like this, with the price of their work, they took care of me'

(19) a.Speaker A: *pichka uyari n=itika-ka*
five times 2SG-throw-REI
'So, five times you separated'

b.Speaker B: COM S V

*[yamua=**pura**=muki] hasta aypuka tsa=kakiri*
other =FOC=COM until currently 1SG.F=live
'With the other one (the last one) I live up to now'

In terms of pragmatics, the utterances in (18) and (19b) involve modification of the hearer's presuppositions built in the local discourse context. For (18), in previous sentences the speaker mentioned that her father used to work with the mestizos. Then she says her mother and grandmother took care of her 'with the price of their work'. Later she adds that her father was not a good man and left home when she was a little girl, so she grew up without the father's support. Example (19b) comes from the same conversation in which speaker B mentions that she has been married five times and explains why she got separated from each husband. In this portion, speaker A assumes that she has separated from the last husband too, but speaker B replies that 'with this

one', out of the five men, she lives up to now. Schematically, the structures of the propositions are:

(18') Presupposition: <they take care of me with X>;
Assertion: <X=mother's and grandmother's support>
Set of alternatives: <father's support, mother and grandmother's support>

(19b') Presupposition: <I live with X>; assertion: <X=the 5th husband>
Set of alternatives: <1st husband, 2nd husband…>

11.2.3.3. Interaction of =*pura* with the exhaustive operator =*nan*

Also frequent in narrow focus constructions is the interation of =*pura* with the exhaustive operator =*nan* 'only.' The enclitic =*nan* attaches to NPs (including pronouns), adverbs, and, less frequently, to subordinate verbs.

(20) *epe=**nan*** *yauki* *ikian* *ritama=utsu*
2PL=only make this community=FUT
'Only you will make (grow) this community'

The function of =*nan* is to specify one item from a set of alternatives, adding emphasis upon the focused element. The context for (20) is this: before starting a long trip, the speaker, who happens to be the leader of a recently relocated village, puts his children in charge of the community. In that context, (20) does not strictly means his children will be the only ones working for the village (i.e., if we consider the rest of the community members). It could be paraphrased as 'instead of you working together with me for the community, you will work by yourselves, without me.'

The enclitic =*nan* often attaches to the *pura*-marked NP, i.e. =*nan* follows =*pura*. In the database, the marked NP fulfills mostly the O argument function, and in a few instances the comitative. They occur in sentence initial position and attract stress.

The schemata for these constructions are: [$\underline{O}_{=pura=nan}$ S V], (21a), and [$\underline{COM}_{=pura=nan}$ S V], (21b).

(21) a. O S V
[tsen=pura=nan] *rana* *yankata* *n=emera*
sweet=FOC=only 3PL.M put 2SG=eat
'Only sweet (things) they put for you to eat'

b. COM S V
[tsa=mɨmɨra=pura=nu=muki=nan] *tsa=kakɨrɨ=tsuri=ay*
1SG.F=women'son=FOC=PL=COM=only 1SG.F=live=PAS3=already
'I lived just with my children'

In the communicative context, the examples in (21) are contrastive. In (21a) the speaker is talking about his trip to Guatemala. In previous sentences he explicitly says that 'the food was not good' because 'they do not eat salt', as one might expect, but 'only sweet things'. On the one hand, *=nan* restricts the set of items available to be eaten to 'sweet things'. On the other hand, *=pura* adds contrast because the value expected is both 'salty things' and 'sweet things.' The contributions of *=nan* and *=pura* are not always transparent and easy to separate, though. For instance, in sentences prior to (21b), the speaker mentions that when she got married she and her husband decided to live far from the community. Thus, the set of alternatives for (21b) would consist of 'her husband, her children.' When she says 'only with my children', she restricts the set; however, selecting 'her children' is not unexpected. What seems unexpected is that her husband is not included. Later the speaker adds that she remained alone with the children because her husband used to go hunting for long periods of time.

Schematically:

(21a') Presupposition: <they eat X>; assertion: <x = only sweet things>
Set of alternatives: <salty things, sweet things>

(21b') Presupposition: <she lives with X>; assertion: <X = only children>
Set of alternatives: <children, husband>

For operations like the ones involved in (21), Watters (1979) proposes *exhaustive listing focus* (cf. Dik's *restrictive focus*), defined as the type of focus that highlights the information which the speaker asserts is unique in the sense that the proposition is true only with respect to it and false with respect to all other units from the presupposed set. Note that *restriction* differs from *selection* as illustrated in (14) above: 'he bewitched me (not mother or grandmother).' Both selective and restrictive focus involve sets of alternatives; however, (14) states that 'I was bewitched' and only implies that 'mother and grandmother were not', (21a) states that 'they eat sweet things' and entails 'they don't eat salty things.' Thus, it is the interaction of *=pura* with *=nan* which expresses exhaustive listing focus.

Up to here we have seen that the most common syntactic unit marked by *=pura* is a NP, whether it is functioning as an argument of the main clause, an argument of the subordinate clause, or an oblique. Accordingly, it attaches to the last element of the focused NP. However, in complex NPs —noun phrases that include relative clauses as modifiers— two focus markers have been attested. This is the topic of the next section.

11.2.3.4. Double appearance of *=pura* within an NP

Frequently, *=pura* appears directly attached to relative clauses/nominalized verbs.[9] The host is the right-most lexeme within the NP, and could be functioning as the subject

[9] Recall from §10.3 that relativization and nominalization are hard to distinguish in KK, both formally and semantically.

(22a) or the object (22b) within the matrix clause. In (22a), note that the plural marker occurs at the end of the complex NP, but it is clear that its scope includes 'house'.

(22) a. S V
[uka uwari-n=pura=kana] *tsenia-pupe-ra-pa*
house fall-REL=FOC=PL.M knee-INS-VZR-CPL
'The houses that fell down (with the earthquake) are kind of kneeling'

b. O S V
[tana yatɨma-n=pura] *uni* *erutsu*
1PL.M sow-NZR=FOC water bring
'The water takes away what we have sowed/our sowing'

The clitic *=pura* can occur twice within constructions that resemble the type of complex NPs described above, that is, in constructions where the head noun has among its modifiers a relative clause.[10] Further, in all the examples the Rel-C follows the head noun. The examples below illustrate the double appearance of *=pura* within an NP. Examples like these raise a question regarding the scope of *=pura*; that is, which constituent(s) is (are) in focus?

(23) a. S V
mamaaa, [[inu=pura]NP [ɨtsɨka-ka]-n=pura=nu]NP] *tsapuki*
mom 3PL.F=FOC be.scared-REI-REL=FOC=PL.F call
'"mooom," they who are scared/the scared ones call'

b. O
[[ɨkɨratsen=pura=nu]NP [uka-ka yuti-n=pura=nu]NP]
child=FOC=PL.F house-LOC stay-REL=FOC=PL.F

[10] In nominal predicate constructions, both the NP subject and the NP predicate can be focalized, as illustrated below. However, such constructions are different in that 'hen' and 'pet' do not belong to a single NP. I analyze those cases as double focus constructions.
atawari=pura *ya* *mɨma=pura* 'The hen was its pet'
Hen=FOC 3F pet=FOC

S V
ya=tu *tsapu-pu-ki*
3SG.F=AUG call-RED-call
'To the children who stay in the house, he (the yacuruna) keeps calling'

c. S V O
penu *yawachima-ka-t=utsu* *uyarika* *[[awa=pura]*$_{NP}$
1plEF arrive-REI-CAU=FUT again person=FOC

[ukuata-ri-n=pura=nu] $_{NP}$]
pass-PROG-REL=FOC=PL
'We will reach again the people who are crossing (the street)

A first attempt to formulate the structure of these NPs would be: NP = [$N_{=pura}$ $RC_{=pura}$]. Notice, however, that each element can also be marked by plural (23b). Also, there is stress on each *pura*-marked piece, but there is no pause between them. This suggests that in constructions like (23) the head and the RC are each behaving as independent syntactic units on their own. At the same time, they function together as either the subject or object of the clause. Thus, a better interpretation of the complex NPs in (23) is that they consist of two NPs in an appositive relationship. That is: NP = [NP NP]. The appositive NPs have the same referent, which in the communicative context happens to be in focus. In consequence, the examples in (23) are additional cases of narrow focus.

With respect to the pragmatic structure of the above examples, constituent order is crucial for the type of focus being coded. While (22a), (23a) and (23c) display canonical order SV(O) and yield non-contrastive interpretations, (22b) and (23b) have non-canonical order OSV and bear contrastive interpretations. For instance, sentence (23a) comes from a narrative about the *yacurunas*, and is produced when the speaker is

narrating that when she was at her farm, she heard people screaming. She points out that at the beginning she did not know who was screaming. Then she realized that the ones screaming were calling 'her' and happened to be 'they', her children. Since 'they' and 'the scared ones' have the same referent and this is in focus, the speaker marks both pieces with *=pura.* Example (23b) comes from the same narrative about the *yacurunas*. Up to this point of the narrative, possible candidates for being called by the *yacurunas* introduced by the speaker are her children and her neighbors. Here the speaker asserts that these aquatic creatures where calling to 'her children'.

(23a') Presupposition: <X call>; assertion: <X=they, the scared ones>
(23b') Presupposition: <they call X>; assertion: <X=the children who stayed at home>
Set of alternatives: <children, neighbors, someone else>

Up to here we have seen that the scope of *=pura* is a NP usually in the O argument function. Depending on the constituent order of the construction, the focus is modifying what is perceived to be a wrong variable-instantiation, or filling a presumed gap in the addressee's knowledge. Importantly, in KK narrow focus constructions, the focused element correlates with the prosodic peak within the intonation unit. This changes in the next section, which examines the different interaction between *=pura* and stress used to encode broad focus.

11.2.4. *=pura* and broad focus

This section examines the contribution of *=pura* in broad focus constructions. The construction for focusing the whole predication is a combination of two devices: the morpheme *=pura,* and focal stress. In natural discourse, especially in narratives, big chunks of oral material are produced with no pauses or interruptions. Those situations

call for strategies to mark information packaging. Crosslinguistic evidence indicates that focal stress tends to be located towards the end of the focus constituent (Halliday 1967, Ladd 1978). Lambrecht (1994:247) specifies that a fundamental principle of information structure is that "a sentence accent marks the END of a semantic domain, whose BEGINNING is marked by non-prosodic means." In contrast to accent, the presence of particles, or clitics, with distinctive syntax or an especially heavy functional load has been reported as a prominent feature for signaling information structure of languages from lowland South America (see Dooley 1990, Derbyshire 1986, Wise 1986, Jensen 1982, among others). Dooley (1990) proposes the term *spacer* for particles whose function is to signal divisions in the information structuring of the utterance. In sentence focus constructions, *=pura* assumes this delimitative function.

11.2.4.1. *=pura* as a spacer

In sentence-focus constructions, the NP to which *=pura* attaches usually functions as the subject (more likely S than A) of the main clause. In terms of encoding, the constituent order is unmarked, *=pura* attaches to the subject NP, and the focal stress occurs at the end of the verb phrase, usually the verb. The construction could be summarized as: [$S_{=pura}$ V].

In examples (24-25), the portion under focus is the whole predication.

(24) a. *iyati ya* *mayna-maynani*
false 3SG.F take.care-RED
'He (the guard) pretends to be protecting'

b. *gobierno=**pura*** *amutse*
government=FOC far
'The government is far away'

(25) a. *nayay* *wija=**pura*** *#tsi#ka-ka*
like.this old.woman=FOC get.scared-REI
'So the old woman gets very scared (and says…)'

b. *ah senior,* *tsa=yuwama=**pura**=taka* *uwaka-pa*.
ah lord 1SG.F-daugther.law=FOC-MOD transform-CPL
'Oh my god, it seems my daughter in law has been transformed'

In the discourse preceding (24), the speaker is talking about illegal fishing, the ability of the robbers, the incompetence of the guards, etc. In (24b), she introduces 'the government' and comments on it in the subsequent portion of the discourse. Note that the propositional content of (24b) is not taken for granted or presupposed; that is, the whole proposition is the focus of assertion. In the same vein, there is not a specific presupposition for (25a-b). The context is the following: a woman avoids everybody's company while working at the farm, including her mother-in-law. The mother-in-law suspects the woman is hiding a secret and decides to spy on her. One day she follows her daughter-in-law and when she arrives to the farm, the only thing she sees is a huge turtle working. In this context, (25a) and (25b) are answering the question: and what happens next? Examples like (24b) are often called "presentational sentences" and (25a-b) "event-reporting sentences" or "thetic sentences." The first type introduces a new entity into the discourse, the second type an event. Both share the fact that the subject of the sentence is not the topic[11] of the discourse.

[11] Following Lambrecht (1994:150), *topic* is understood as the "established 'matter of current concern' about which new information is added." Within this view, if a sentence is construed about a topic referent, the referent must be part of the pragmatic presupposition.

An additional use of sentence-focus constructions is not to communicate the propositional content of the clause but to make explicit that both the speaker and the hearer have knowledge of the propositions, that they share a common ground. In contrast to the examples discussed above, here the propositions are entirely presupposed. Examples that fall in this category include hearer's repetitions to confirm 'he got the point', speaker's conclusive remarks, etc.

(26) a. Speaker A: *ay* *na* *chita-ri=utsu*
already 2SG be.a.lot-PROG=FUT1
'You are already augmenting (having children)'

b. Speaker B: *ay* *tsa=pura* *chita*
already 1SG.F=FOC be.a.lot
'I already have a lot'

(27) a. Speaker A: *rana* *yaparachi,* *rana* *tsarɨwa-ka*
3PL.M dance, 3PL.M be.happy-REI
'They dance, they celebrate'

b. Speaker B: *era* *ya=pura=nu* *tsarɨwa-ka*
a.lot 3SG.F=FOC=PL.F be.happy-REI
'(Yes,) they celebrate a lot'

Examples in (26-27) could be characterized in terms of polarity. As presented in §11.1.2, for constructions in which the whole predication is in focus, Watters (1979) proposes the category *polar focus*. He argues that in polar focus constructions, it is the truth value TRUE or FALSE which the speaker asserts or counter-asserts concerning a proposition. Based on the communicative context, it could be argued that the speaker uses sentence focus constructions involving =*pura* to asserts the truth value of the proposition.

(26b') TRUE <I'm augmenting>

(27b') TRUE <They get happy>

For the sake of completeness, I introduce an additional sentence-focus construction in KK. These sentences include an adverb or a locative at the beginning. Importantly, here the stress is on the adverbial element, and *=pura* appears on the last element of the clause: [ADV S $V(O)_{=pura}$]. In contrast to the narrow-focus constructions, the *pura*-marked element is not only unstressed but almost always a short form pronoun.

(28) a. Speaker A: *iyati* *inu=maynani=ay*
false 3PL.F=care=3SG.F
'So, in vain they protect it'

b. Speaker B: *iyati* *kuika* *atsirika* *inu=maynani* *ya=pura*
false there go.down.river 3PL.F-care 3SG.F=FOC
'In vain down there they protect it'

c. Speaker A: *cuando yayakati=tsui* *inu=muna* *ya=pura*
when go.up.river=ABL 3PL.F=steal 3SG.F=FOC
'When from up there they steal it'

The sentences in (28) come from the conversation about illegal fishing. In (28b) Speaker B basically repeats the proposition of Speaker A. The main propositional content has been already mentioned, but with (28b) Speaker B specifies the location of the event. The stressed pieces in (28b) and (28c) have opposite meaning —'down there' and 'up there'— and also the verbs are quasi-antonyms — 'protect' and 'steal'. Nevertheless, the overall meaning of (28c) only reaffirms what has been said by Speaker B in (28b). Clearly, in these examples an interpretation of the *pura*-marked pronoun as being under focus is not viable. With *=pura* at the end of the sentence the

speaker cues the hearer to construe the whole sentence as being in focus rather than the stressed adverbial element or the *pura*-marked pronoun only.

11.2.4.2. =*pura* and negation

Additional cases of sentence focus are found in negative constructions. It is well known that there are close connections between Focus and Negation (Givón 2001). From a functional perspective, this is not a coincidence: negation typically applies to some piece of information concerning which there is some difference between the knowledge of the speaker and that of the addressee. As Givón points out, in negative assertions, the speaker is not communicating new information to the hearer; rather he is correcting the hearer's misguided beliefs (Givón 2001:372). The morpheme =*pura* interacts with negation not only to correct the hearer's beliefs, but also to express correction of the speaker's own former beliefs.

Examples (29a-c) come from a narrative in which the speaker is talking about her first trip by airplane. Based on her knowledge of planes making noise at landing and taking off, she was expecting the same noise from inside the airplane. In (29b), notice the assertion of the false value of the proposition: FALSE <planes make noise while flying>

(29) a. *yaepe ɨwati ya=kuara ini=puka tɨma y=ipu*
there high 3SG.F=INE 1PL.IN=when NEG 3SG.F=make.sound
'When we are up inside it (the plane), it doesn't produce sound'

b. *temente ya ipu=**pura***
no.exist 3SG.F produce.sound=FOC
'Its sound does not exist'

c. *ɨwɨtu=nan* *ini=tsenu*
wind=only 1plIN=hear
'We hear only the wind'

The morpheme *=pura* sporadically attaches to the negative particle *tɨma*. As mentioned earlier, the language has two negative particles: *tɨma* and *ni*. In natural discourse, the distribution of these particles is skewed; *ni* occurs rarely and seems related to particular idiolects. While some speakers use both, some others avoid *ni* altogether. In the first case, there is a tendency to use *tɨma* to negate the whole clause, or to negate the verb phrase. In contrast, *ni* is used to negate single units, mostly arguments and sometimes the predicate. A general characterization of *tɨma* is that its scope covers the (biggest) constituent that immediately follows it, including [SVO], [VO], and some adverbs. The examples below show this, where the negated portion is in bold.

(30) a. *tɨma* *ra=tseta* *eyu-n* [SVO]
NEG 3SG.M-want eat-NZR
'he doesn't want food'

b. *yaepe* *inu* *tɨma* *eyu* *tewe* S [VO]
there 3PL.F NEG eat salt
'there, they don't eat salt'

c. *ya* *iriwa-ka=tsuri* *tɨma* *era* SV [ADV]
3SG.F come.back-REI=PAS NEG good
'he came back not good (sick)'

In natural texts, =*pura* attaches to *tɨma*, but extremely rarely to *ni*.[12] Further, in all the instances where the negative particle is marked by =*pura*, it is the constituent in first position within the clause, hence focusing on the negation of the whole predication.

(31) a. ***tɨma=pura*** *r=ɨwama*.
NEG=FOC 3SG.M=demolish
'(Even in the rainy season) it does not get destroyed'

b. ***tɨma=pura*** *ini utsu ikian ɨwɨrati=kuara*
NEG=FOC 1plIN go this forest=INE
'We do not go through this forest'

c. *ay* ***tɨma=pura-ay*** *ra=tsenu*
already NEG=FOC-already 3SG.M=hear
'So, he cannot hear anymore/he is no longer able to hear'

In all these examples the morpheme *tɨma* is negating the whole sentence. The contexts for the sentences in (31a) were set up by the speaker in the preceding discourse. In rainy season, communities that are close to the rivers are expected to get destroyed and literally disappear. In (31a) the speaker is reporting that because they moved the community to another place, this is no longer true. In the same text, the speaker said that people used to walk through the forest to get to the community, and this was a difficult journey. In contrast, now they have a path (31b). The context for (31c) is this: the speaker says that once his friend started having ear-aches. With time he

[12] Below is an example where =*pura* attaches to *ni*. The speaker is reporting that nowadays they have all kinds of fish, except for 'paiche', the most valued fish in the Amazon. The scope of negation is 'paiche', because if the negation were to involve the existential predication, the form *temente* 'there-is-not' would have been used.
aypuka *[ni=pura* *ɨ watsu]* *emete*
currently NEG-FOC paiche exist
'At present, there exists no paiche (fish.sp) anymore'

got worse, so now he is no longer able to hear. In terms of propositions, the logical truth value is reversed and the speaker is focusing on the truth value 'false.'

(31') a. FALSE <it gets destroyed>

b. FALSE <we go through the forest>

c. FALSE <he can hear>

As Givon (2001) points out, with negative constructions the speaker is somehow correcting the hearer's misguided beliefs. In that sense, they could be thought of as contrastive. However, they are not contrastive in the sense of Watters (1979). Recall that Watters proposes counter-assertive polar focus for "the speaker's reply contradicting the hearer's assertion." None of the examples with =*pura* on the negative particle is the hearer's reply to what the speaker has previously asserted. Thus, the construction [NEG=$_{pura}$ [clause]] is better categorized as Watter's polar focus. In the database, there are no instances of contradicting replies, so at this point we do not know whether any specific construction would be associated with this function.

11.2.5. Summary and discussion

The morpheme =*pura* assumes two main pragmatic functions: narrow-focus operator, and sentence-focus spacer. From Table 11.2 (pg. 721), we can see that, in the parameter of scope, when =*pura* assumes a narrow-focus function, it generally attaches to stressed NPs in either object argument function or oblique function, but quite rarely in subject function. A less robust pattern shows =*pura* marking arguments within a subordinate clause.

In the pragmatic dimension, the *pura*-marked NP expresses various subtypes of focus, generally distinguished via constituent order. When the *pura*-marked NP is the O in the SVO pattern, it correlates strongly with non-contrastive focus. When the *pura*-marked NP is the O in the OSV pattern, it correlates strongly with contrastive focus. However, in KK, Dik et al.'s (1981) finer distinctions within the contrastive category are neutralized. That is to say that the semantic operations such as selection, restriction, expansion, etc., are all expressed by the same structure. To express Watters' exhaustive listing focus, *=pura* interacts with the clitic *=nan* 'only'.

In sentence-focus constructions, the morpheme *=pura* exhibits a delimitative function. Here, *=pura* marks the first element of the focus domain, then focal stress occurs towards the end of the focused unit. Interestingly, it is possible to posit that in sentence-focus constructions, the distribution of *=pura* follows a nominative pattern: in the formal dimension the subject of either intransitive or transitive clauses are unstressed NPs and are marked by *=pura*. In the pragmatic dimension, the subject of the clause is not the topic and the whole sentence is asserted. In other words, the nominative pattern plus prosodic peak are central for distinguishing sentence focus from the range of narrow-focus constructions. Once the hearer knows that i) the subject is marked by *=pura;* and ii) it is unstressed, he knows that this is a sentence focus construction. In contrast, once the hearer knows that i) any non-subject is marked by *=pura;* and, ii) it is stressed, this is a narrow-focus construction. A less frequent pattern (as in 31) shows that stress marks the beginning and *=pura* the end of the unit under

focus. An additional way of focusing the whole sentence is by attaching *=pura* to the negative particle, whose scope is the entire clause.

Overall, the principal results of this study are that the clitic *=pura* is an important cue to identify focus constructions — every utterance that includes *=pura* has a pragmatically marked focus structure — and that the distribution and function of *=pura* in KK discourse is part of a coherent functional system that cannot be understood without considering multiple interacting factors from morphosyntax, pragmatics, and prosody.

In §11.2.1, it was mentioned that languages express different types of focus at the level of sentence grammar. From the two parameters that characterize focus —scope and pragmatic information— the existence of constructions dedicated to code scope seems clear. The results of this study support this claim. In KK, the scope of the focused unit correlates consistently with specific structures. That is, what is clearly coded in KK is whether a construction has narrow or broad focus structure. When focal stress and *=pura* co-occur, it marks a narrow-focus construction; when the subject is marked by *=pura* and is unstressed, it marks a sentence-focus construction.

The typological existence of constructions dedicated to pragmatic contrast, however, has been in dispute. One of the most cited cases of explicit coding of contrast is that of Aghem. The major conclusions of Watters (1979) are that Aghem has explicit structures to express specific types of focus, but above all, that Aghem formally distinguishes contrastive from non-contrastive focus. That is, his findings support the idea that contrast is a possible grammatical category. However, it is risky to generalize

from his findings as his study is limited to simple-declarative sentences, which were elicited or construed by the author and tested with one speaker (Watters 1979:141). In contrast, other studies have found that languages often do not have constructions devoted to specific types of focus, nor specifically to contrast (Vries 1985). In the same vein, Lambrecht (1994), after analyzing mostly made-up examples, argues that stress in English is by no means confined to expressing contrast. He concludes that since a contrastive interpretation is available but not obligatory, contrast belongs to conversational implicature rather than to grammar. Lambrecht adds that the problem seems to be a lack of an operational definition of contrast. Myhill and Xing (1996) attempt to solve the methodological issue on how to recognize contrast in discourse data. They operationalize Chafe's (1976) definition of contrast —a set of alternatives for the role being contrasted— and look at discourse in Chinese and Biblical Hebrew. They conclude that neither language presents a construction devoted to contrastive focus. Further, they suggest that a categorical correspondence between one construction and one type of focus may not exist.

In KK, however, there are constructions that clearly distinguish contrastive from non-contrastive focus. Recall from §11.2.3.2 that 83% (n=74) of the [O=*pura* S V] constructions expressed contrast following the operational definition proposed by Myhill and Xing's (1996). The remaining examples (n=15, 17%) did not fulfill Myhill and Xing's requirement as clear alternatives could not be traced in the previous discourse, or, in Lambrecht's words, the relevant presuppositions were not always lexico-grammatically evoked. Interestingly, also Myhill and Xing did find "clear cases

of implicit contrast" (1996:320). However, in KK, this subset of examples can be accounted for when we recognize that contrast can be built on the basis of shared cultural knowledge. Although operational definitions are important as a means of avoiding circularity, we cannot ignore the danger of restricting our attention to only overtly stated discourse context and thereby underestimating the importance of the "universe of discourse." In conclusion, KK suggests that we need to provide a place in the grammar for dedicated contrastive focus constructions.

11.3. Selection of pronominal forms: grammar and discourse

As introduced in Chapter III, and pointed out throughout this dissertation, KK has three sets of forms for expressing pronominal referents: long form free pronouns, short form free pronouns, and enclitics. Upon looking at them, some questions arise: do the different forms correspond to different meanings or functions? If yes, what kinds of factors drive the choice of one form or another at the moment of the utterance? This section is an attempt to answer those questions by examining natural discourse.

11.3.1. Assumptions and hypothesis

It has been noticed that the structure of expressions and their conceptualizations seems to follow certain general principles. The principle of iconicity assumes that: i) ideally, there is a coding relationship between one expression and one meaning, and ii) the conceptual simplicity of a notion corresponds to the simplicity of its expression (Croft 1993, Givón 1985, 1991, Haiman 1983). For example, the formal distance between linguistic expressions may be an iconically motivated index of the conceptual distance between the terms or events that they denote. It is also argued that functional-

cognitive principles, such as economy of mental effort, mediate specific instances of iconicity in grammar (Givon 1991).

As for the existence of multiple forms with the "same" referent in the languages of the world, Haiman (1983) points out:

> Through sound change or borrowing, a language acquires doublets -more or less synonymous ways of saying the same thing. […] True synonyms do not long endure: presented with a minimally contrasting pair of expressions, speakers will attempt to associate appropriately contrasting meaning with them. What seems 'appropriate' to speakers may often be what is iconically motivated (Haiman 1983:800).

Though the existence of multiple forms could have historical explanations, I will do not discuss their history here. Rather, what I want to explore is the modern forces that drive their distribution in natural texts.

A first look at the properties of pronominal forms in the language indicates that in certain constructions, only certain pronominal forms are allowed, whereas in others, any pronominal form is accepted. The hypothesis behind this section is then that, in constructions where multiple forms are grammatical, the pragmatic information status of the referent correlates with speaker's choices of pronominal forms in actual use. That is, speakers, by using these three sets of forms, give different amounts of information to the hearers, establishing an iconic relationship between the phonological size of the grammatical form and the amount of information that it carries. By "amount of information" I mean the quality and quantity of semantic-pragmatic instructions that the

speaker gives in order for the hearer to build mental representations within the universe of discourse.

Since personal pronouns are definite and referring by definition, notions such as referentiality and definiteness do not seem to be helpful in explaining the data. However, I will refer to the pragmatic function of focus as introduced in §11.1.2, because it proves to be relevant in describing the functions of the different pronominal forms in KK.

11.3.2. Long forms, short forms and clitics

As introduced in Chapter V, KK has three sets of pronominal forms: long form free pronouns, short form free pronouns, and enclitics. The language also distinguishes between masculine speech (MS) and feminine speech (FS) in the pronominal paradigms; gender is marked according to the speaker and not in reference to what they are talking about. The opposition between long and short free pronouns is only available in the singular — specifically in first person feminine speech, second person feminine and masculine speech, and third person masculine speech, whereas the opposition between independent forms versus enclitics is present through the whole paradigm.

The complete paradigm of pronouns for female speech (FS) and male speech (MS) is resented in Table 11.3. Notice the differences in form according to speaker's gender for first singular, third singular, first plural exclusive and third plural. There is an additional set of enclitic forms exclusively for third person object that were not included in the table below. These are: *=ay* / *=ura* for female/male speech respectively.

Table 11.3: Summary of forms for expressing person

SPEECH FORM	FS			MS		
	LF	**SF**	**CL**	**LF**	**SF**	**CL**
1SG	*etse*	*tsa*	*ts(a)=*	*ta*	*ta*	*t(a)=*
2SG	*ene*	*na*	*n(a)=*	*ene*	*na*	*n(a)=*
3SG	*ay*	*ya*	*y(a)=*	*uri*	*ra*	*r(a)=*
1PL. Incl.	*ini*		*ni=*	*ini*		*ni=*
1PL. Excl.	*penu*		*pen=*	*tana*		*tan=*
2PL	*epe*		*ep=*	*epe*		*ep=*
3PL	*inu*		*in=*	*rana*		*ran=*

LF: long form, SF: short form, CL: clitic[13]

11.3.3. Distribution of pronominal forms predicted by grammar

As mentioned earlier, in some constructions only particular pronominal forms are allowed; in others, any pronominal form is accepted. This section deals with the constructions in which only one of the pronoun sets is allowed.

11.3.3.1. Possessive pronouns

Both short forms and clitics operate as possessive pronouns, whereas long forms do not. The pronominal form precedes the possessed element.

(32) a. ***tsa/ts=/*etse*** *urkuru* *uki=uy*
1SG.F basket burn=PAS1
'My basket got burned'

b. *maka-tipa* ***na/na=/*ene*** *mirikua*
where -Q 2SG wife
'Where is your wife?' (ED)

11.3.3.2. Core arguments

In the construction with the syntactic configuration [NP NP V], if the second NP is a pronoun, then its interpretation varies depending on which set the pronoun is drawn

[13] In this section (§11.3) the abbreviations LF, SF, and CL together with 1, 2, 3 will be used to indicate the pronominal forms under discussion.

from. When the second NP is a long free pronoun, then the structure is interpreted as OSV (33).

(33) a. *ra* *ta-ra* ***uri*** *eruts=uy* OSV
3SG.M son 3SG.L.M bring=PAS1
's/he brought his son'

b. *yutiu-taka* ***ene*** *itika-ka* OSV
mosquito-MOD 2SG.L throw-REI
'Maybe you are throwing the mosquito away'

If a the second NP is a short form, speakers try to interpret the sentence as having SOV argument structure (34); however, recall that this ordering is generally not accepted except in the progressive aspect, hence the oddity indicated in (34) via the # symbol.

(34) a. # *ra* *ta-ra* ***ra*** *erut=uy* #SOV
3SG.M son 3SG.M bring=PAS1
'His son brought him/her' (ED)

b. # *yutiu=taka* ***na*** *itika-ka* #SOV
mosquito=MOD 2SG throw-REI
'Maybe the mosquito is throwing you away' (ED)

The examples in (35) show the mirror-image phenomenon: in progressive-marked clauses with the syntactic configuration [NP NP V], the automatic argument structure interpretation is SOV. Thus, when the first NP is a long form pronoun, this is consistent with its role as subject (35a). However, if the second NP is a long form, it becomes odd because speakers want to interpret it as the S argument, creating the order OSV, which is not acceptable in progressive-marked clauses (35b).

(35) a. ***ene*** *tsa* *mena* *inupa-ri* SOV
2SG.L 1SG.F husband hit-PROG
'My husband is biting you'

b. #*tsa* *mena* ***ene*** *inupa-ri* #OSV / #SOV
1SG.F husband 2SG.L hit-PROG
'You are biting my husband'

In (36) we see again the tendency for short forms to be interpreted as objects: when the second NP is a short form pronoun, speakers interpret it as the object, which is consistent with the expected ordering pattern of SOV (36a). However, when the short form appears in first position, there is a mismatch that results in an odd sentence (36b). Note that the patterns given in (36a-b) were not found in texts.

(36) a. *tsa* *mena* ***na*** *inupa-ri* SOV
1F husband 2SG hit-PROG
'My husband is biting you' (ED)

b.#***na*** *tsa* *mena* *inupa-ri* #OSV / #SOV
2SG 1SG.F husband hit-PROG
?'My husband is biting you / ?You are biting my husband (ED)

Although speakers consistently prefer the second NP in [NP NP V] constructions to be a long form, in natural texts we can find examples of pronouns from all three sets in this slot. Of course, the discourse context ameliorates any possible confusion about which argument is being expressed by the pronominal. In fact, one of the most frequent patterns in texts is for the subject pronoun to cliticize to the main predicate in both the OSV (37a) and SVO pattern (37b).

(37) a. *wɨra=pura=kana* ***r***=*umi* *raepe*
Bird=FOC=PL.M 3SG.M=see there
'Birds he sees there'

b. *ya=mirikua=muki* ***y***=*ichari* *ya=kaitsuma*
3SG.F=wife=COM 3SG.F=leave 3SG.F=yucca.beer
'With his wife he leaves his yucca beer'

A final note to consider is that in constructions with the SVO configuration where not other morphology occurs after O and when the second singular pronoun is the object argument, only the long form *ene* is accepted among the three forms. Further, *ene* generally appears cliticized to the verb (38a-b). This is also true for questions (38c). However, if other morphology —i.e., tense or modality— follows the object, the form that shows up as O is the clitic =*n*= (39a-b). That is, speakers avoid the short form as the object in the SVO order. A possible explanation for this could be the homophony between the quotative *na* and the second person short form *na*. Perhaps the motivating factor for speakers to use *ene* is to avoid ambiguities that may arise in examples like (40), when two morphemes *na* could potentially occur in sequence and there is no morphology to indicate the boundary of the VP, hence which is the object. While this explanation account for the majority of the data, in the corpus there are still instances of =*ene* acting as the object which are not followed by the quotative *na*.

(38) a. *ajan-ka* *tsa* *kauki=**ene/*=na**,*
DEM-LOC 1SG.F wait=2SG.L
'Here I am waiting for you'

b. *utsu* *ts=ichari=**ene/*na***
AND 1CL=leave=2SG.L
'I'm going to leave you'

c. *maka-tip=**ene/*=na**,* *wayna=kɨra*
where-Q=2SG.L, woman=DIM
'Where are you, little woman?'

(39) a. *kun=tua=nu=taka* *tseta* *muna=**n**=uy*
DEM=AUG=PL.F=UNC want steal=2SG=PAS1
'Maybe these big ones wanted to take you'

b. *r=ikua* *ta* *tsapuki=**n**=uy*
3SG.M=RSN 1SG.M call-2SG=PAS1
'That's why I have called you'

(40) *utsu* *ts=ichari=**ene/*na*** ***na*** ***ya=kumitsa***
AND 1CL=leave=2SG.L QT 3SG.F=say
"I'm going to leave you" That's what he says' (ED)

Up to here we can conclude that the distributions of pronominal forms can be partially accounted for by looking at the constructions in which they can occur. For instance, while short forms and clitics operate as possessive pronouns, long forms do not. However, in certain constructions all three sets are allowed. Thus, grammar alone cannot account for the distribution of pronouns in KK.

11.3.4. Distribution of pronominal forms motivated by discourse

In this section I explore other parameters that could trigger the distribution of pronominal forms. Specifically, I evaluate whether or not information structure plays a role in the speaker's choice among the three sets of forms.

11.3.4.1. Data

For this section, I have examined five texts of different length and content, which altogether make a total of 742 intonation units. It is important to clarify that I have concentrated on constructions where the opposition versus long vs. short vs. clitic pronoun is available, that is, constructions that allow first person in the feminine speech to be *etse/tsa-ts=*, second person to be *ene/na/n=*, and third person in the masculine speech to be (*uri/ra/r=*). In choosing the texts, I considered the following variables:

i) **Gender of speaker**: considering the discourse variation according to the speaker's gender, I chose texts from two women (F) and two men (M).

ii) **Age of speakers**: I chose texts from speakers of roughly the same age, which closely correlates with the degree of bilingualism in KK and Spanish.

iii) **Content of texts**: I selected two types of texts; folk stories (F.S.), and personal narratives (P.N.). Folk stories provide more third person forms, personal narratives more first and second person forms.

Table 11.4 presents the relevant information about the data examined for this study. After giving the name and type of the text, then identifying the speaker code name, plus age and gender, the last three columns give, respectively, the total number of intonation units (IU) in the entire text, the total number if IUs with pronouns, and then the percentage of IUs that contain pronouns.[14]

Table 11.4: The data for the study of pronominal forms

TEXT	TYPE OF TEXT	SPEAKER	AGE	GENDER	IU	IU W/ PRONOUNS	%
1. Community	P. N.	VY	60	M	185	**129**	70
2. The lost hunter	F. S.	WP	57	M	78	**57**	73
3. Turtle woman	F. S.	RA	56	F	298	**202**	68
4. Childhood	P. N.	RA	56	F	96	**71**	74
5. Yacurunas	P. N.	VT	78	F	85	**54**	63
Totals:					742	**513**	69

P.N.=personal narrative, F. S = folk story

Table 11.5 shows the distribution of the different types of pronominal forms per text: long forms (LF), short forms (SF), and clitics (CL). Again, the first number represent the number of intonation units that contain pronominal forms operating as one of the core arguments of the clause, and the second number indicates the percentage that this number is of the total number of IUs with pronominal mentions in that particular text. The two rightmost columns (in boldface) represent, respectively, the total number

[14] It should be pointed out that forms in their function of possessive pronouns are not included here since they are 100% predicted by grammar (see §11.3.3)

of IUs with pronominal forms per text and the percentage that this represents of all the IUs with pronominal forms from all the texts combined.

Table 11.5: Intonation units containing pronominal forms

	LF		SF		CL		TOTALS	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Community	5	4	93	72	31	23	**129**	**25**
2. The lost hunter	2	3	32	54	23	41	**57**	**11**
3. Turtle woman	14	7	101	50	87	43	**202**	**39**
4. Childhood	5	7	54	76	12	17	**71**	**14**
5. Yacurunas	1	2	41	75	12	23	**54**	**11**
Totals	**25**	**5 %**	**261**	**65 %**	**148**	**30 %**	**513**	**100%**

LF=long form, SF=short form, CL=clitic

As we can notice in Table 11.5, it is obvious that the language exhibits a skewed distribution of pronominal forms. That is, of the total number of intonation units that contain pronominal forms, long forms occur only 5% of the time. Even though clitics occur more frequently than long forms, they are still quite restricted (30%) compared to short forms (65%). While the percentages differ in each individual text, there are no exceptions to this overall pattern. Thus, based on the results presented in Table 11.5, it is possible to say that long forms are statistically marked, and therefore to hypothesize that they must appear in marked constructions. In other words, we expect long forms to occur under specific conditions. In the next sections, I discuss the motivations found for the appearance of each form.

11.3.4.2. Long forms

Long forms are used for expressing various types of focus. Following the typology introduced in §11.1.2, we have found that long forms are employed, for example, in information questions and answers to those questions. This would be a case of completive focus, in which the focused information is filling a gap in the hearer's

knowledge. Examples (41b, 42b) are answers to the information questions presented in (41a, 42a). Strictly speaking, in (41b, 42b), either short or long forms could be used; however, a long form is preferred.

(41) a. *awa=tipa* *ikian* *marawe* *yaukia-ri*
who-Q DEM fan do-PROG
'Who is doing this fan'

b. ***etse*** *yaukia-ri*
1SG.L.F do-PROG
'I'm doing (it)'

(42) a. *awa-tipa* ***ene***
person-Q 2SG.L
'Who is there?' (Lit. Who are you?)

b. ***etse***
1SG.L.F
'(It's) me'

Another example of completive focus using a long form pronoun is presented in (43). The speaker is describing the day that the teacher arrived in the community. A boat was approaching the village but it was not yet close enough to identify who was coming. The interaction of some community members in this particular context is presented in (43). First they started guessing (43a-b). After one of them identified who the person was, he made a strong assertion using (43c), where he uses the third person singular long form *uri* to refer to the person in question.

(43) a. *wepe* *awa* *uri-ari,*
one person come-PROG
'Somebody is coming'

b. *ikua-ta-wara-taka* *uri-ari,*
know-CAU-DER-MOD come-PROG
'Maybe the teacher is coming'

c. ***uri*** *uri-ari*
3SG.L.M come-PROG
'[Yes], he [is the one that] is coming'

However, in some questions, the missing information is not always the only piece in focus. The sequence of examples in (44) comes from a story about a man who is looking for his girlfriend in the darkness of the night. At some point, he starts calling her:

(44) a. *maka=tip(a)=**ene**, waina=kɨra*
Where=Q=2SG.L, woman=DIM
'Where are you, little woman?'

b. *ajan=ka* ***etse***
DEM=LOC 1SG.L.F
'Here I am'

Note that in (44a) the second person long form appears attached to the interrogative word, and this is the only form allowed there. Interestingly, in (44a) the missing information is the location. However, the answer has multiple foci, 'where' and 'who.' In (44b), the location appears in sentential position and the located person is expressed by the long form.

The following examples can be characterized as contrastive-replacing focus. Example (45) comes from a story in which a man is arguing with his mother because she was spying on his wife. He presupposes that she does not feel responsible, so he corrects it by means of a strong assertion in (45b). In (46) the speaker is talking about some occasion in which he had to leave his community for work. He had decided take his wife with him, but his wife convinced him to go alone.

(45) a. *mari-ra ray* ***na*** *umi-pa ra-utsu-uy, mama;*
thing-PUR pues? 2SG see-ASP 3SG.F-go=PAS1 mother
'Why did you go to watch her, mother?

b. ***ene*** *ucha-yara*
2SG.L guilty-VZR
'It's your fault'

(46) ***ene*** *utsu kamata-tara* ***tsa*** *yuriti ajan=ka yat-ma-ri*
2SG.L go work-PUR 1SG.F leave this=LOC sow-PROG
'You go to work, leave me here sowing'

In the examples above, I see two possible cases of contrast. First, the speaker is contrasting the hearer's presupposition about 'you leaving the community' with 'you staying in the community.' Second, the speaker is contrasting 'you going to work' with 'me staying here sowing.' However, I supposed if the second contrast were what the speaker is trying to convey, then both 'you' and 'me' should be in long form, but this is not the case.

In example (47) the speaker is talking about a recent experience in attending a meeting with people from different ethnic groups. When she was asked to identify herself, she said (47). In the context, the speaker selects a value from a presupposed set of possibilities; she contrasts 'I' with 'others' attending the meeting, hence the long form pronoun. Note the short form after the quotative.

(47) ***etse*** *kukama-pura, na* ***tsa*** *kumitsa*
1SG.L.F kukama-FOC, QT 1SG.F say
'I'm Kukama, I said'

As mentioned in §11.2.3.2, long form pronouns tend to occur with the focus marker *=pura*. This could be seen as a case of redundancy, that is, focus being expressed by both the device of the long form pronoun and the focus morpheme. This is

not surprising because, as Croft (1993) points out, language is highly redundant in its communication of information. The example in (48b) shows a case of a long form suffixed by the focus marker, when the speaker is telling that even though her daughters were calling her very hard/loudly, she could not hear anything.

(48) a. *mamaaa, mamaaa, ya=pura=nu tsapuki*
mom mom 3FS=FOC=PL.N call
'Mom, mom, they call' [my daughters]

b. ***etse**=pura ni tsenu=ay*
1SG.L.F=FOC NEG listen=3SG.F
'I do not hear it'

11.3.4.3. Clitics

Clitics are the further reductions of short forms used to refer to recurring participants in core grammatical relations. That is, clitics are short form pronouns that have undergone further morpho-phonological reduction. In general, in fast and colloquial speech, speakers tend to delete the final vowel of the word if the following word starts with a vowel (for more on phonology, see Chapter III). As for their function, as mentioned earlier, arguments are required to occur in order to have well-formed sentences. Thus, clitic pronouns occur by default in the slots of arguments. Consider the following examples:

(49) a. *t#ma **r**=uri*
Neg 3SG.C.M=come
'He does not come'

b. *etse **y**=umi=tsuri*.
1SG.L.F 3SG.C.F=see=PAS3
'He saw me'

c. *etse=pura **ya**=mutsana-ka=tsuri*.
1SG.L.F=FOC 3SG.F=medicine-REI=PAS3
'To me he cured'

Note that short forms lose their vowel if the verb starts with a vowel (49a, b). However, if the verb starts with a consonant, the short form does not get reduced segmentally; it only loses its prosodic independence (49c). Importantly, when speakers are asked to repeat an utterance and speak slowly, every instance of a clitic pronoun can be produced as an isolated short form.

11.3.4.4. Short forms

The occurrence of short form pronouns is difficult to predict. In general, they occur in slower paced speech compared to clitics. For instance, when speakers are asked to repeat a sentence, they will usually replace clitic forms for short forms. In terms of function, like clitics, short forms occur by default in the slots of arguments once they have been introduced into the discourse; in other words, they typically represent low-salience participants. The text sequence in (50) illustrates this:

(50) a. ***ikian*** ***kai*** ***tini,*** ***uri*** *timiara* *akiki* *kuraka*
this monkey white 3SG.L.M invite monkey.sp leader
'This white monkey, he invites to the chief of the mono-coto'

b. ***ra*** *kurata-ta* *ikian* *akiki* *kuraka*
3SG.F drink -CAU this mono.coto chief.leader
'He makes the mono-cotos' chief drink'

In (50a) a new participant, 'white monkey', is introduced right at the beginning, then after a brief pause, the speaker indicates that this particular animal, among the many available, is the one doing the invitation. That is, this piece of information is in focus, and so is expressed by the long form pronoun. After that, the same participant, now low in salience, is referred to via a short form (50b).

Short forms also occur with postpositions such as ablative, dative, comitative, etc. This is consistent with what we know about syntactic distribution and information management in discourse (Du Bois 1987) (see also §11.4): new and/or salient information is usually introduced into the discourse as a core argument of a clause, generally as either S or O. In KK, obliques add complementary information in a given clause, as opposed to core arguments that bring central information. Here is the example:

(51) *yayti tsa utsu* ***na=muki*** *[* ***tsa*** *yumayari-tsen ene],*
also 1SG.F go 2SG=COM 1SG.F help-PUR3 2SG.L

na ***ya*** *kumitsa*
QT 3SG.F say
'"I also go with you to help you," like this she talks'

In (51), besides the short form *na* attached by the comitative, notice also the short form *tsa* within the subordinate clause of purpose, and the short form *ya* in the quotative expression. As for *ya* 'she,' in KK, short forms are also common in formulaic expressions such as quotatives. This is shown in (47) and (51), in which a short form pronoun follows the quoative *na*. The appearance of the long form *ene* was explained earlier, as a case that is grammatically predicted.

11.3.5. Conclusions

An examination of discourse data reveals that two explanatory parameters predict the distribution of pronominal forms: in some constructions, only certain pronouns are allowed, and in constructions where any pronominal form is grammatical,

pragmatic information status of the referent correlates with choice of pronominal form in actual use.

As examples of pronominal forms predicted by grammar, short free forms and clitics function as possessors and objects of postpositions, whereas long forms do not. If both core arguments are coded as preverbal free pronouns (i.e., SOV or OSV), and one is in the long form and the other in the short form, the long form must be interpreted as S and the short form as O, even if that would produce an otherwise unacceptable order. Also in constructions with descriptive words, the subject will be in the long form.

In the templates SV and SVO, which are by far the most frequent patterns (see §11.4), any of the three sets of forms can occur in both the S and O syntactic slots. It is in these grammatically unrestricted contexts that pragmatic information status plays its role, with selection of type of pronoun an iconically motivated phenomenon: long forms, short forms, and clitics carry different amounts of information. Long forms carry more information than short forms and clitics, being used for encoding the most salient referents within the universe of the discourse; they are used for expressing participants that are in one of multiple types of focus. Short form pronouns occur by default, typically referring to recurring participants in core grammatical relations. Clitics are the further reductions of short forms; they, are the result of morphophonological rules applied to short forms. Note that in order to have well-formed clauses, arguments are generally required to occur explicitly; short forms and clitics are used to fulfill this requirement for established participants.

11.4. The pragmatics of constituent order patterns

Starting with Greenberg (1963), there has been a fundamental assumption in linguistics that for a majority of languages it is possible to identify a "basic" order of subject and object with respect to the verb (Hawkins 1983, Nichols 1986, Dryer 1988, among others). This constitutes one way of categorizing languages in typology.

However, what is basic and how to identify it remains debatable. None of the standard strategies to detect basic word order — statistical frequency, descriptive simplicity, and pragmatic neutrality —is without problems. As a result, some scholars have questioned the universality of the very notion of basic word order; when languages display several order patterns, instead of asking "what is the basic order", some scholars advocate asking a different question, namely "what is the communicative function of one order, rather than another" (Mithun 1992, Payne 1990, 1992). Thus, the first typological division should be made between those languages in which word order primarily correlates with grammatical factors, and those in which word order primarily correlates with pragmatic factors (Thompson 1978).

The speakers of KK have several constituent order patterns at their disposal, and this section explores the factors that speakers take into consideration when choosing one of those patterns at the moment of the utterance. It was found that some patterns are used to mark certain pieces of information as pragmatically salient. Here I use *salient* in the sense of Mithun's (1993) *newsworthy*, for referring to unexpected information (i.e. which breaks shared cultural knowledge and expectations), answers to information questions, restatements, topic shifting, etc. In Givón's words, salient information would

be considered more informative than non/less-salient information. Informativeness can be seen as a composite of several parameters: it correlates with new as opposed to given, indefinite as opposed to definite, contrastive as opposed to non-contrastive. In general, it involves less predictable information (Givon 1983).

11.4.1. Available ordering patterns

As discussed in Chapters IX, §9.1.1, in KK word order partially defines the syntactic role of an argument. Although neither tense nor aspect morphology is required as part of a basic clause, a clause allows a different order of subject, object and verb depending on whether or not it is marked for progressive aspect. The available patterns are listed in Table 11.6; for examples that illustrate these patterns, please see Chapter VIII.[15]

Table 11.6: Summary of word order patterns

INTRANSITIVES		TRANSITIVES	
NON-PROGRESSIVE	PROGRESSIVE	NON-PROGRESSIVE	PROGRESSIVE
S V_T	S V_{ri}	S V O_T	S O V_{ri}
*V_T S	V_{ri} S	O S V_T	O V_{ri} S
		*S O V_T	*S V_{ri} O
			*O S V_{ri}

Recall that tense works as a system of enclitics on the verb phrase, whereas the progressive aspect is a verbal suffix. In *tense-marked* and *unmarked* clauses, allowable patterns are (O)SV and SV(O), but the order *SOV is not allowed. In *progressive-marked* clauses, allowable patterns are S(O)V and (O)VS, but the order *OSV is not

[15] That said, it is possible to encounter other orders in elicitation; note also that other orderings are also possible if auxiliary verbs are added to the clause.

allowed. Thus, clauses *unmarked* with respect to tense and aspect pattern with *tense-marked* clauses, meaning that there is just a two-way constructional split in sets of allowable orders: *progressive*-patterns versus *non-progressive* patterns.

As mentioned above, in KK both syntax and pragmatics play a role in the distribution of the several order patterns that are available. The syntactic factors have been discussed in several places, including Chapter VII and VIII. In §11.4.2, I explore the pragmatic forces behind the distribution of these syntactic configurations, by means of a frequency study.

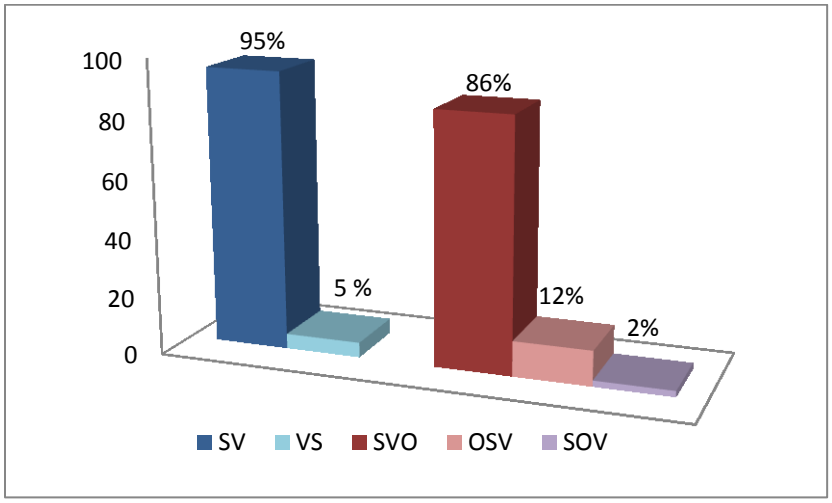
11.4.2. A frequency study of constituent order

The database for this study is composed of three traditional stories from three speakers, comprising a total of 1003 intonation units. Out of this total number of units, only 682 (68% of the total) were declarative sentences. The remaining units included questions (4%), imperatives and requests (3%), non-verbal predicates (3%), subordinated clauses — which appear in the intonation unit following their corresponding matrix clauses — (7%), and others such as vocatives, false starts, repeated fragments, etc. (15%). From now on, I will focus on declarative sentences alone; as such, the total number of units under evaluation (N) is 682. The patterns of distribution are presented in Table 11.7. While a possible order (and attested elsewhere in the text database), it should be pointed out that the order OVS was not attested in this particular set of texts. Figure 11.4 shows these results more visually.

Table 11.7: Frequency of orderings

	ORDERS	n	%
INTRANSITIVES	SV	358	95
	VS	17	5
		375	**100**
TRANSITIVES	SVO	334	92
	OSV	21	7
	SOV	3	1
		307	**100**

Figure 11.4: Frequency of ordering patterns (%)



The major result we can see in Table 11.7 is that the overwhelming majority of declarative sentences exhibit the SV(O) pattern. Within the *Intransitives* category, 95% display SV order, within the *Transitives*, 92% display the SVO order. Only about 7% of sentences show the OSV pattern. The SOV progressive-marked pattern only shows up in three instances (1%).[16] The overall rarity of VS, OSV and SOV suggests that their very appearance is a pragmatically marked phenomenon.

[16] Note, though, that there were a number of progressive-marked subordinate clauses not counted here.

A closer look at the text data shows that in fact the SV(O) pattern by itself (without adding focus morphology or focal stress) is the most neutral configuration. In contrast, utterances that show the statistically marked patterns are employed only in pragmatically marked contexts. In KK, as in many other languages, sentence initial position is privileged. Thus, the pattern OSV is the result of focalizing O when it codes pragmatically salient information. This finding is consistent with other areas of the language, which show that sentence initial position is the pragmatically privileged position (for instance, to indicate contrastive focus, see §11.2.3.2). This is demonstrated by the passage in (52a-g), which comes from one of the texts under examination. The speaker is talking about their traditional celebrations, and describing how men used to dress in the past. He is telling this story to me, and to a Kokama woman from a different village.

(52) a. *raepe* *ikian* *t=umi* *ta=nai* SVO
there this 1SG.M=see 1SG.M grandmother

amɨra=kana *yaparachi-ka=tsuri=ay*
be.dead=PL.M dance-REI=PAS3=already
'Then I saw my deceased grandmothers dance'

b. *rana* *yaparachi* SV
3PL.M dance
'They dance'

c. *rana* *tsarɨwa-ka* […] SV
3PL.M be.happy-MID
'They get happy'

d. *tsa=nai* *amɨra* *kumits-ukua=tsuri* SV
1SG.M=grandmother be.dead say-HAB=PAS3
My deceased grandmother used to say

e. *napitsara=nu* *t-ma* *chiru-ra* *aypuka* SV
man=PL.F NEG clothes-VZR currently

ini=chiru=pura=nan
1PL.IN=clothes=FOC=only
'Men didn't dress like we do now

f. ***ipuku*** ***chiru*** *napitsara=nu* *akita* **OSV**
long cloth man=PL.F wear
'Long clothes, the men wear'

g. *ria=tsuri=ay* *-m-na* […]
like.this=PAS3=already long.ago
'Like this it was a long time ago.'

Notice that the narrative is built from (52a-e) using only the basic/neutral pattern, SV(O). Given that the topic of his talk is celebrations, it is possible to say the speaker considers that there is nothing '*newsworthy'* about 'dancing, getting happy, dressing up, etc.' However, given what the hearer (in this case me) knows about the Kokamas today, the speaker assumes that the fact that the men used to wear 'long clothes' is not only new but perhaps unexpected. Thus, he highlights this piece of information by putting it in sentence initial position (52f). This passage is representative of what we find in connected speech in general.

An additional example that illustrates the pragmatic force of the OSV pattern is shown in (53). This passage was taken from a text which talks about a hunter who gets lost in the forest. After been walking for several days, he finally finds a house, and, to his surprise, there is food inside. Notice that finding an abandoned tent in the middle of the forest (53a) is not as surprising as finding food in it (53c). From now on, the underscore indicates focal stress.

(53) a. *Raepe-tsui ra=purara wepe uka* S V O
there-ABL 3sgSM find one house
'Then he finds a house'

b. *raepe ra=purara…* S V…
there 3SG.M=find
'There he finds…

c. *panara pɨtani-n ra=purara raepe* **O S V**
banana ripen-NZR find there
'Ripened banana he finds there'

As indicated earlier, the findings presented in Table 11.7 reveal that *progressive*-marked constructions (VS & SOV) are the least productive of all (3% in the database). It needs to be pointed out that the results of the frequency study are categorical with respect to *non-progressive* constructions; however, these numbers tell nothing about the productivity of *tense-marked* clauses alone. Recall that *non-progressive* constructions include both *tense-marked* clauses and clauses that are *unmarked* for tense and aspect. Thus, considering that progressive marked are extremely rare in discourse, I wondered how productive *tense-marked* constructions actually are, compared to *progressive-marked* clauses and clauses that are unmarked for tense and aspect. This question is addressed in the last section of this chapter, §11.5.

11.4.3. Conclusions of this section

First, the language has several constituent order patterns; however, their distribution in natural discourse is extremely skewed. The unmarked focus structure typically displays the SV(O) order. In this configuration, the S argument is highly topical, hence generally expressed by pronouns. Constituent order plays a significant role in expressing pragmatic factors: sentence initial position is the privileged position.

Thus, the pattern OSV is the result of focalizing O when it encodes pragmatically salient information. These results are consistent with what has been found in other areas of the grammar, such as focus constructions.

Another finding of the frequency study is that the progressive-marked patterns — VS and SOV — are extremely rare in spontaneous speech. In the next section we turn the discussion to those patterns, and explore the function of *progressive*-marked constructions by contrasting them with *tense*-marked constructions.

11.5. The function of tense/aspect marked clauses in discourse

In several places in this dissertation, I have stated that there is a relationship between tense, aspect, and constituent order (see§11.4.1). In section, §11.4, the productivity of the various ordering patterns available in the language was examined. One of the findings is that *progressive-marked* patterns appear very rarely (about 3% of declarative sentences). However, because tense-marked clauses pattern like unmarked clauses, those results tell nothing about the productivity of *tense-marked* clauses.

So, two questions arise: i) How often do speakers employ *tense-marked* clauses, *progressive-marked* clauses, and *unmarked* clauses? ii) What drives the distribution of *tense-marked* clauses and *progressive-marked* clauses? This section addresses those questions by exploring whether or not all, of any of those patterns can be associated with particular discourse functions.

11.5.1. Background and foreground in discourse

A crucial finding regarding the structure of the discourse is that languages codify in different ways the main events of a story, i.e., foreground information, as opposed to

supportive material, i.e., background information (Hopper 1979). Empirical studies have shown that this observation is especially relevant for the study of narratives; that is, those types of discourses that are basically monologues. Some of the defining features of these two types of information are summarized in Table 11.8.

Table 11.8: Background vs. foreground (Hopper 1979, Longacre 1996)

Foreground	*Background*
• refers to dynamic and active events, punctual verbs often in perfective aspect	• durative, stative, iterative verbs, often in imperfective aspect
• high level of assertion	• low level of assertion (modals)
• events happen in sequences, contingent on the completion of prior events	• does not happen in sequences, may be located at any point along the time axis, or not located at all
• constitutes the main storyline	• add supportive material, complementary information, comment on main events
• new material in the storyline is introduced in the predicate (verb plus complement)	• likelihood of topic changes, introduction of new information in the subject position

Hopper suggests that the foreground/background distinction is a universal of narrative discourse (1979:213), and it is encoded by means of several strategies. A number of studies seem to confirm this hypothesis. For instance, some of the attested strategies are voice (Malay), word order (old English), and tense/aspect (Swahili, French), among others.

Although the foreground/background distinction is valid in at least narrative, it is perhaps somehow too general. For instance, some studies have found that within the foreground category, languages may make a distinction between unexpected/crucial events and routine/predictable events; others distinguish the events that constitute the climax from the ones that do not. In Yagua, for instance, there are two types of foreground: ordinary main event line versus peak (Payne 1992). In Godie there are three

types of foreground information: crucial events, sequential events, and concluded events (Marchese 1988). That is, languages have multiple ways of organizing even the foreground half of discourse.

Further, even though the relevance of the foreground/background distinction in narratives seems undeniable, it is not clear that this distinction is applicable to other types of discourse, especially those that involve more than one speaker, such as spontaneous conversations. As Longacre (1996) points out, before this type of analysis is extended to other types of discourse it is perhaps necessary to set up some parameters to classify them into different genres; this may make it possible to have comparable results.[17]

In §11.5.2, we evaluate the significance of the foreground/background distinction to explain the distribution of *progressive*-marked clauses and *tense*-marked clauses in KK discourse.

11.5.2. Data and findings

This particular discourse study examines twenty-one short texts (2546 intonational units in total), collected from eleven speakers. The variables considered in the selection of the sample were the following:

- Gender of the speaker: This variable is relevant for KK since the language displays several distinctions according to the speaker's gender. The texts come from four women and five men.

[17] He proposes a discourse typology on the basis of two parameters: +/- agent orientation and +/- contingent succession (Loncagre 1996:10).

- Age of speaker: This variable might have a correlation in level of fluency. We chose texts from speakers that have approximately the same age (an average of 69 years old)
- Type of text: we selected ten traditional stories (1367 IUs) and eleven personal narratives (1175 IUs). Most of the texts are basically monologues; if there are two speakers, one is the main speaker.

We did not find any correlation among gender/age of speaker, type of text and frequency of the constructions under study. Table 11.9 summarizes the number of tense-marked clauses, progressive-marked clauses, and clauses that are not marked for tense and aspect in these data. Note that these numbers do not strictly represent the number of clauses or even number of instances of each marking, but rather only the number of intonation units that contain those morphemes.

Table 11.9: Frequency of tense and progressive aspect clauses

TYPE OF CONSTRUCTION	**n**	**%**
Units unmarked for tense and aspect	2166*	86
Units that contain tense clitics	316	12
Units marked by progressive	64	3
TOTAL	**2546**	**100**

*Includes verbal and non-verbal predicates, false starts, repetitions, etc.

The main findings from Table 11.9 are that i) the distribution of these constructions is clearly asymmetrical. ii) Tense-marked clauses (12% in the database) are also used quite infrequently, although not as sporadically as progressive-marked clauses. iii) Progressive clauses (3% in the database) are the least used of all. The fact that both tense-marked and progressive-marked clauses are statistically marked suggests

that they might appear under specific pragmatic conditions. This hypothesis is further explored in the next section.

11.5.2.1. Unmarked clauses for tense and progressive

The following is an extract from a traditional story. It is about a hunter that got lost in the jungle. Note that none of these sentences include either grammatical tense or progressive aspect. The sequence of *Events* (E) is indicated in the right side.

(54) a. *mukuika* *kuashi* *ra=tsupara-npu*
two sun 3SG.M=be.lost-after
'After being lost for two days,

r=ichima *iaku* *tsima=ka* ←E 1
3M=go.out creek shore=LOC
'He (manages to) go out at the shore of a creek'

b. *Raepe=tsui* *ra=purara* *wepe* *uka* ← E 2
there=ABL 3SG.M=find one house
'So then he finds a house'

c. *raepe* *ra=purara…*
there 3SG.M=find
'There he finds…'

d. *panara* *pitani-n* *ra=purara* *raepe* ← E 3
banana reddish-NZR 3SG.M=find there
'Ripened banana he finds there'

It has been found that verbal predication which is unmarked for tense and aspect, in general seems to indicate the sequence of events that advance the plot. In Hopper's terms, this would constitute foreground.

11.5.2.2. Tense-marked clauses

The function of clauses that include explicit grammatical tense are more difficult to understand. Their frequency in texts varies from 3% to 35%. A slight correlation between speaker and number of appearances has been noticed. For instance, in one text, every event that could be considered central is marked with tense. This could be perhaps considered a matter of style.

The following is a sequence from a traditional story about a woman that goes to her farm and gets bewitched / cursed by a strange creature. There are two female speakers interacting: RA and AC (indicated right after the free translation). However, the main speaker, the one telling the story is AC. The first seven units of the text are presented in (55a-g):

[units 1-7]

(55) a. *ajan, y=utsu=**tsuri*** *ya=ku=ka* ← E 1, establish the temporal frame
DEM, 3SG.F=go=PAS3 3SG.F=farm=LOC

yawiri tawa=tara
yucca pick.up=PROP1
'There, she went to her farm to get yucca

b. *ajan* *wepe* *wayna*
DEM one woman
'Is this a woman?'

c. *ajan* *wepe* *wayna* *ni* *sikiera* *ya=cuñada*
DEM one woman NEG even 3SG.F=sister.in.law

irua-ta=ay
friend-CAU=3SG.F
'(Yes) this is a woman, not even her sister in law accompanies her'

d. *titi* *nanin* *y=utsu=**tsuri*** ← E 1, repetition/ cohesion
alone like .this 3SG.F=go=PAS3
'Like this, all alone she went'

e. *y=uchima-ta* *yawiri=**tsuri**=ay* ← E 2, plot resumes
3SG.F=leave-CAU yucca=PAS3=already
'She got yucca'

f. *ya* *piruka-ri* *yuti-n* *awara* *katupe* ← E 3 (no tense)
3SG.F peel.off-PROG stay-REL devil show.up
'When she is peeling off yucca, the female-devil shows up'

g. *ese* *y=umanu-t=ay* ← E 4 (no tense)
ese 3SG.F=morir-CAU=3SG.F
'That one, she kills her'

The following observations can be made to link the sentences in the paragraph above, First, units (55a), (55d), and (55e) are *tense-marked* clauses. Sentence (55a) establishes the temporal frame for the story. In (55b) there is an interruption, the interlocutor asks for clarification. In (55c) the main speaker makes a clarification and adds an evaluative comment, then, repeats a portion of the story so that the hearer can follow; in (55e) he resumes the plot by moving on into the next event.

From that point, the following twenty units report a series of events and no more tense-marked clauses are included. The content of those twenty units could be categorized as follows:

[units 8-28]
- **Events** *(no tense)*:
    - The devil wears the woman's clothes,
    - The devil takes out the skin of the woman's face
    - The devil puts the woman's face on to her
    - The devil leaves
    - The devil arrives to the woman's house

- **Quotations**:
    - Where are my pots?
    - But here they are. (answers the sister in law)
    - I'm getting crazy!

- Where is my (camp)fire?
- But there it is, sister.
- I'm getting crazy! She says…

• **Comments**:

- She is already bewitched
- She is no longer a human
- The woman turns into a devil…

At this point in the story, the devil comes to the woman's house to supplant her. She is getting used to the house (i.e., asking about everything), but the real problem starts when the woman's husband comes home. The fragment that follows is in (56a-c). This portion is crucial in the story; we could say it is where the climax starts. Note that here we have two tense-marked clauses.

[units 29-31]

(56) a. *ya=mena* *uri=**tsuri=ay*** *tsiki-tupa=tsui* ← E 11, resumes
3SG.F=husband come=PAS3=already fish-place=ABL
'Her husband comes back from fishing'

b. *ya=wanakari,* *yawa* *apapuri* *y=utsu*
3SG.F=command, go cook 3SG.F=AND
'He commands, "go cook this"'

c. *ya=tu* *utsu=**tsuri=ay*** *y=apapuri-tsen* *ipira* ← E 12, resumes
3SG.F=AUM go=PAS3=already 3SG.F=cook=PROP3 fish
'So, she goes to cook fish'

Looking at these data, I posit that tense-marked clauses are used at crucial points in the story. Besides setting the temporal frame, they also highlight some events that are decisive for the development of the plot (56a). Another function of tense marked clauses seems to be to resume the main plot after a clarification (56c), comment, or quote (56b).

11.5.2.3. Progressive-marked clauses

One of the first things I noticed about progressive-marked verbs is that a number of them occur within auxiliary constructions (for a detailed description of progressive-marked auxiliary constructions, see Chapter VII). So, I decided to take a closer look at the instances with the progressive marker. The findings are summarized in Table 11.10.

Table 11.10: Distribution of *progressive-marked* clauses

	n	%
main clause	38	58
auxiliary construction	14	21
auxiliary construction within embedded clause	12	21
Total	64	100

Out of the 64 instances of progressive, only 38 (58%) occur in the main predicate. In 26 instances (42%), the progressive marked verb is within an auxiliary construction. Further, of these, almost half are within an embedded clause.

In terms of function, *progressive-marked* clauses consistently signal descriptive, often evaluative information that breaks the temporal sequence of main events. An extract of a story that illustrates this point is in (57). This personal narrative is about a young man — the speaker's son — who was bitten by a snake and taken to a health center, away from his village. In this fragment we can see that that (57a) indicates an event. However, the progressive-marked clause in (57c) contains a descriptive, evaluative comment.

(57) a. *sanitario* *chira-n* *mutsana=ka* *ya=tsuri*
nurse name-REL cure=REI 3SG.F=PAS3
'The one called nurse cured him'

b. *iruaka kuarachi penu kakɨrɨ yaepe*
four sun 1PL.F live there

tsa mɨmɨra=muki
1SG.F son=COM
'For four days I live there with my son'

c. *tsatsatsɨma-**ri** tsa mɨmɨra=pura=chasu* VS←comment
scream-**PROG** 1SG.F son=FOC=AFE /no sequence
'My poor son was screaming'

A parallel example is presented in (58). In this case, progressive is being used to incorporate direct quotations and comments which cannot be located in the main event timeline.

(58) a. *rana tsenu tuntu, uri=kana iya=tsuri=ay*
3PL.M hear drum 3SG.M=PL.M heart=PAS3=already
'They hear the drum, then they think'

b. *maka=taka awa=kana westa-yara-**ri*** SOV ←quote
where=MOD person=PL.M party-HAVE-**PROG** /no sequence
'Where might it be that people are having a party?'

c. *raepe ikian mukuika ayuma=kana mɨntsara-ka*
there this two brother.law=PL.M speak-REI
'Then these two brothers in law talk'

d. *ikian awa=kana westa yauki-a**ri*** SOV ←quote
this person=PL.M party make-**PROG** /no sequence
'These people are having a party'

As for the progressive-marked clauses that occur within auxiliary constructions, they all convey complementary information, details, and speaker judgments. When the progressive occurs within embedded clauses, the embedded clause is understood as a 'while-clause.' This type of adverbial-like clause indicates the frame for the event

indicated in the matrix clause. That is, they carry information that is not central to advance the plot (59).

(59) a. *ikian* *wɨra=kɨra=kana* *ikara* *ra=tsenu*
this bird=DIM=PL.M sing 3SG.M=hear

*kanata-**ri*** *utsu-puka*
sunrise-PROG AND-when
'He listen to these birds sing when it's dawning'

b. *ay* *umana-**ri*** *y=utsu-n* *y=upuka*
3F.LF die-PROG 3SG.F=AND-NZR 3SG.F=go.out

parana *tsɨma=ri*
river shore=DIF
'When he is dying, he comes out to the river shore'

11.5.3. Conclusions

The goal of the study presented in this section was to answer two questions i) How often do speakers employ *tense-marked* clauses, *progressive-marked* clauses, and *unmarked* clauses? 1) What drives the distribution of *tense-marked* clauses and *progressive-marked* clauses in discourse?

With respect to the first question, this study found that the distribution of the *tense-marked* clauses, *progressive-marked* clauses, and *unmarked* clauses is very assymetrical, with *tense-marked* clauses in only about 12% of the IUs in the database and progressive clauses which only appear in 3% of the units. The vast majority of IUs, (about 86%), are unmarked clauses with respect to tense and progressive aspect.

As for the second question, there is a strong association between progressive constructions and background or supportive information. *Progressive-marked* clauses signal descriptive, often evaluative information that breaks the temporal sequence of

main events. Second, the mainline or foreground information is mostly signaled by unmarked clauses. The temporal frame is established at the beginning of the discourse by means of adverbs and/or *tense-marked* clauses. Third, the appearance of *tense-marked* clauses is less clear; they tend to occur at key moments of the plot to reaffirm the temporal frame, or to manipulate the temporal-deictic point. Even though these results support Hopper's assertion (1979) that the foreground/background distinction is a universal of some kind, the predictions are strong from structure to function, but less strong in the opposite direction.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter highlights some of the major findings of the present study.

One of KK's most salient typological features is the morphological distinction between male/female speech in several grammatical categories, including personal pronouns, proximal, distal, indefinite, and locative demonstratives, number clitics, and connectors. A comparable gender system has been reported for Awetí, which is also considered an atypical Tupi-Guaraní language. Kayabí, an unquestionable member of the Tupi-Guaraní family, has different sets of third person singular and plural pronouns per gender. Beyond Awetí and Kayabí, I am not aware of similar systems in the Tupían Stock.

Another crucial feature of KK is that major grammatical categories are conveyed by positionally fixed clitics. Following Bybee's (1985) typology, it is possible to say that, overall, KK primarily employs strategies that show a low degree of morphosyntactic fusion. First, the language has morphology that can be applied to all stems of a syntactic category (e.g., progressive aspect, completive aspect, causative, etc.

to verbs) but none of them obligatorily occurs in any particular syntactic context. Second, most grammatical categories that, across-languages, are encoded as inflectional morphology (e.g., number, tense, and mood (Bybee 1985:30-31)) in KK are conveyed by means of categorically unrestricted cltics and syntactic strategies ike auxiliaries. Five tense clitics encode three degrees of distance in the past and two in the future, although one of the future markers (*-a*) is becoming obsolete. There are also six epistemic modal clitics: four second position clitics that convey speaker-oriented modality and two verb phrase clitics that encode event-oriented modality. These two sets interact to create a four-way modal system.

The language has twelve suffixes, the majority of which could be located towards the derivational end of the continuum. None of the twelve suffixes is obligatory, but in texts, it is common to find verbs with as many as four suffixes and two clitics.

There are three major non-verbal predicate constructions (juxtaposition of noun phrases, existential constructions, and adverbial predicates) for expressing functions such as proper inclusion, equation, attribution, location, existence, and possession. It is worth pointing out that that the language has no special construction dedicated to indicating possession; rather, possession is inferred in several constructions, mainly varieties of the existential.

KK has intransitive and transitive clauses, but semantically three-place predicates are syntactically encoded by means of transitive clauses. Formal evidence shows that clauses with three syntactic arguments do not exist in KK. In clauses

containing semantically three-place predicates, every test applied shows that only two of them are syntactically coded as core arguments in a single clause. In addition, there are two morphemes whose basic functions are to increase the valence of verbs: the causative *-ta* and the applicative *-tsupe*. While both morphemes entail the introduction of new participants into the scene, from a syntactic point of view the derived patterns never contain more than two syntactic arguments. Thus, KK confirms the prediction that derived valence patterns do not add arguments beyond the maximum number allowed by non-derived valence patterns (Haspelmath & Muller-Bradey 2004).

There are seven directive constructions that distinguish degrees of pragmatic force. They range from basic second-person imperatives (Do it!), rogatives (Please do it!), exhortatives (Go do it!), jussives (Let's do it), and polite requests (Come in, do it!), prohibitives (Don't do it!), and postponed prohibitives (You/someone won't do it!). From a functional perspective, the directive constructions primarily try to get others to do things, differing mainly with respect to the level of control over the outcome, imperative and prohibitive conveying the strongest obligation on the part of the addressee.

In KK, adverbial clauses show different degrees of clause integration with the main clause. By definition, adverbial clauses are not expected to share arguments with the matrix clause. However, the language has three purpose clauses which differ in terms of coreference: two of them obligatorily have an argument that is coreferential with the absolutive argument of the main clause, the third obligatorily has no coreferential arguments. Specifically, *-tara* indicates that the missing argument in the

subordinate clause is the S/A; *-mira* indicates that the missing argument in the dependent clause is the O, and *-tsen* has no missing arguments. Thus, although the controller of the coreference in adverbial clauses is the absolutive, the target of that control is nominative or accusative. As a result, the choice between *-tara* and *-mira* is predicted by grammar, while the choice between *-mira/-tara* and *-tsen* is pragmatically driven.

Clause nominalization is a central subordination strategy, particularly in relativization, which is largely achieved via an absolutive nominalizer. The arguments S and O are relativized by suffixing *-n* to the subordinate verb; the A argument is relativized by suffixing *-tara* to the subordinate verb. Dative phrases (recipients and benefactives) pattern with locatives in terms of relativization; they are relativized by gapping and the relativizer *-tupa*. The positions that access to relativization are O (theme, causee, recipient and applicative objects), S (active, stative), A (transitive), and OBL (location, dative).

Pragmatically, KK has constructions that explicitly distinguish subtypes of focus according to scope (narrow/broad) and pragmatic information (contrastive/non-contrastive). This bears on theories about whether contrast simply emerges from conversational implicature versus whether it is explicitly coded by dedicated grammar. Information structure also explains the distribution of alternating pronominal forms (long forms, short forms, and clitics) and several constituent orders. A frequency study found that the SV(O) order is the pragmatically unmarked pattern in the language, appearing in about 94% of declarative sentences. In addition, it was demonstrated that

salient information is placed in first position in the sentence; thus, the OSV pattern is the result of focalizing the O argument. Background and foreground information is relevant to explain the use of tense-marked clauses, progressive-marked clauses, and unmarked clauses (for tense and aspect). First, *progressive-marked* clauses signal descriptive, often evaluative information that breaks the temporal sequence of main events. Second, the mainline or foreground information is mostly signaled by unmarked clauses. The temporal frame is established at the beginning of the discourse by means of adverbs and/or *tense-marked* clauses. Third, *tense-marked* clauses tend to occur at key moments of the plot to reaffirm the temporal frame, to resume the plot, and to manipulate the temporal-deictic point.

A final point that needs to be made is with respect to the genetic classification of KK. Though long classified as Tupí-Guaraní (TG), Cabral (1995, 2007) claims that KK is the product of a contact language situation and hence has a mixed grammar. Based on the patterns presented in this dissertation, this claim is basically accurate, although open questions remain regarding the mechanism of disruption and convergence, as well as which languages contributed to the mix.

As for the Tupian origin of the KK people, there is a consensus among anthropologists and historians alike that the KK and Omaguas living in Peru are descendents of the Tupí ethnic group. As been pointed out by Lathtrap 1970, Chaumeil 1981, and Rivas 2000, among many others, the early chonicles clearly report the migration of Tupí groups from Eastern Brazil towards the Western Amazon centuries prior to the arrival of Spanish explorers. That is, prior Tupian presence in the region is

out of the question. However, the fact that the main vocabulary of KK is of Tupí origin clearly shows that a Tupían language was crucially involved in the genesis of the language.

Cabral puts forward a series of hypotheses with respect to the genesis of the grammar of Kokama. She claims that Kokama, and its sister language Omagua, arose in a short period of time in the missionary villages in the province of Maynas (Peru) by the end of the 17th century (1995:307). According to Cabral, Kokama and Omagua were promoted as lingua francas by the missionaries, and thus became the language of evangelization to indigenous peoples of several ethnic backgrounds. Further, she argues that Kokama and Omagua grammar are the result of imperfect adult learning of a formerly more complex Tupí-Guaraní pattern, and she thus categorizes them as abrupt creoles. Abrupt creoles do not require crystallized pidgins and entail significant disruption in the transmission of grammatical patterns (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Muysken 2008).

The crucial evidence for imperfect learning is the simplification of the Pro-Tupí Guaraní (PTG) cross-reference system (i.e., four sets of person markers) and the fossilization of PTG instances of prefixes and suffixes. Interestingly, though, a number of TG languages have simplified the cross-reference system in various ways (Jensen 1997), from maximal (cf. Tocantis Asurini, Tapiparé) to minimal (cf. Wayampi) to non-existent (cf. Urubu-Kaapor). As for the fossilization of TG morphology, a look at the forms provided by Cabral (1995:64-73) reveals that the retained forms are far from random; on the contrary, on nouns the vast majority of frozen elements are the

relational prefix **i-* (about 98%), and the nominal case suffix *-a* (about 96%). As for verbs, the majority has retained the third person singular **o-* (about 72%) or the first person plural inclusive **ja* (18%). Similar phenomena are not strange in the literature on grammaticalization.

From the features typically associated with creoles (Hancock 1986, Arends et al. 1995), KK exhibits grammaticalization of content words (e.g., auxiliaries, interrogatives, etc.), vast use of clitics to convey tense and modality, and minimal presence of affixes. Yet at the same time, creole features not found in KK include verb serialization, plural derived from a third person pronoun, complex reflexives, a generalized locative, negation with a simple preverbal particle and collapse of aspects. In fact, KK has five postpositions that indicate different types of location and direction, several ways of indicating various aspectual nuances, six degrees of speaker-oriented modality, two mechanisms of negation, etc. Overall, KK has a far more elaborated grammar than typical creoles; thus, categorizing KK solely in structural grounds —i.e., in comparison with prototypical creoles— is problematic.

However, the crucial point that needs to be explained is the fact that KK —or at least the variety described in this study— has retained an important number of PTG elements (see Table 12.1, based on Jensen 1998, Cabral 1995, Rodrigues 1984/1985, as well as new observations highlighted throughout this dissertation). What this suggests is that the disruption of grammatical patterns, although significant, was not as dramatic as in typical abrupt creoles (i.e., Afrikaans, Caribean creoles).

Table 12.1: Proto Tupí-Guaraní features in today's KK grammar

GLOSS	PTG	KK	GLOSS
1SG	**itsé*	*etse*	1SG (female speech)
3SG	**a'é*	*ay*	3SG (female speech)
2SG (Tupi-Guaraní)	*éne*	*ene*	2SG
1PL inclusive (Tupinamba)	*yané*	*ini*	1PL inclusive
2PL (Tupinambá)	*pé, pe'e*	*epe*	2PL
postposition 'to, for'	**cupe*	*-tsupe/-tsu*	dative postposition
postposition 'from'	**cuwí*	*-tsui*	ablative postposition
instrument postposition	**pupe*	*-pu*	instrument postposition
augmentative	**-waču*	*-watsu*	augmentative
locative postposition 'to, for'	**pe*	*-pe*	locative postposition
partitive locative	**-i*	*-ri*	difuse locative
nominalizer of agent	**-tár*	*-tara*	relativizer of agent
nominalizer of agent	**-ar /-aβ*	*-wara*	agent nominalizer
completive asp.with absolutive interpretation	**-paβ*	*-pa*	completive with absolutive interpretation
clause nominalizer	** ba'e*	*-wa*	gerund & participle
desiderative	**potar*	*-tara*	purpose subordinador
negation	**e'ým*	**tɨma*	Negation of predicate/clause
negation	**n(i)…i*	*ni* (?)	negation, mainly of arguments
free negative response	**ani*	*ina* (?)	negative imperative
underside	**wýr*	*(-)wɨrɨ*	relational N 'below of''
hole	**kwar*	*-kuara*	inesive relational N/postposition
'relational+ through'	*r-upi*	*-rupe*	finalative locative 'to, until'
monosyllabic and bisyllabic reduplication to indicate iterativity and frequency			monosyllabic and bisyllabic reduplication to indicate iterativity and intensification
compounds	N+N, N+V	N+N, N+V	compounds
numbers	1-3	1-3	higher numbers are borrowed from Quechua
constituent order	SOV	SVO/ SOV	SVO is basic in main clauses, SOV in subordinate clauses.
Rhetorical Q + interrogative	*te+pe*	*-tipa*	interrogative marker
Interrogative words	maʔe, aba	mari, awa	interrogative words (what, who)
postposition 'near'	**pýr*		found in: *tsaka-pɨrɨ* 'behind'
postposition 'above'	**ar*		survives in *ariwa* 'above'
demonstrative 'that one'	**pe*		survives in *raepe* 'there,' *-rupe* 'towards over there'
demonstrative 'this near, visible'	**ko, *ke*		survives in *kun* 'that one' *ikian* 'this' *yukan/yukun*, 'that', *kuika* 'overthere'

In the absence of an abrupt creole genesis, an alternative hypothesis could be that the simplification of the TG language spoken in the region was gradual rather than a radical process with "the emerging contact language at once becoming the language of the community." (Thomason and Kaufman 1997:150). In fact, Cabral does point out language contact and bilingualism centuries prior to the arrival of Europeans to that area of the Amazon. For instance, she suggests that "the presence of lexical elements of Arawakan (Maipurean) origin in Kokama/Omáwa may date from before the creation of the missionary villages or *reducciones*, and even before the European presence in the Upper Amazon area" (2007:370). However, arguing for the abrupt creole hypothesis, Cabral posits that during the first centuries of colonization (15th and 16th century) Kokama and Omawa were only slightly different from Tupinamba, and that by the end of the Jesuit period (end of 17th century) they lost most of their TG genetic features (1995:304).

As mentioned above, an alternative hypothesis could be that the simplification of the TG language spoken in the region was a rather gradual process that started prior to the establishment of missionary villages. Historical and linguistic evidence points in that direction. Early chronicles (see Chapter I) described a regular trade network among the groups in this area of the Amazon. As for structural evidence, in addition to the conservation of so many grammatical morphemes and patterns (as seen in Table 12.1), the loss of elaborated person systems is also associated with internal reanalysis of subordinated constructions, which we know can happen during a gradual replacement of main clause grammar by nonfinite verb forms with additional elements like auxiliaries

and clitics (cf. the English innovations of nonfinite verbs plus auxiliaries for all but two main clause types, or the examples of Maksuhi and Kuikúro, Cariban languages that have entirely replaced their finite verbal systems with reanalyzed nominalizations (Gildea 1998). This could account for the fact that KK has retained many TG elements while at the same time has evolved into a unique language with an elaborated grammar that is not usually associated with creoles, and certainly less with abrupt creoles. However, what languages (and families) contributed to the rest of the mix remains to be determined.

APPENDIX A

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	*=tsui*	ablative
AFF	*=chasu*	affective
ALL	*=ka*	allative postposition
AND	*utsu*	andative auxiliary
APP	*-tsupe*	applicative
AUG	*=tu(a)*	augmentative
AUG.2	*=watsu*	augmentative
CAU	*-ta*	causative
CER	*=tin*	certainty modality
CMP	*=ya*	comparative postposition
CNJ	*ria,*	conjuntion
COM	*=muki*	comitative postposition
CON	*-ra*	conditional subordinator
CPL	*-pa*	completive aspect
CPL2	*(u)pa*	completive auxiliary
DAT	*=tsu(i)*	dative postposition
DEM	*ikian/ajan…*	demonstrative
DER		derivational morpheme
DIF	*=ri*	diffuse-locative
DIM	*=kɨra*	diminutive
DIS	*-rapa*	distributive
DUR	*yuri(ti)*	durative auxiliary
EMP	*-tseme*	emphatic
EMP	*-tsenu*	emphatic
EXH	*yawa*	exhortative
FIN	*=rupe*	finalative postposition
FOC	*=pura*	focus
FUT1	*=utsu*	future tense
FUT2	*=á*	future tense
HAB	*ukua*	habitual auxiliary
HYP	*=mia*	hypothetical modality
IDE		ideophone
INE	*=kuara*	inesive postposition
INS	*=pu*	instrument postposition
INS2	*=pupe*	instrument postposition

JUS	*yapay*	jussive
LOC	*=ka*	locative postposicion
LOC2	*-pe*	locative
MID	*-ka*	middle voice
MNR	*rapa*	adverb of manner
NEG	*t#ma*	negative particle
NEG2	*ni(=)*	negative particle
NZR	*-n*	nominalizer
NZR2	*-wara*	nominalizer of agent
NZR3	*-tsurin*	nominalizer of agent
P.PROH	*maka*	postponed prohibitive
PAS1	*=uy*	past tense
PAS2	*=ikua*	past tense
PAS3	*=tsuri(ay)*	past tense
PL.F	*=nu*	plural clitic female speech
POT	*=era*	potential modality
PRF	*ay*	perfective
PROG	*-(a)ri*	progressive
PROH	*ina*	prohibitive
PUR	*=ra*	purpose postposition
PUR2	*-mira*	purpose subordinator
PUR3	*-tsen*	purpose subordinator
PURI	*-tara*	purpose subordinator
Q	*=tipa*	question marker
QT	*=na*	quotative
REC	*-kaka*	reciprocal
RED		reduplication
REI	*-ka*	reiterative aspect
REL	*-n*	relativizer
REL.A	*-tara*	relativizer of agent
REL.LOC	*-tupa*	relativizer of location
REL2	*,tara*	relativizer of A
REP	*=(i)a*	reportative modality
REQ	*tsaniuri*	polite request, invitation
RES	*=nan*	restrictive focus
ROG	*-puri*	rogative
RSN	*-ikua*	subordinator of reason
SPE	*=ray*	speculative modality

TEMP	*-puka*	temporal subordinator
UNC	*=taka*	uncertainty modality
VEN	*-uri*	venitive aspect
VEN	*uri*	venitive auxiliary
VZR	*-ra,*	verbalizer
VZR2	*-yara*	denominal verbalizer
1PL.IN	*ini*	first person plural inclusive
1PL.M	*tana*	first person plural male speech
1PLF	*penu*	first person plural female speech
1SG.F	*tsa*	first person singular short form female speech
1SG.L.F	*etse*	first person singular long form female speech,
1SG.M	*ta*	first person singular male speech
2PL	*epe*	second person plural
2SG	*na*	second person singular short form
2SG.L	*ene*	second person singular long form
3PL.F	*inu*	third person plural female speech
3PL.M	*rana*	third person plural male speech
3SG.F	*ya*	third person singular short form female speech
3SG.F.OBJ	*(=)ay*	third person singular female speech object
3SG.L.F	*ay*	third person singular long form female speech
3SG.L.M	*uri*	third person singular long form male speech
3SG.M	*ra*	third person singular short form male speech
3SG.M.OBJ	*(=)ura*	third person singular male speech object

APPENDIX B

LIST OF WORDS FOR ACOUSTIC STUDY

List of words analyzed for the acoustic study presented in Chapter III, §3.5. If there are dialectal differences, the Kokama variety is recorded at the right.

	KLLA/KOK	GLOSS
1	jatsɨ	moon
2	tsuwi	tail
3	tsuwɨ	blood
4	uwe	fly
5	uwi / uj	floor
6	wepe	one
7	akɨkɨ	monkey.esp
8	tarɨra	monkey.esp
9	teβekɨwa	mosquito
10	erere	fish.esp
11	ʧɨtʃɨri	fish.esp
12	aki	enter
13	epeka	hungry
14	itaki	gizzard
15	ɨtaki	stone
16	ina	not
17	ɨna	fruit.esp
18	ɨtɨ	garbage
19	iti	bird.esp
20	inu	they (FS)
21	ini	we
22	ene	you sing.
23	pɨa	liver
24	pɨta	foot
25	ati	bird.esp
26	anɨ	bird.esp
27	pɨtsape	nail
28	kaku	cheek
29	ejun	food
30	ijun	yellow
31	umanu	die
32	ipu	sound
33	ɨpwa	island
34	epe	you pl.
35	atsɨrɨka	get down
36	ikaku	diet
37	uti	embarrassment
38	titika	alone
39	tikɨta	tie
40	ɨjɨ	roasted
41	ɨɤatapa	pond
42	ɨɤata	swim
43	era	good
44	ɨra	lie
45	jakɨ	head
46	ija	heart
47	kaj	monkey
48	tsɨwɨj	worm
49	ajwa	wood.esp
50	ajkwa	sick
51	aɨ	bear
52	ɨnda	complain
53	iju	fish.esp
54	ɨmɨndzara	story
55	tajria	niece
56	tajra	daughter
57	ɨpɨn	soft
58	jɨ	tool

APPENDIX C

SAMPLES OF TEXTS

1. TEXT: **Relocation of the community (narrative)**

SPEAKER: Victor Yuyarima Chota
COMMUNITY: Ocho de octubre
GENDER: Male
AGE: 62 (August, 2003)
INTERLOCUTOR: Erlinda Murayari (female)[1]

03AGO01-VY-001

ayta	***karuka,***	***ikuatawara***		
aynata	*karuka*	*ikua*	*-ta*	*-wara*
greetings	late	know	-CAU	-NZR
saludos	tarde	saber	-CAU	-NDR

Good afternoon teacher
Buenas tardes profesora

03AGO01-VY-002

tatseta,	***ikian***	***imintsarara***	***maniataka***	***tana***	***ichari***	***ikian.***
ta- *tseta*	*ikian*	*imintsara*	*-ra* *mania*	*-taka*	*tana*	*ichari*	*ikian*
1SG.M - want	this	story	-VZR how	-MOD	1PL.EX.M	leave	this
1SG.M - querer	este	cuento	-VDR cómo	-MOD	1PL.EX.M	dejar	este

I want to tell how we have left [lit. leave this]
quiero contar como hemos dejado esto

03AGO01-VY-003

tana	***kakirirtupapuratsuriay.***				
tana	*kakiri*	*-tupa*	*-pura*	*-tsuri*	*-ay*
1PL.EX.M	live	-REL.LOC	-FOC	-PAS3	-already
1PL.EX.M	vivir	-REL.LOC	-FOC	-PAS3	-ya

where we have lived
donde hemos vivido

03AGO01-VY-004

ikian	***parana.***
ikian	*parana*
this	river
este	río

in this river
(en) este río

[1] In the texts, the main speaker is talking to an interlocutor. The interlocutor's backchannels are included in the transcription.

03AGO01-VY-005

tsɨmara tankakɨrɨ ɨmɨna.

tsɨmara	*tana*	*kakɨrɨ*	*ɨmɨna*
edge	1PL.EX.M	live	long.ago
orilla	1PL.EX.M	vivir	antiguamente

we lived in the shores a long time ago
en la orilla vivíamos antiguamente

03AGO01-VY-006

ay wata tana kakɨrɨ raepe.

ay	*wata*	*tana*	*kakɨrɨ*	*raepe*
already	year	1PL.EX.M	live	then
ya	año	1PL.EX.M	vivir	entonces

we lived there for years
años hemos vivido ahí

03AGO01-VY-007

raepetsui, uni nua.

raepe	*-tsui*	*uni*	*nua*
then	-ABL	water	become.big
entonces	-ABL	agua	crecer

after that the water grew
después el agua creció (vino la creciente)

03AGO01-VY-008

uri, ranpu, ɨwamara.

uri	*ra*	*-npu*	*ɨwama*	*-ura*
come	3SG.M	-after	demolish	-3M.OBJ
venir	3SG.M	-después	derrumbar	-3M.OBJ

after that it comes and it demolishes
después eso vino (y) ha derrumbado

03AGO01-VY-009

irutsuka ikian tana pepura.

erutsu	*-ka*	*ikian*	*tana*	*pe*	*-pura*
bring	-REI	this	1PL.EX.M	port	-FOC
llevar	-REI	este	1PL.EX.M	puerto	-FOC

it took away our port
ha llevado este nuestro puerto

03AGO01-VY-010

raepetsui, ryurititsuriay.

raepe	*-tsui*	*r-*	*yuriti*	*-tsuri*	*-ay*
then	-ABL	3SG.M-	stay	-PAS3	-already
entonces	-ABL	3SG.M-	permanecer	-PAS3	-ya

later it stayed there
después se ha quedado (ahí)

03AGO01-VY-011

t=mapurá	***ra***	***=wama.***
t=ma -pura	*ra*	*=wama*
NEG -FOC	3SG.M	collapse
NEG -FOC	3SG.M	derrumbar

it doesn't fall down anymore
(ya) no se desbarranca/derrumba

03AGO01-VY-012

wepe	***wata***	***mukuika***	***watataka***	***t=ma***	***ra***	***=wamatsuriay.***		
wepe	*wata*	*mukuika*	*wata -taka*	*t=ma*	*ra*	*=wama*	*-tsuri*	*-ay*
one	year	two	year -MOD	NEG	3SG.M	collapse	-PAS3	-already
uno	año	dos	año -MOD	NEG	3SG.M	derrumbar	-PAS3	-ya

a year, or maybe two it didn't collapse
un año, dos años quizás no se había derrumbado

03AGO01-VY-013

raepetsui	***tupapenan***	***uni***	***urika.***	
raepe -tsui	*tupapenan*	*uni*	*uri*	*-ka*
then -ABL	again	water	come	-REI
entonces -ABL	otravez	agua	venir	-REI

after that the water comes back
Después otra vez viene el agua

03AGO01-VY-014

nua,	***rapururuka***	***rapura.***	
nua	*ra - pururuka*	*ra*	*-pura*
alot	3SG.M - flood	3SG.M	-FOC
bastante	3SG.M - inundar	3SG.M	-FOC

it flooded a lot
bastante lo ha alagado

03AGO01-VY-015

tana	***yuriti***	***t=ma***	***mari.***
tana	*yuriti*	*t=ma*	*mari*
1PL.EX.M	stay	NEG	thing
1PL.EX.M	permanecer	NEG	cosa

we end up with nothing
nos quedamos sin nada

03AGO01-VY-016

mari,	***eyuari.***
mari	*eyu -ri*

thing eat -PROG
cosa comer -PROG
something to be eating
algo para comer (algo para estar comiendo)

03AGO01-VY-017

tana yatɨmanpura uni erutsu.

tana yatɨma -n -pura uni erutsu
1PL.EX.M sow -NZR -FOC water bring
1PL.EX.M sembrar -NDR -FOC agua traer
the water takes what we planted
lo que hemos sembrado lo lleva el agua/ el agua lleva nuestros sembríos

03AGO01-VY-018

raepetsui, tupapenan ra ɨwamaka.

raepe -tsui tupapenan ra ɨwama -ka
then -ABL again 3SG.M demolish -REI
entonces -ABL otravez 3SG.M derrumbar -REI
after that it collapses again
después otra vez vuelve a desbarrancarse

03AGO01-VY-019

tana kumitsa ikian, ikuatawaratsui

tana kumitsa ikian ikua -ta -wara -tsui
1PL.EX.M say this know -CAU -NZR -DAT
1PL.EX.M decir este saber -CAU -NDR -DAT
we talk to the teacher
hablamos con el profesor (al profesor)

03AGO01-VY-020

ikian tana eskueraka kakɨrɨn.

ikian tana eskuera -ka kakɨrɨ -n
this 1PL.EX.M school -LOC live -NZR
este 1PL.EX.M escuela -LOC vivir -NDR
this one who lived in our school
este que vivía en nuestra escuela

03AGO01-VY-021

rutsutsen yurimaka, rakumitsatsen maikanamuki.

r- utsu -tsen yurimaka ra- kumitsa -tsen mai -kana -muki
3SG.M- go -PUR3 Yurimaguas 3SG.M-say -PUR3 spirit -PL.M -COM
3SG.M- ir -PROP3 Yurimaguas 3SG.M-decir -PROP3 espíritu -PL.M -COM
to go to Yurimaguas, to talk to the mestizos
para que vaya a yurimaguas, para que vaya a hablar con los mestizos

03AGO01-VY-022

tʉma ratseta utsu.

tʉma ra - tseta -utsu

NEG 3SG.M - want -FUT1

NEG 3SG.M - querer -FUT1

he doesn't want to go

él no quiere irse

03AGO01-VY-023

tsaipuranan rakakʉri.

tsaipura -nan ra - kakʉri

drink -only 3SG.M - live

emborracharse -solamente 3SG.M - vivir

he only lives drunk

vive solamente borracho

03AGO01-VY-024

ikian rachira, pedru manawaku.

ikian ra - chira pedru manawaku

this 3SG.M - name Pedro Manahuaco

este 3SG.M - nombre Pedro Manahuaco

his name is Pedro Manahuaco

se llama Pedro Manahuaco

03AGO01-VY-025

rikua tana utsu, tanakikin ya tana utsu

rikua tana utsu tana -kikin ya tana utsu

because 1PL.EX.M go 1PL.EX.M -REF already 1PL.EX.M go

por.eso 1PL.EX.M ir 1PL.EX.M -mismos ya 1PL.EX.M ir

ikian imakanamuki.

ikian ima -kana -muki

this brother -PL.M -COM

este hermano -PL.M -COM

that's why we go ourselves, that way we go with our brothers

por eso nos vamos nosotros mismos, así nos vamos con los hermanos

03AGO01-VY-026

ramakana ikian, eee, mayurkana.

*rama -kana ikian *** mayur -kana*

other -PL.M this *** leader -PL.M

otro -PL.M este *** mayor -PL.M

other chiefs

otros jefes

03AGO01-VY-027

raepe rana kumitsa tanatsui.

raepe rana kumitsa tana -tsui

then	3PL.M	say	1PL.EX.M	-DAT
entonces	3PL.M	decir	1PL.EX.M	-DAT

so there they tell us
ahí/entonces nos dicen

03AGO01-VY-028

yawa	***kauki***	***tana***	***utsu***	***epe***	***ikian***	***epe***	***kaki-ri-tupaka.***		
yawa	*kauki*	*tana*	*utsu*	*epe*	*ikian*	*epe*	*kaki-ri-tupa*	*-ka*	
go	wait.for	1PL.EX.M	go	2PL	this	2PL	live	-REL	-LOC
vayan	esperar	1PL.EX.M	ir	2PL	este	2PL	vivir	-REL	-LOC

go wait for us where you live in
vayan a esperarnos donde Uds. viven

03AGO01-VY-029

raepe,	***tana***	***utsu***	***epe-muki***		***kumitsa-katara.***		
raepe	*tana*	*utsu*	*epe*	*-muki*	*kumitsa*	*-ka*	*-tara*
then	1PL.EX.M	go	2PL	-COM	say	-REI	-PUR1
entonces	1PL.EX.M	ir	2PL	-COM	decir	-REI	-PROP1

we will go there to talk to you
allá vamos a ir para conversar con Uds.

03AGO01-VY-030

na	***ikian***	***maikana***		***kumitsa***	***tanatsui.***
na	*ikian*	*mai*	*-kana*	*kumitsa*	*tana* *-tsui*
QT1	this	spirit	-PL.M	say	1PL.EX.M -DAT
CT1	este	espíritu	-PL.M	decir	1PL.EX.M -DAT

that's what these mestizos tell us
así nos dicen estos mestizos

03AGO01-VY-031

rikua	***tana***	***iriwa,***	***rana***	***kaukitara.***
r- ikua	*tana*	*iriwa*	*rana*	*kauki* *-tara*
3SG.M-RSN	1PL.EX.M	come.back	3PL.M	wait -PUR1
3SG.M-RZN	1PL.EX.M	regresar	3PL.M	esperar -PROP1

that's why we went back to wait for them
por eso hemos regresado para esperar

03AGO01-VY-032

raepe	***tana***	***yawachiman***		***pichka***	***kuarachi***
raepe	*tana*	*yawachima*	*-n*	*pichka*	*kuarachi*
then	1PL.EX.M	arrive	-NZR	five	sun
entonces	1PL.EX.M	llegar	-NDR	cinco	sol
tana	***yutin***		***rana***	***yawachima***	***uri.***
tana	*yuti*	*-n*	*rana*	*yawachima*	*uri*
1PL.EX.M	stay	-NZR	3PL.M	arrive	come
1PL.EX.M	permanecer	-NDR	3PL.M	llegar	venir

after we arrived, we were there for five days, they arrive

después que hemos llegado, que hemos estado cindo días, ellos han venido a llegar

03AGO01-VY-033

ɨyatira,	***ikian,***	***apu,***	***arutsu***	***yumitara***	***uri.***
ɨyatira	*ikia -n*	*apu*	*arutsu*	*yumi -tara*	*uri*
first	here -NZR	leader	rice	give -PUR1	come
primero	aquí -NZR	jefe	arroz	dar -PROP1	venir

the chief comes first to give us rice
primero viene el jefe a darnos a arroz

03AGO01-VY-034

uri	***kumitsa***	***tanatsui.***	
uri	*kumitsa*	*tana*	*-tsui*
3SG.M.L	say	1PL.EX.M	-DAT
3SG.M.L	decir	1PL.EX.M	-DAT

he tells us
él nos dice

03AGO01-VY-035

ikian	***epe***	***eyu.***
ikian	*epe*	*eyu*
this	2PL	eat
este	2PL	comer

eat this
coman esto

03AGO01-VY-036

uriari			***ikian***	***rama***	***maikana***		***ikiaka***	
uri	*-a*	*-ri*	*ikian*	*rama*	*mai*	*-kana*	*ikia*	*-ka*
come	-EV	-PROG	this	other	spirit	-PL.M	here	-LOC
venir	-VE	-PROG	este	otro	espíritu	-PL.M	aquí	-LOC

epe	***kumitsakatsen***		***ranamuki.***		
epe	kumitsa	-ka	-tsen	rana	-muki
2PL	say	-REI	-PUR3	3PL.M	-COM
2PL	decir	-REI	-PROP3	3PL.M	-COM

these mestizos are coming so you can talk to them
estos mestizos estan viniendo para que Uds. conversen con ellos

03AGO01-VY-037

kantun	***rana***	***yuti***	***ikiaka***		***inan***	***epe***	***utsu***	***maka.***
kantun	*rana*	*yuti*	*ikia*	*-ka*	*inan*	*epe*	*utsu*	*maka*
tomorrow	3PL.M	stay	this	-LOC	PROH	2PL	go	where
mañana	3PL.M	permanecer	este	-LOC	PROH	2PL	ir	donde

they will be here tomorrow, don't go anywhere
mañana van a estar aquí, no se vayan ni donde (a ningú n lugar)

03AGO01-VY-038
ikiaka epe kauki rana.
ikia -ka epe kauki rana
here -LOC 2PL wait 3PL.M
aquí -LOC 2PL esperar 3PL.M
wait for them here
aquí espérenles

03AGO01-VY-039
na rana kumitsa tanatsui rikua tana yuriti kaukiari.
na rana kumitsa tana -tsui rikua tana yuriti kauki -ri
QT1 3PL.M say 1PL.EX.M -DAT because 1PL.EX.M stay wait -PROG
CT1 3PL.M decir 1PL.EX.M-DAT porque 1PL.EX.M permanecer esperar-PROG
because they tell us that we remain waiting
porque así nos dicen nos quedamos esperando

03AGO01-VY-040
aytsemeka, kantunyara rana yawachima.
aytseme -ka kantun -yara rana yawachima
be.truth -MID tomorrow -for 3PL.M arrive
así.es -MID mañana -para 3PL.M llegar
and the next day they actually arrive
de verdad al día siguiente ya han llegado

03AGO01-VY-041
rana kumitsakuri tanamuki.
rana kumitsa -ka -uri tana -muki
3PL.M say -REI - come 1PL.EX.M -COM
3PL.M decir -REI - venir 1PL.EX.M -COM
they come to talk to us
vienen a conversar con nosotros

03AGO01-VY-042
raepe, ikian, arkare na chiran, eee rakuna ritamatsuin.
*raepe ikian arkare na chira-n *** rakuna ritama -tsui -n*
then this mayor QT1 name-NZR *** Lagunas community -ABL -NZR
entonces este alcalde CT1 nombre -NDR*** Lagunas comunidad -ABL -NDR
en then the one that is called the mayor, who came from the Lagunas town
luego ese que se llama alcalde, que ha venido del pueblo de Lagunas

03AGO01-VY-043
uri ranamuki.
uri rana -muki
come 3PL.M -COM
venir 3PL.M -COM
he comes with them
(él) viene con ellos

03AGO01-VY-044

raepe	***rana***	***kumitsa***	***marirara***	***epe***	***yuti***	***ikiaka.***	
raepe	*rana*	*kumitsa*	*marira-ra*	*epe*	*yuti*	*ikia*	*-ka*
then	3PL.M	say	why -PUR	2PL	stay	here	-LOC
entonces	3PL.M	decir	por.qué -PROP	2PL	permanecer	aquí	-LOC

then they say why are you here
entonces ellos dicen porque están Uds. aquí

03AGO01-VY-045

ikian	***animarupurakanayanan,***	***puturapa.***					
ikian	*animaru*	*-pura*	*-kana*	*ya*	*-nan*	*putu*	*-ra* *-pa*
this	animal	-FOC -PL.M	already	-only	swell	-VZR	-CPL
este	animal	-FOC -PL.M	ya	-solamente	inchar	-Vbdr	-CPL

you are floating like animals
como animales se están rebalzando/ flotando

03AGO01-VY-046

uni	***nua,***	***t=ima***	***ukutsu***	***ikuminan.***
uni	*nua*	*t=ima*	*ukua*	*-utsu* *ikuminan*
water	be.big	NEG	use.to	-FUT1 now
agua	sergrande	NEG	soler	-FUT1 ahora

the water is high, it won't go away soon
el agua esta crecida, no va a pasar pronto

03AGO01-VY-047

ria	***ikua***	***ray***	***t=ima***	***mari***	***epe***	***eyutsu,***	***marira***	***epe***	***t=ima***	***chikari.***
ria	*-ikua*	*ray*	*t=imamari*		*epe*	*eyu -utsu*	*marira*	*epe*	*t=ima*	*chikari*
like.this	-RSN	PRT	NEG	thing	2PL	eat -FUT1	why	2PL	NEG	lookfor
así	-RZN	pues	NEG	cosa	2PL	comer-FUT1	para.que	2PL	NEG	buscar

that's why they wont eat anything, because they don't look for it
por eso (mismo) no van a comer nada, por qué no buscan

03AGO01-VY-048

tuyuka	***nuan***		***epe***	***kak=ri***	***tupara***		***na***
tuyuka	*nua*	*-n*	*epe*	*kak=ri*	*tupa*	*-ra*	*na*
ground	bebig	-NZR	2PL	live	place	-PUR	QT1
tierra	sergrande	-NDR	2PL	vivir	lugar	-PROP	CT1

maikana	***kumitsa***	***tanatsui.***		
mai	-kana	kumitsa	tana	-tsui
mestizo	-PL.M	talk	1PL.EX.M	-DAT
mestizo	-PL.M	hablar	1PL.EX.M	-DAT

a big land for you to live, that's what the mestizos told us
una tierra grande para que vivan así nos dicen los mestizos

03AGO01-VY-049
rikua ramakana kumitsa eee.
rikua rama -kana kumitsa hm
because other -PL.M say hm
porque otro -PL.M decir hm
that's why others say
por eso otros dicen

03AGO01-VY-050
mariratipa epe tseta wanakari tana amutse.
marira -tipa epe tseta wanakari tana amutse
why -Q 2PL want send 1PL.EX.M far
por.qué -Q 2PL querer enviar 1PL.EX.M lejos
why do you want to send us far away
por qué (Uds) nos quieren mandar lejos

03AGO01-VY-051
emete tuyuka nuan.
emete tuyuka nua -n
exist ground bebig -NZR
haber tierra sergrande -NDR
here there is big land
(aquí) hay tierra grande

03AGO01-VY-052
tana tuyuka.
tana tuyuka
1PL.EX.M ground
1PL.EX.M tierra
our land
nuestra tierra (51, 52: si, aquí donde estamos hay tierra grande)

03AGO01-VY-053
ikian ay rana yumin tana tuyukara.
ikian ay rana yumi -n tana tuyuka -ra
this already 3PL.M give -NZR 1PL.EX.M ground -PUR
este ya 3PL.M dar -NDR 1PL.EX.M tierra -PROP
this is what they gave us to be our land
esto es lo ellos ya nos han dado para nuestra tierra

03AGO01-VY-054
na tana kumitsa ranatsui.
na tana kumitsa rana -tsui
QT1 1PL.EX.M say 3PL.M -DAT
CT1 1PL.EX.M decir 3PL.M -DAT
that's what we told them
así les decimos

03AGO01-VY-055

rikua	***ikian***	***ramakana***		***kumitsa***	***ikiakatinan***		
rikua	*ikian*	*rama*	*-kana*	*kumitsa*	*ikia*	*-kati*	*-nan*
because	this	other	-PL.M	talk	this	-up.to	-only
porque	este	otro	-PL.M	hablar	este	-hasta	-solamente

iniutsu			***amutsenan***		***t=ima***	***amutse.***
ini	*-*	*utsu*	*amutse*	*-nan*	*t=ima*	*amutse*
1PL.IN	-	go	far	-only	NEG	far
1PL.IN	-	ir	lejos	-solamente	NEG	lejos

that is why they say we are only staying here, we are not going far away
por eso ellos dicen aquí (acasito) nomás no vamos a ir lejos, no lejos (del grupo contrario a VY no quieren ir más lejos)

03AGO01-VY-056

ikian,	***ta***	***kumitsa***	***yapay***	***ikian,***	***yapu,***	***i=akukuara***		***inikaki=ri=utsu***
ikian	*ta*	*kumitsa*	*yapay*	*ikian*	*yapu*	*i=aku*	*-kuara*	*ini-kaki=ri-utsu*
this	1SG.M	say	lets	this	bird	creek	-INE	1PL.IN -live-FUT1
este	1SG.M	decir	vamos	este	paucar	quebrada	-INE	1PL.IN -vivir-FUT1

raepe	***tuan***		***ikia,***	***i=aku.***
raepe	*tua*	*-n*	*ikia*	*i=aku*
there	grow.up	-NZR	here	creek
ahí	crecer	-NDR	aquí	quebrada

I say let's live in the creek of the oropendula, this creek is too big.
yo digo vamos a vivir en la quebrada del paucar, ahí, grande es esta quebrada

03AGO01-VY-057

raepe	***ipira***	***t=ima***	***watari.***
raepe	*ipira*	*t=ima*	*watari*
there	fish	NEG	miss
ahí	pez	NEG	faltar

there is enough fish there
ahí no falta el pescado

03AGO01-VY-058

ramakana			***tsetutsu***	***tsanangillokuarapenan.***			
rama	*-kana*	*tseta*	*utsu*	*tsanangillo*	*-kuara*	*-pe*	*-nan*
other	-PL.M	want	go	Sananguillo	-INE	-there	-only
otro	-PL.M	querer	ir	Sananguillo	-INE	-ahí	-solamente

some want to go to Sananguillo
otros (algunos) quieren ir a Sananguillo nomás (insisten en eso)

03AGO01-VY-059

t=ima	***tatseta***		***eee***	***ikian***	***eee***	***utsu***	***raepe.***
t=ima	*ta*	*-tseta*	*hm*	*ikian*	*hm*	*utsu*	*raepe*
NEG	1SG.M	- want	hm	this	hm	go	there

NEG 1SG.M - querer hm este hm ir ahí
I don't want to go there
no quiero irme allá

03AGO01-VY-060

raepe	***temente***	***inyapichika***	***maniawatsun***	***ini***	***emeran.***
raepe	*temente*	*in-yapichika*	*maniawatsu -n*	*ini*	*emera -n*
there	there.isn't	1PL.IN- catch	how -NZR	1PL.IN	for.eating-NZR
ahí	no.hay	1PL.IN- agarrar	cómo -NDR	1PL.IN	alimentarse -NDR

there is no way to feed ourselves there
ahí no hay ni como para agarrar (para comer) nuestro alimento

03AGO01-VY-061

amutsenan	***arawante,***	***tsanangillo***	***nanin.***
amutse -nan	*arawante*	*tsanangillo*	*nanin*
far -only	Arahuante	Sananguillo	like.this
lejos -solamente	Arahuante	Sananguillo	así

Arahuante and Sananguillo are close
cerca (cerquita) esta Arahuante y Sananguillo

03AGO01-VY-062

rikua	***rana***	***kumitsa***	***raepe***	***epe***	***ikuakaka***			***epe***
rikua	*rana*	*kumitsa*	*raepe*	*epe*	*ikua*	*-ka*	*-ka*	*epe*
because	3PL.M	say	there	2PL	know	-REI	-REI	2PL
porque	3PL.M	decir	ahí	2PL	saber	-REI	-REI	2PL

kumitsa	***maniataka***		***epe***	***utsu.***
kumitsa	*mania*	*-taka*	*epe*	*utsu*
say	how	-MOD	2PL	go
decir	cómo	-MOD	2PL	ir

that's why they told us: you resolve it (let know each other), you talk how/where to go
por eso ellos dicen: ahí resuelvan/pónganse de acuerdo, hablen como van a irse

03AGO01-VY-063

awataka		***ganashka***	***ikiaka***		***uriutsu***		***eee***	***ratsetanka.***			
awa	*-taka*	*ganashka*	*ikia*	*-ka*	*uri*	*-utsu*	*****	*ra*	*-tseta*	*-n*	*-ka*
person	-MOD	win	here	-LOC	3SG.M	-FUT1	***	3SG.M	-want	-NZR	-LOC
persona	-MOD	ganar	aquí	-LOC	3SG.M	-FUT1	***	3SG.M	-querer	-NDR	-LOC

whoever wins (in this) he will go wherever he wants (to go)
los que ganan (en esto) aquí el se va a donde quiere (ir)

03AGO01-VY-064

rikua	***ranu,***	***kumitsa***	***awakanatipa***			***tseta***	***utsu.***
rikua	*rana*	*kumitsa*	*awa*	*-kana*	*-tipa*	*tseta*	*utsu*
because	3PL.M	say	person	-PL.M	-Q	want	go
porque	3PL.M	decir	persona	-PL.M	-Q	querer	ir

that is why they say: who wants to go
por eso dicen: quienes quieren irse

03AGO01-VY-065

ikian yapu i-akukuara.

ikian yapu i-aku -kuara

this bird creek -INE

este paucar quebrada -INE

to the creek of oropendula

a la quebrada del paucar

03AGO01-VY-066

awakana tseta utsu tsanangillokuara.

awa -kana tseta utsu tsanangillo -kuara

person -PL.M want go Sananguillo -INE

persona -PL.M querer ir Sananguillo -INE

people want to go to Sananguillo

la gente quiere ir a Sananguillo

03AGO01-VY-067

raepe ranu memuta rana pua.

raepe rana memuta rana pua

then 3PL.M show 3PL.M hand

entonces 3PL.M mostrar 3PL.M mano

so they raise their hands

entonces muestran sus manos (levantan la mano para la votación)

03AGO01-VY-068

tupapenan rana kumitsaka.

tupapenan rana kumitsa -ka

again 3PL.M say -REI

otravez 3PL.M decir -REI

they speak again

otra vez ellos hablan

03AGO01-VY-069

tupapenan rana kumitsaka mutsapi-ri-ka uyari, ti-ma puráá-á.

tupapenan rana kumitsa -ka mutsapi-ri-ka uyari ti-ma -pura

again 3PL.M say -REI three put.together NEG -FOC

otravez 3PL.M decir -REI tres reunir NEG -FOC

they speak again, three times

otra vez hablan ellos, tres veces (hacen la votación)

03AGO01-VY-070

kuatiaran mari ti-ma ranu mi-ta iniutsu.

kuatiara-n mari ti-ma ra -nu mi-ta ini -utsu

write -NZR thing NEG 3SG.M -PL.F lie 1PL.IN -FUT1

escribir -NDR cosa NEG 3SG.M -PL.F engañar 1PL.IN -FUT1

they won't fool us with the writting

con el escrito no nos van a engañar

03AGO01-VY-071

yapay	***na***		***yumi***	***kuatiaran***	***ranatsui***	
yapay	*na*	*yumi*	*kuatiara*	*-n*	*rana*	*-tsui*
lets	QT1	give	write	-NZR	3PL.M	-DAT
vamos	CT1	dar	escribir	-NDR	3PL.M	-DAT

awataka		***tseta***	***utsu***	***paukaryakuka***		***ikian***	***yauki***	***ikian.***
awa	*-taka*	*tseta*	*utsu*	*paukaryaku*	*-ka*	*ikian*	*yauki*	*ikian*
person	-MOD	want	go	Paucaryacu	-LOC	this	make	this
persona	-MOD	querer	ir	Paucaryacu	-LOC	este	hacer	este

we will give this writing (piece of paper to write their vote) to them, the people that might want to go to Paukaryaku, they can do it here
vamos a darles así este escrito (papel) para que las personas que quisieran ir a Paucaryacu hagan...

03AGO01-VY-072

ikian	***pɨtanita***		***ikian***	***eee***	***paukaryakukuara***		***utsutaran.***		
ikian	*pɨtani*	*-ta*	*ikian*	*****	*paukaryaku*	*-kuara*	*utsu*	*-tara*	*-n*
this	ripen	-CAU	this	*****	Paucaryacu	-INE	go	-PUR	-NZR
este	madurar	-CAU	este	*****	Paucaryacu	-INE	ir	-PROP	-NDR

mark this with red to go to Paucaryacu
pinten de rojo (coloreen) para ir a Paucaryacu

03AGO01-VY-073

awataka		***tseta***	***utsu tsanangilloka***			***pɨtanita***	***ra***	***utsu***	***tsanangilloka.***
awa	*-taka*	*tseta*	*utsu tsanangillo*		*-ka*	*pɨtani*	*-ta*	*ra*	*utsu tsanangillo*	*-ka*
person	-MOD	want	go	Sananguillo	-LOC	ripen	-CAU	3SG.M	go Sananguillo	-LOC
persona	-MOD	querer	ir	Sananguillo	-LOC	madurar	-CAU	3SG.M	ir Sananguillo	-LOC

whoever wants to go to Sananguillo, mark (with red color) that he goes to Sananguillo
las personas que quisieran ir a Sananguillo coloreen que él se va Sananguillo

03AGO01-VY-074

na	***ranu,***	***ranu***	***yankata***	***tana.***
na	*rana*	*rana*	*yankata*	*tana*
QT1	3PL.M	3PL.M	put	1PL.EX.M
CT1	3PL.M	3PL.M	poner	1PL.EX.M

that's how they place us
así ellos nos ponen

03AGO01-VY-075

aytsemeka		***ikian***	***tana***	***kuatiara***	***kuatiarankuara.***		
aytseme	*-ka*	*ikian*	*tana*	*kuatiara*	*kuatiara*	*-n*	*-kuara*
truth?	-REI	this	1PL.EX.M	write	write	-NZR	-INE
así.es	-REI	este	1PL.EX.M	escribir	escribir	-NDR	-INE

for real we write in the notebook
De verdad nosotros escribimos en el cuaderno

03AGO01-VY-076

aytana pɨtanitaura, raepe.

ay	-	*tana*	*pɨtani*	-	*ta*	-	*ura*	*raepe*
already	-	1PL.EX.M	ripen	-	1SG.M	-	3M.OBJ	then
ya	-	1PL.EX.M	madurar	-	1SG.M	-	3M.OBJ	entonces

so after marking it

Entonces después de colorearlo,

03AGO01-VY-077

ay ikian tatsetan.

ay	*ikian*	*ta-*	*tseta*	*-n*
already	this	1SG.M	- want	-NZR
ya	este	1SG.M	- querer	-NDR

already, the one that I want

ya, aquel que yo quiero

03AGO01-VY-078

iruaka awakana, tana ikian ta..

iruaka	*awa*	*-kana*	*tana*	*ikian*	*ta*
four	person	-PL.M	1PL.EX.M	this	1SG.M
cuatro	persona	-PL.M	1PL.EX.M	este	1SG.M

for people, us

cuatro personas, nosotros...

03AGO01-VY-079

tamuki urikana kumitsa maniaepe utsu tsanangilloka,

ta	*-muki*	*uri*	*-kana*	*kumitsa*	*mania*	*epe*	*utsu*	*tsanangillo*	*-ka*
1SG.M	-COM	3SG.M	-PL.M	say	how	2PL	go	Sananguillo	-LOC
1SG.M	-COM	3SG.M	-PL.M	decir	cómo	2PL	ir	Sananguillo	-LOC

mari ini eyutsu.

mari	*ini*	*eyu*	*-utsu*
thing	1PL.IN	eat	-FUT1
cosa	1PL.IN	comer	-FUT1

they talk to me, they say how are you going to go to Sananguillo, what are you going to eat

hablan conmigo, dicen como van a ir a Sananguillo, qué cosa para que coman

03AGO01-VY-080

makataka witurio tseta erutsu ini raepe ini utsu.

maka	*-taka*	*witurio*	*tseta*	*erutsu*	*ini*	*raepe*	*ini*	*utsu*
where	-MOD	Victor	want	bring	1PL.IN	there	1PL.IN	go
donde	-MOD	Victor	querer	traer	1PL.IN	ahí	1PL.IN	ir

wherever Victor wants to lead us, there we go

donde quieras llevarnos Victor, ahí nos vamos

03AGO01-VY-081

na	***ta***	***iruakana***		***ta***	***kuniakana***		***uri,***	***tsarɨwaka.***
na	*ta*	*irua*	*-kana*	*ta*	*kunai*	*-kana*	*uri*	*tsarɨwa -ka*
QT1	1SG.M	brother	-PL.M	1SG.M	sister	-PL.M	come	appy -MID
CT1	1SG.M	hermano	-PL.M	1SG.M	hermana	-PL.M	venir	r.alegre -MID

so my brothers and sisters come, they cheer up
entonces mis hermanos y hermanas vienen, se alegran

03AGO01-VY-082

makatipa		***nakumitsauy***			***ima,***	***na***	***rana***	***kumitsa***
maka	*-tipa*	*na-*	*kumitsa*	*-uy*	*ima*	*na*	*rana*	*kumitsa*
where	-Q	2SG -	say	-PAS1	brother	QT1	3PL.M	say
donde	-Q	2SG -	decir	-PAS1	hermano	CT1	3PL.M	decir

wherever you say brother, that's what they say, I want to go to Paukaryacu
donde has dicho hermano (que lugar has elegido?), así dicen. yo quiero ir a Paukaryacu

03AGO01-VY-082.b

tatseta		***utsu***	***paukaryakukuara***
ta -	*tseta*	*utsu*	*paukaryaku* *-kuara*
1SG.M -	want	go	Paucaryacu -INE
1SG.M -	querer	ir	Paucaryacu -INE

I want to go to Paukaryacu
yo quiero a Paukaryacu

03AGO01-VY-083

tana	***yumayari***	***inutsu.***	
tana	*yumayari*	*inu*	*-utsu*
1PL.EX.M	help	3PL.F	-FUT1
1PL.EX.M	ayudar	3PL.F	-FUT1

they well help us
ellos nos van a ayudar

03AGO01-VY-084

ay	***rikua***	***eee***	***ikian.***
ay	*rikua*	***	*ikian*
already	because	***	this
ya	porque	***	este

that is why
entonces por eso

03AGO01-VY-085

tupapenan	***tana***	***pɨtanitaka***		***kuatiarankuara.***		
tupapenan	*tana*	*pɨtani*	*-taka*	*kuatiara*	*-n*	*-kuara*
again	1PL.EX.M	ripen	-MOD	write	-NZR	-INE
otravez	1PL.EX.M	madurar	-MOD	escribir	-NDR	-INE

we mark the paper again
otra vez coloreamos en el escrito (votación)

03AGO01-VY-086

raepe	***ay,***	***ay***	***tana***	***utsu,***	***uchima***	***era.***
raepe	*ay*	*ay*	*tana*	*utsu*	*uchima*	*era*
then	already	already	1PL.EX.M	go	go.out	be.good
entonces	ya	ya	1PL.EX.M	ir	salir	estar.bien

and then we win
entonces ya nosotros salimos bien (ganamos)

03AGO01-VY-087

mutsapirika	***awakana,***		***ikian***	***ay***	***yumayari***	***tana.***
mutsapirika	*awa*	*-kana*	*ikian*	*ay*	*yumayari*	*tana*
three	person	-PL.M	this	already	help	1PL.EX.M
tres	persona	-PL.M	este	ya	ayudar	1PL.EX.M

three people help us
tres personas nos ayudan

03AGO01-VY-088

ay	***tana***	***uchima***	***paukaryakukuara***		***tana***	***utsutsen.***	
ay	*tana*	*uchima*	*paukaryaku*	*-kuara*	*tana*	*utsu*	*-tsen*
already	1PL.EX.M	go.out	Paucaryacu	-INE	1PL.EX.M	go	-PUR3
ya	1PL.EX.M	salir	Paucaryacu	-INE	1PL.EX.M	ir	-PROP3

to leave and go to Paukaryacu
ya para salir e irnos a Paukaryacu

03AGO01-VY-089

ay	***ikian***	***uninuapuratua***		***raepenan.***				
ay	*ikian*	*uni*	*-*	*nua*	*-pura*	*-tua*	*raepe*	*-nan*
already	this		water	-	bebig	-FOC	-AUG here	-only
ya	este	agua	-	sergrande	-FOC	-AUG hí		-solamente

the water is still high
el agua esta grande nomás (la creciente no pasa)

03AGO01-VY-090

ikian,	***iwamapura***		***ay***	***erutsu***	***ikian,***	***ikuachiru,***
ikian	*iwama*	*-pura*	*ay*	*erutsu*	*ikian*	*ikuachiru*
this	collapse	-FOC	already	bring	this	school
este	derrumbar	-FOC	ya	traer	este	escuela

eskuera,	***upi,***	***ikian***	***mutsanaka***	***chiru.***
eskuera	*upi*	*ikian*	*mutsanaka*	*chiru*
school	all	this	cure	nest
escuela	todos	este	curar	nido

the flood took away the school, everything, where we heal
(el barranco/la creciente) ha llevado la escuela, todo, donde se cura

03AGO01-VY-091

botikin comunal	***upi***	***rerutsu,***	
botikin comunal	*upi*	*r-*	*erutsu*

med.cabinet common all 3SG.M- bring
botiquín comunal todos 3SG.M- llevar
the community health center, everything was taken away
el botiquín comunal todo ha llevado,

03AGO01-VY-091.b

ikian ɨwamapura erutsukapa ikian.

ikian ɨwama -pura erutsu -ka -pa ikian
this demolish -FOC ring -REI -CPL this
este derrumbar -FOC levar -REI -CPL este
this flood takes everything completely
este derrumbre lleva completamente (todo)

03AGO01-VY-092

tana uka, tana uka, raepe tana yutinpura upi.

tana uka tana uka raepe tana yuti -n -pura upi
1PL.EX.M house 1PL.EX.M house there 1PL.EX.M stay -NZR -FOC all
1PL.EX.M casa 1PL.EX.M casa ahí 1PL.EX.M permanecer -NDR -FOC todos
our house, everything that belonged to us was there
nuestra casa, ahí estaban todas nuestras pertenencias

03AGO01-VY-093

yamɨna yaranan.

yamɨmayara -nan
be.sad own -only
estar.triste poseer -solamente
that was so painful
de dar pena nomás/penosamente

03AGO01-VY-094

ikian ɨwamapura eee yankatakapa tanapura ɨmɨna.

*ikian ɨwama -pura *** yankata -ka -pa tana -pura ɨmɨna*
this demolish -FOC ** put -REI -ADV 1PL.EX.M -FOC long.ago
este derrumbar -FOC ** poner -REI -ADV 1PL.EX.M -FOC antiguamente
that's what the flood did to us
el derrumbe así nos hizo/hace antes (nos deja, nos desgracia)

03AGO01-VY-095

rikua ay ikun ay ipi utsu.

rikua ay ikun ay epe utsu
because already today already 2PL go
porque ya hoy ya 2PL ir
that's why today you go
por eso hoy Uds. ya se van

03AGO01-VY-096
kantun ipiutsu rakunaka.
kantun epe utsu rakuna -ka
tomorrow 2PL go Lagunas -LOC
mañana 2PL ir Lagunas -LOC
tomorrow you go to Lagunas
mañana se van a Lagunas

03AGO01-VY-097
epe eruratsen, karamina.
epe erura -tsen karamina
2PL bring -PUR3 corrugated.iron
2PL traer -PROP3 calamina
to bring corrugated iron
para traer calamina

03AGO01-VY-098
epe eruratsen.
epe erura -tsen
2PL bring -PUR3
2PL traer -PROP3
to take
para llevar

03AGO01-VY-099
ikian epe, ikian epe yuwanataran.
ikian epe ikian epe yuwana -tara -n
this 2PL this 2PL be.covered -PUR1 -NZR
este 2PL este 2PL estar.cubierto -PROP1 -NDR
for your protection
para sus cobijas

03AGO01-VY-100
epe, amana tsakaritaran... yukuchi.
epe amana tsakari -tara -n yukuchi
2PL rain break -PUR1 -NZR pot
2PL lluvia quebrar -PROP1 -NDR olla
to cover from the rain
para impermeable / estrechar/detener la lluvia...olla

03AGO01-VY-101
epe emeran epe erutsutsen
epe emera -n epe erutsu -tsen
2PL feed -NZR 2PL bring -PUR3
2PL alimentar -NDR 2PL llevar -PROP3
epe kakiriri tuparanka; uri epe
epe kakiriri -tupa -ra -n -ka uri epe

2PL live -REL -PUR -NZR -LOC come 2PL
2PL vivir -REL -PROP -NDR -LOC venir 2PL
to eat, to take to where you are going to live; come
para que coman, para que lleven a donde van a vivir; vengan

03AGO01-VY-102
tautsu kantun na maikana
ta -utsu kantun na mai -kana
1SG.M -FUT1 tomorrow QT1 spirit -PL.M
1SG.M -FUT1 mañana CT1 espíritu -PL.M
kumitsa tanatsui
kumitsa tana -tsui
say 1PL.EX.M -DAT
decir 1PL.EX.M -DAT
I will go tomorrow, that's what the mestizos tell us
yo voy mañana, así nos dicen los mestizos,

03AGO01-VY-102.b
rikua tana atsɨrɨka na.
rikua tana atsɨrɨka na
because 1PL.EX.M go.down.river QT1
porque 1PL.EX.M bajar.río CT1
that's why we go down
por eso nosotros bajamos

03AGO01-VY-103
rana atsɨrɨka tsapakɨrɨ.
rana atsɨrɨka tsapakɨrɨ
3PL.M go.down.river behind
3PL.M bajar.río detrás
after they go down
después que ellos bajan

03AGO01-VY-104
tana yawachima rakunaka
tana yawachima rakuna -ka
1PL.EX.M arrive Lagunas -LOC
1PL.EX.M llegar Lagunas -LOC
we arrive at Lagunas
llegamos a Lagunas,

03AGO01-VY-105
aytsemeka rana yumi upi maripura tanatsui
aytsemeka rana yumi upi mari -pura tana -tsui
truth 3PL.M give all thing -FOC 1PL.EX.M -DAT
ser.cierto 3PL.M dar todos cosa -FOC 1PL.EX.M -DAT

tana erutsumira ikian tana kakɨrɨtuparan.

tana erutsu -mira ikian tana kakɨrɨ -tupa -ra -n

1PL.EX.M bring -PUR this 1PL.EX.M live -REL -PUR -NZR

1PL.EX.M llevar -PROP este 1PL.EX.M vivir -REL -PROP -NDR

and for real they give us things to take to where we live

y de verdad ellos nos dan (toda clase de) cosas para llevar a donde vivimos

03AGO01-VY-106

ria tana utsu.

ria tana utsu

like.this 1PL.EX.M go

así 1PL.EX.M ir

like this we go

así nos vamos

03AGO01-VY-107

tana, erutsu upi, upi ikian yapɨkatupa,

tana erutsu upi upi ikian yapɨka -tupa

1PL.EX.M bring all all this sit -REL

1PL.EX.M llevar todos todos este sentar -REL

we take everything, where they are going to sit

llevamos todo , todo donde se van a sentar,

03AGO01-VY-108

ikuankana yapɨkatupapuratana erutsu

ikua -n -kana yapɨka -tupa -pura tana erutsu

know -NZR -PL.M sit -REL -FOC 1PL.EX.M bring

saber -NDR -PL.M sentar -REL -FOC 1PL.EX.M llevar

we take the students' seets.

los asientos de los alumnos llevamos (los antiguos asientos de la otra escuela)

03AGO01-VY-109

ikian, eee ta, ta, ayumachasu.

*ikian *** ta ta ayuma -chasu*

this *** 1SG.M 1SG.M brother.law -AFF

este *** 1SG.M 1SG.M cuñado -AFF

my brother in law

mi cuñadito

03AGO01-VY-110

yumayari ta.

yumayari ta

help 1SG.M

ayudar 1SG.M

helps me

me ayuda

03AGO01-VY-111

ikian, tana, utsutsen ikian yapɨkatupakana erutsutara.

ikian tana utsu -tsen ikian yapɨka -tupa -kana erutsu -tara

this 1PL.EX go -PUR3 this sit -REL -PL.M bring -PUR

este 1PL.EX ir -PROP3 este sentar -REL -PL.M llevar -PROP

us, we go taking these seets

nosotros, nos vamos llevando estos asientos

03AGO01-VY-112

na tana yuti wepe semana..

na tana yuti wepe semana

QT1 1PL.EX.M stay one week

CT1 1PL.EX.M permanecer uno semana

we are like that for one week

así estamos una semana

03AGO01-VY-113

tana..

we

nosotros

03AGO01-VY-114

tana ikian erutsu ikian yapɨkatupapurakana.

tana ikian erutsu ikian yapɨka -tupa -pura -kana

1PL.EX.M this bring this sit -REL -FOC -PL.M

1PL.EX.M este llevar este sentar -REL -FOC -PL.M

we take these seets

nosotros llevamos estos asientos

03AGO01-VY-115

Raepetsui tana erutsuka rana yumin karamina.

raepe -tsui tana erutsu -ka rana yumi -n karamina

then -ABL 1PL.EX.M bring -REI 3PL.M give -NZR corrugated.iron

entonces -ABL 1PL.EX.M llevar -REI 3PL.M dar -NDR ccalamina

after that we take the corrugated iron that they gave us

después llevamos la calamina que ellos (nos) han dado

03AGO01-VY-116

rana yumin emeran.

rana yumi -n emera -n

3PL.M give -NZR for.eating -NZR

3PL.M dar -NDR para.comer -NDR

what they gave us to eat

lo que ellos (nos) han dado para comer// los alimentos que ellos han dado

03AGO01-VY-117
rana yumin, upi mari rana yumin tana erutsu.
rana yumi -n upi mari rana yumi -n tana erutsu
3PL.M give -NZR all thing 3PL.M give -NZR 1PL.EX.M bring
3PL.M dar -NDR todos cosa 3PL.M dar -NDR 1PL.EX.M llevar
everything that they gave us we take
todo lo que nos han dado lo llevamos

03AGO01-VY-118
ay tana kuakuarata makataka
ay tana kuakuara -ta maka -taka
already 1PL.EX.M hole -CAU where -MOD
ya 1PL.EX.M hueco -CAU donde -MOD
tana yauki tana ritamaramutsu na.
tana yauki tana ritama -ra -n -utsu na
1PL.EX.M make 1PL.EX.M community -PUR -NZR -FUT1 QT1
1PL.EX.M hacer 1PL.EX.M comunidad -PROP -NDR -FUT1 CT1
we clean where we will make it our village
ya limpiamos donde vamos a hacer para nuestro pueblo

03AGO01-VY-119
raepe wepe wata tana-n.
raepe wepe wata tana -n
there one year 1PL.EX.M -NZR
ahí uno año 1PL.EX.M -NZR
when we are there for one year
ahí cuando nosotros estamos un año (énfasis en nosotros)

03AGO01-VY-120
ay tana eee rana tsapukita ta ikiaka.
*ay tana *** rana tsapuki -ta ta ikia -ka*
already 1PL.EX.M *** 3PL.M call -CAU 1SG.M here -LOC
ya 1PL.EX.M *** 3PL.M llamar -CAU 1SG.M aquí -LOC
they call me aca
ya me llaman aca

03AGO01-VY-121
ta ichari rana..
ta ichari rana
1SG.M leave 3PL.M
1SG.M dejar 3PL.M
I leave
les dejo

03AGO01-VY-122
rakana.
ra -kana
3SG.M -PL.M

3SG.M -PL.M
them
ellos

03AGO01-VY-123
ta kumitsa ranatsui.
ta kumitsa rana -tsui
1SG.M say 3PL.M -DAT
1SG.M decir 3PL.M -DAT
I tell them
les digo

03AGO01-VY-124
ta utsu..
ta utsu
1SG.M go
1SG.M ir
I'm going
me voy

03AGO01-VY-125
kamatatara ikiturupe.
kamata -tara ikitu -rupe
work -PUR1 Iquitos -FIN
trabajar -PROP1 Iquitos -FIN
to work in Iquitos
a trabajar a Iquitos

03AGO01-VY-126
epenan, epenan yauki ikian ritamautsu.
epe -nan epe -nan yauki ikian ritama -utsu
2PL -only 2PL -only make this community -FUT1
2PL -solamente 2PL -solamente hacer este comunidad -FUT1
you guys will only make this village
Uds. nomás van a hacer este pueblo

03AGO01-VY-127
inan epe, tsanparanapa..
inan epe tsanparana -pa
PROH 2PL be.lazy -CPL
PROH 2PL ser.holgazán -CPL
watch out to not be left
cuidado vayan a hacerse dejados

03AGO01-VY-128
epe.
you guys
uds

03AGO01-VY-129
tatseta purara ini ritamauy era.
ta - tseta purara ini ritama -uy era
1SG.M - want find 1PL.IN community -PAS1 be.good
1SG.M - querer encontrar 1PL.IN comunidad -PAS1 estar.bien
I want to find our village good
quiero encontrar a nuestro pueblo bien

03AGO01-VY-130
na tkumitsa rantsui turitsuriay.
na t- kumitsa rana -tsui t- uri -tsuri -ay
QT1 1SG.M- say 3PL.M -DAT 1SG.M-come -PAS3 -already
CT1 1SG.M- decir 3PL.M -DAT 1SG.M- venir -PAS3-ya
that's what I tell them because I will come
así les digo a ellos (para) venir.

03AGO01-VY-131
aytsemeka ay wepe wata tutsutsuriay ikiatsui
aytsemeka ay wepe wata t- utsu -tsuri-ay ikia -tsui
truth already one year 1SG.M- go -PAS3 -already this -ABL
ser.cierto ya uno año 1SG.M- ir -PAS3 -ya este -ABL
ay ta purara ritamautsutsuriay ay era.
ay ta purara ritama utsu -tsuri -ay ay era
already 1SG.M M find community go -PAS3-already already be.good
ya 1SG.M M encontrar comunidad ir -PAS3-ya ya estar.bien
for real, I went there in one year and I found that my village was good
de verdad, yo me he ido en un año y ya encontré a mi pueblo bien

03AGO01-VY-132
ay rana yauki..
ay rana yauki
already 3PL.M make
ya 3PL.M hacer
they already made
ellos ya han hecho

03AGO01-VY-133
ikuachiruran.
ikuachiru -ra -n
school -PUR -NZR
escuela -PROP -NDR
the school
la escuela

03AGO01-VY-134
ay rana yauki..
ay rana yauki

already 3PL.M make
ya 3PL.M hacer
they already made
ellos ya han hecho

03AGO01-VY-135
ikian..
this
este

03AGO01-VY-136
rana uka, nua nua rana ukayara.
rana uka nua nua rana uka -yara
3PL.M house bebig bebig 3PL.M house -own
3PL.M casa sergrande sergrande 3PL.M casa -propia.o
their houses, big houses are what they have
sus casas, grande, grande son/tienen sus propias casas

03AGO01-VY-137
ta ikiatsui yumunu kurikichasu tamirikua
ta ikia -tsui yumunu kuriki -chasu ta - mirikua
1SG.M here -ABL send money -AFF 1SG.M - wife
1SG.M aquí -ABL enviar dinero -AFF 1SG.M - esposa
yaukitsen tukaran.
yauki -tsen t- uka -ra -n
make -PUR3 1SG.M - house -PUR -NZR
hacer -PROP3 1SG.M - casa -PROP -NDR
my wife sent money from here so I can make my house
de aquí envío dinero para que mi mujer haga mi casa

03AGO01-VY-138
ay aytsemeka tamirikua yauki tukaranchasu
ay aytseme-ka ta- mirikua yauki t- uka -ra -n -chasu
already truth-MID 1SG.M-wife make 1SG.M-house -PUR -NZR -AFF
ya así.es-MID 1SG.M- esposa hacer 1SG.M-casa-PROP -NDR -AFF
raepe ta yawachima utsutsuriay.
raepe ta yawachima utsu -tsuri- ay
there 1SG.M arrive go -PAS3 -already
ahí 1SG.M llegar ir -PAS3 -ya
for real, my wife makes my house, I arrive there
de verdad, mi mujer hace para mi casita, ahí me fuí a llegar

03AGO01-VY-139
na tana utsutsuriay ikian..
na tana utsu -tsuri -ay ikian
QT1 1PL.EX.M go -PAS3 -already this
CT1 1PL.EX.M ir -PAS3 -ya este
that's how we went

así nos hemos ido

03AGO01-VY-140

paukaryaku	***tuyukari***	***tuyuka***	***nuan***	***aypuka***	***t=ima***	***tana***	***tseta.***
paukaryaku	*tuyuka-ri*	*tuyuka*	*nua -n*	*ay-puka*	*t=ima*	*tana*	*tseta*
Paucaryacu	ground-DIF	ground	bebig-NZR	already-when	NEG	1PL.EX.M	want
Paucaryacu	tierra-DIF	tierra	sergrande-NDR	ya-cuando	NEG	1PL.EX.M	querer

to the land of Paucaryacu, high land, now we don't want
por/a la tierra de Paucaryacu, tierra grande/alta, ahora no queremos

03AGO01-VY-141

mania	***t=ima***	***tana***	***tseta***	***purepe***	***emeran.***
mania	*t=ima*	*tana*	*tseta*	*purepe*	*emera -n*
how	NEG	1PL.EX.M	want	buy	for.eating -NZR
cómo	NEG	1PL.EX.M	querer	comprar	para.comer -NDR

we don't want to buy food
(ni como) no queremos comprar para comer (comida)

03AGO01-VY-142

emete	***tana***	***yawiri,***	***panak=ra.***
emete	*tana*	*yawiri*	*panak=ra*
exist	1PL.EX.M	yucca	banana
haber	1PL.EX.M	yuca	plátano

we have our yucca, banana
tenemos nuestra yuca, plátano

03AGO01-VY-143

emete	***tana***	***kara,***	***ikian***	***ipira,***	***uwak=ra,***
emete	*tana*	*kara*	*ikian*	*ipira*	*uwak=ra*
exist	1PL.EX.M	wide.potato	this	fish	sugar.cane
haber	*1PL.EX.M*	*sachapapa*	*este*	*pez*	*caña*

upi	*mari*	*-pura*	*tana*	*yat=ma*
all	thing	-FOC	1PL.EX.M	plant
todos	cosa	-FOC	1PL.EX.M	sembrar

we have our wide potato, fish, sugar cane, we plant everything
hay / tenemos nuestra sachapapa, pescado, caña, todo cosa sembramos

03AGO01-VY-143.b

upi	***maripura***	***tana***	***yat=ma.***
upi	*mari*	*-pura*	*tana*	*yat=ma*
all	thing	-FOC	1PL.EX.M	sow
todos	cosa	-FOC	1PL.EX.M	sembrar

we plant all kinds of things
todo tipo de cosas sembramos

03AGO01-VY-144

ay t+ma purara tana pariatsu.

ay t+ma purara tana pariatsu

already NEG find 1PL.EX.M suffer

ya NEG encontrar 1PL.EX.M sufrir

we are not suffering anymore

ya no estamos sufriendo (lit. ya no encontramos nuestro sufrimiento)

03AGO01-VY-145

era tana kak+ri aypuka, tuyuka nuan mari.

era tana kak+ri ay -puka tuyuka nua -n mari

be.good 1PL.EX.M live already-when ground bebig -NZR thing

estar.bien 1PL.EX.M vivir ya-cuando tierra sergrande -NZR cosa

now we live good, in high land

ahora vivimos bien, en terreno alto

03AGO01-VY-146

aytaka ee ikian tamirikua ee kumitsa.

ay -taka hm ikian ta - mirikua hm kumitsa

already -MOD hm this 1SG.M - wife hm say

ya -MOD hm este 1SG.M - esposa hm decir

now my wife talks

ahora habla mi mujer

03AGO01-VY-147

aytsemekataka nerura tsatsuriay.

aytseme-ka -taka n- erura tsa -tsuri -ay

truth? -REI -MOD 2SG- bring 1SG.F -PAS3-already

así.es -REI -MOD 2SG- traer 1SG.F -PAS3 -ya

for real perhaps you brought me

de verdad quizas me has traído

03AGO01-VY-148

ajan..

ajan

this

este

to this

a esta

03AGO01-VY-149

tuyuka..

tuyuka

ground

tierra

land

03AGO01-VY-150

nuamari.
nua - mari
bebig - thing
sergrande - cosa
high
alta

03AGO01-VY-151
yatɨma, inyatɨman [tɨma] watariutsu.
yatɨma in- yatɨma -n tɨma -utsu
sow 1PL.IN.C- sow -NZR NEG -FUT1
sembrar 1PL.IN.C- sembrar -NDR NEG -FUT1
there will be enoughof what we plant
lo que hemos sembrado no va a faltar

03AGO01-VY-152
ene utsu kamatatara tsa yuriti ajanka
ene utsu kamata -tara tsa yuriti aja -n -ka
2SG.L go work -PUR 1SG.F leave this -NZR -LOC
2SG.L ir trabajar -PROP 1SG.F quedar este -NZR -LOC
yatɨmari.
yatɨma -ri
sow -PROG
sembrar -PROG
you will go to work, I will stay here to plant
tu te vas a trabajar, yo me quedo aquí sembrando

03AGO01-VY-153
nuripuka nemera, na ra
n- uri -puka n- emera na ra
2SG- come -when 2SG- for.eating QT1 3SG.M
2SG- venir -cuando 2SG- para.comer CT1 3SG.M
kumitsa tatsui.
kumitsa ta -tsui
say 1SG.M -DAT
decir 1SG.M -DAT
when you come to eat, you tell me that.
cuando vienes para que comas, así me dice.

03AGO01-VY-154
raepenan ta kumitsa natsui profesora.
raepe -nan ta kumitsa na -tsui profesora
there -only 1SG.M say 2SG -DAT teacher
ahí -solamente 1SG.M decir 2SG -DAT profesora
I will only tell you there, teacher
ahí nomás le cuento a Ud profesora

03AGO01-VY-155

riai tatseta ĩmĩntsarara natsui eee

riai ta - tseta ĩmĩntsara -ra na -tsui eee

also 1SG.M - want story -VZR 2SG -DAT IDE

también 1SG.M - querer cuento -VDR 2SG -DAT IDE

ikuatawara.

ikua -ta -wara

know -CAU -NZR

saber -CAU -NDR

I also want to tell you, teacher

también te quiero contar a Ud, profesora

03AGO01-VY-156

na utsupuka tĩma na umiikian eee, epewatsu

na utsu-puka tĩma na umi ikian epewatsu

2SG go -when NEG 2SG see this make.wide

2SG ir -cuando NEG 2SG ver este anchearse

petutsuriay aypuka ay pe epewatsu.

pe -tu -tsuri -ay ay -puka ay pe epewatsu

way -AUG -PAS3 -ay already -when already way make.wide

camino -AUG -PAS3 -ya ya--cuando ya camino anchearse

when you left you haven't seen the wide road, now the road is wide

cuando te has ido no has visto el camino que era ancho, ahora el camino es ancho

03AGO01-VY-157

ikian tsanangillokuaratsui rautsu epewatsu

ikian tsanangillo -kuara -tsui ra -utsu epewatsu

this Sananguillo -INE -ABL 3SG.M -FUT1 be.wide

este Sananguillo -INE -ABL 3SG.M -FUT1 ser.ancho

amutse niumi awakanauri.

amutse ini - umi awa -kana uri

far 1PL.IN - see person -PL.M come

lejos 1PL.IN - ver persona -PL.M venir

from Sananguillo it gets wide, you can see the people that come from far

desde Sananguillo se va ancho, (desde) lejos se ve a las personas que vienen

03AGO01-VY-158

tĩmapurá ini utsu ikian ĩwĩratikuara.

tĩma -pura ini utsu ikian ĩwĩrati -kuara

NEG -FOC 1PL.IN go this forest -INE

NEG -FOC 1PL.IN ir este monte -INE

we don't go through the forest

ya no vamos por el monte

03AGO01-VY-159

mishananin ***pekuara*** ***aypuka***

misha *-nan* *-in* *pe* *-kuara* *ay* *-puka*

be.small -only -DER way -INE already -when

ser.pequeño -solamente-DER camino -INE ya -cuando

ay ***ini*** ***utsu*** ***yapana.***

ay *ini* *utsu* *yapana*

already 1PL.IN go run

ya 1PL.IN ir correr

through the little raod, now we don't go running

por el camino pequeñito (ashishito), ahora ya nos vamos corriendo

03AGO01-VY-160

ipitsa, ***upikuashi*** ***upi*** ***maniaee***

ipitsa *upi* *-kuashi* *upi* *mania* **

night all - day all how **

noche todos - día todos cómo **

amanapuka.

amana *-puka*

rain -when

lluvia -cuando

at night, everyday, although it rains

en la noche, todos los días, aunque llueva

03AGO01-VY-161

iwitupuka ***iniutsu.***

iwitu *-puka* *ini* *-* *utsu*

wind -when 1PL.IN - go

viento -cuando 1PL.IN - ir

when it's windy we go

cuando hace viento nos vamos

03AGO01-VY-162

ay ***tana*** ***karetera yara.***

ay *tana* *karetera* *-yara*

already 1PL.EX.M road -own

ya 1PL.EX.M carretera -propia.o

we have our own road

ya (tenemos) nuestra propia carretera

03AGO01-VY-163

ay ***tana*** ***yauki*** ***puentepurakana*** ***ikian...***

ay *tana* *yauki* *puente* *-pura* *-kana* *ikian*

already 1PL.EX.M make bridge -FOC -PL.M this

ya 1PL.EX.M hacer puente -FOC -PL.M este

we made bridges

ya hemos hecho puentes

03AGO01-VY-164
pariatapankuara.
pariata -pan -kuara
nest? -place.w/ -INE
estera -lugar.con -INE
by the nests
por el contal/esteral (por donde hay esteras)

03AGO01-VY-165
inina tima ria ukuatsuriay
inina tima ria ukua -tsuri -ay
long.ago NEG like.this used.to -PAS3 -already
antiguamente NEG así solerser -PAS3 -ya
aypuka ay iniutsu yapana
ay -puka ay ini - utsu yapana
already -when already 1PL.IN - go run
ya -cuando ya 1PL.IN - ir correr
it wasn't like that before, today we only go running
antes no era así (no solía ser así), hoy ya nos vamos corriendo nomás.

03AGO01-VY-166
na ikian aypuka tana
na ikian ay -puka tana
QT1 this already -when 1PL.EX.M
CT1 este ya -cuando 1PL.EX.M
this is how we are now
así estamos ahora

03AGO01-VY-167
riai ikian; iaku ay epewatsu
riai ikian iaku ay epewatsu
also this creek already be.wide
también este quebrada ya ser.ancho
also; the creek is wide
también; la quebrada ya es ancha...

03AGO01-VY-168
ay aypuka iniutsu yapukinan
ay ay -puka ini - utsu yapuki -nan
already already -when 1PL.IN - go row -only
ya ya -cuando 1PL.IN - ir remar -solamente
inyawachima tana kakiri tupaka, ritamaka.
in- yawachima tana kakiri tupa -ka ritama -ka
1PL.IN.C- arrive 1PL.EX.M live place -LOC community -LOC
1PL.IN.C- llegar 1PL.EX.M vivir lugar -LOC comunidad -LOC

the creek is wide, today we go rowing we only arrive to where we live, the village
la quebrada ya es ancha, hoy nos vamos remando nomás llegamos donde vivimos nosotros, al pueblo

03AGO01-VY-169

rikua	***awakana***		***yawachima***	***raepe***	***tɨma***
rikua	*awa*	*-kana*	*yawachima*	*raepe*	*tɨma*
because	person	-PL.M	arrive	there	NEG
porque	persona	-PL.M	llegar	ahí	NEG

tapiarawa.
tapiara -wa
be.late -GER
tarde -GER
that's why people adon't take so long to take there
por eso la gente llega alla sin demora

03AGO01-VY-170

ay	***rana***	***ikua***	***makataka***		***tana***	***kakɨrɨ***
ay	*rana*	*ikua*	*maka*	*-taka*	*tana*	*kakɨrɨ*
already	3PL.M	know	where	-MOD	1PL.EX.M	live
ya	3PL.M	saber	donde	-MOD	1PL.EX.M	vivir

na ikian.
na ikian
QT this
CT este
they already know probably where we live
ellos ya saben donde quizas vivimos

03AGO01-VY-171

ta	***kumitsa***	***yuti***	***natsui***		***nikuatsen***		
ta	*kumitsa*	*yuti*	*na*	*-tsui*	*n-*	*ikua*	*-tsen*
1SG.M	say	stay	2SG	-DAT	2SG-	know	-PUR3
1SG.M	decir	permanecer	2SG	-DAT	2SG-	saber	-PROP3

maniataka		***aypuka***	***tana***	***kakɨrɨ***	***raeperupe.***	
mania	*-taka*	*ay*	*-puka*	*tana*	*kakɨrɨ*	*raepe*	*-rupe*
how	-MOD	already	-when	1PL.EX.M	live	there	-FIN
cómo	-MOD	ya	-cuando	1PL.EX.M	vivir	ahí	-FIN

I'm telling you so can know how we live there
te estoy diciendo a ti para que sepas como ahora vivimos por allá

03AGO01-VY-172

tɨmapura..

tɨma -pura
NEG -FOC
NEG -FOC

no

03AGO01-VY-173
na iniutsu.
na ini - utsu
QT 1PL.IN - go
CT 1PL.IN - ir
we go
ya nos vamos

03AGO01-VY-174
ikian pe mishananinkuara
ikian pe misha -nan -in -kuara
this way be.small -only -DER -INE
este camino ser.pequeño -solamente -DER -INE
aypuka epewatsupati pepuratu.
ay -puka epewatsu -pati pe -pura -tu
already -when be.wide -ADV way -FOC -AUG
ya -cuando ser.ancho -ADV camino -FOC -AUG
we don' go through a thin road, we go through a very wide road
ya no nos vamos por el camino delgado, hoy nos vamos por un camino (que es) bien ancho

03AGO01-VY-175
ay yawachima raepe.
ay yawachima raepe
already arrive there
ya llegar ahí
we arrived there
ahí ya llegamos

03AGO01-VY-176
raepetsui, ay ikian awakana
raepe -tsui ay ikian awa -kana
then -ABL already this person -PL.M
entonces -ABL ya este persona -PL.M
yawachima kakɨrɨtara raepe.
yawachima kakɨrɨ -tara raepe
arrive live -PUR there
llegar vivir -PROP ahí
people then arrive to live there
después llega la gente a vivir allá

03AGO01-VY-177
ay tseta awakana uri kakɨrɨtara.
ay tseta awa -kana uri kakɨrɨ -tara
already want person -PL.M come live -PUR
ya querer persona -PL.M venir vivir -PROP

people want to come to live
la gente ya quiere venir a vivir

03AGO01-VY-178
mania..
mania
how
cómo
how
cómo

03AGO01-VY-179
maniapukataka ikian ritamatuautsu.
mania -puka -taka ikian ritama tua -utsu
how -when -MOD this community be.big -FUT1
cómo -cuando -MOD este comunidad crecer -FUT1
When maybe this town will grow
Cuando quizas este pueblo va a agrandarse

03AGO01-VY-180
awakana timatsamapuka raepe.
awa -kana timatsama -puka raepe
person -PL.M full -when there
persona -PL.M llenar -cuando ahí
when it will be full of people
cuando la gente se irá a llenar (cuando la gente colmará el lugar)

03AGO01-VY-181
ay rana piyata tuyuka rana kakɨratsen utsu.
ay rana piyata tuyuka rana kakɨrɨ -tsen utsu
already 3PL.M ask ground 3PL.M live -PUR3 go
ya 3PL.M preguntar tierra 3PL.M vivir -PROP3 ir
they already asked for land to go live
ya han pedido tierra para que vayan a vivir

03AGO01-VY-182
rikua tanu tɨma marira tanu
rikua tana tɨma marira tana
because 1PL.EX.M NEG why 1PL.EX.M
porque 1PL.EX.M NEG por.qué 1PL.EX.M
ukɨratsen tuyuka.
ukɨra -tsen tuyuka
skimp -PUR3 ground
mezquinar -PROP3 tierra
that's why we can't deny land
por eso no podemos (no hay por qué) mezquinar tierra

03AGO01-VY-183

rana	***tseta,***	***ukayarara***			***rana***	***tseta***
rana	*tseta*	*uka*	*-yara*	*-ra*	*rana*	*tseta*
3PL.M	want	house	-own	-PUR	3PL.M	want
3PL.M	querer	casa	-propia.o	-PROP	3PL.M	querer

yauki	***rana***	***kura***	***rana***	***utsu.***	
yauki	*rana*	*ku*	*-ra*	*rana*	*utsu*
make	3PL.M	farm	-PUR	3PL.M	go
hacer	3PL.M	chacra	-PROP	3PL.M	ir

they want it for their own houses, they want to make it for their farms, they go...
quieren para sus propias casas, quieren hacer para sus chacras, ellos van...

03AGO01-VY-184

rana	***yaukitsen***		***rana***	***ku.***
rana	*yauki*	*-tsen*	*rana*	*ku*
3PL.M	make	-PUR3	3PL.M	farm
3PL.M	hacer	-PROP3	3PL.M	chacra

to make their farms
para hacer sus chacras

03AGO01-VY-185

rikua	***aypuka***		***ta***	***kumitsatsuriay...***		
rikua	*ay*	*-puka*	*ta*	*kumitsa*	*-tsuri*	*-ay*
because	already	-when	1SG.M	say	-PAS3	-already
porque	ya	-cuando	1SG.M	decir	-PAS3	-ya

that's why I talked
por eso ya he hablado...

2. TEXT: Childhood (personal narrative)

SPEAKER: Rosa Amías Murayari
COMMUNITY: San Pablo de Tipishca
GENDER: Female
AGE: 61 (August, 2004)
INTERLOCUTOR: Pablo Caritimari (male)

04AGO01-RA-001

etse	***tseta***	***imintsarara***		***maniawa***	***tsapura,***		***kakiri***
etse	*tseta*	*imintsara*	*-ra*	*maniawatsu*	*tsa*	*-pura*	*kakiri*
1SG.F	want	story	-PUR	how	1SG.F	-FOC	live
1SG.F	querer	cuento	-PROP	como	1SG.F	-FOC	vivir

I want to tell a story on how I lived
yo quiero contar como he vivido

04AGO01-RA-002

tschurakɨratsuika astaypuka tsawija.

ts-	*chura*	*-kɨra*	*-tsui*	*-ka*	*asta*	*-ay*	*-puka*	*tsa - wija*
1SG.F-	be.small	-DIM	-ABL	-REI	until	-3F.OBJ	-when	1SG.F - old
1SG.F-	be.pequeño	-DIM	-ABL	-REI	hasta	-3F.OBJ	-cuando	1SG.F- vieja

since I was a little girl until now that I'm old
desde que era pequeña hasta ahora (que) estoy vieja

04AGO01-RA-003

tsatuaminu kakɨrɨtsuri ɨmɨnua.

tsa-	*tuan*	*-i*	*-nu*	*kakɨrɨ*	*-tsuri*	*ɨmɨna*
1SG.M-	parent	-EV	-PL.F	live	-PAS3	long.ago
1SG.M-	p/madre	-VE	-PL.F	vivir	-PAS3	antiguamente

(when) my parents lived long ago
(cuando) mis viejos vivieron antes

04AGO01-RA-004

tsamama, tsapapa

tsa-	*mama*	*tsa-*	*papa*
1SG.M-	mother	1SG.M-	father
1SG.M-	mamá	1SG.M-	papá

my mom, my dad
mi mamá, mi papá

04AGO01-RA-005

tsapapa wijun, awa.

tsa-	*papa*	*wiju*	*-n*	*awa*
1SG.M-	father	old	-NZR	person
1SG.M-	papá	viejo	-NDR	persona

my father was an old man
mi padre era una persona vieja

04AGO01-RA-006

purara tsamamatsuri

purara	*tsa-*	*mama*	*-tsuri*
find	1SG.M -	mother	-PAS3
encontrar	1SG.M-	mamá	-PAS3

he found my mom
encontró a mi mamá

04AGO01-RA-007

za uyaritamira zamirikuara.

ya	*uyari*	*-ta*	*-mira*	*ya-*	*mirikua*	*-ra*	
3SG.F	put.together	-CAU	-PUR	3SG.F-	wife	-PUR	
3SG.F	reunir	-CAU	-PROP	3SG.F-	esposa	-PROP	

he got together with her to make her his wife
se reunió (con ella) para su mujer.

04AGO01-RA-008
tsamamaray kuniatitsuri.
tsa- mama -ray kuniati -tsuri
1SG.M mother -PRT girl -PAS3
1SG.M mamá pues señorita -PAS3
my mom was a young woman
mi mamá pues ya era señorita

04AGO01-RA-009
aypananin wayna tɨma wija.
aypa -nan -in wayna tɨma wija
grow.up -only -DER woman NEG old
crecer -solamente-DER mujer NEG vieja
a grown but not old woman
una mujer crecida pero no vieja

04AGO01-RA-010
iyan za uyarita tsamamatsuri,
iyan ya uyari -ta tsa- mama -tsuri
but 3SG.F put.together -CAU 1SG.M- mother -PAS3
pero 3SG.F reunir -CAU 1SG.M- mamá -PAS3
yakakɨrɨ awɨrɨ wata titika
ya- kakɨrɨ awɨrɨ wata titi -ka
3SG.F- live how.mayear be.alone -REI
3SG.F- vivir cuantoaño estar.solo -REI
but he got together with my mom, how many year has she been alone.
pero se ha unido a mi mama, cuantos años ha estado sóla.

04AGO01-RA-011
tɨma zapura iyara mɨmɨrakuniayaratsuri.
tɨma ya -pura iya -ra mɨmɨrakunia -yara -tsuri
NEG 3SG.F -FOC heart -VZR daugther.woman -have -PAS3
NEG 3SG.F -FOC corazón -VDR hijademujer -have -PAS3
she didn't think that she can have her own daughter
no ha pensado en (que podía tener) su propia hija

04AGO01-RA-012
etsepuranan ya katupetsen.
etse -pura -nan ya katupe -tsen
1SG.F -FOC -only like.this show.up -PUR3
1SG.F -FOC -solamente así aparecer -PROP3
only I showed up
sólamente yo aparecí

04AGO01-RA-013
mayupa tsamama iyaratsuri.
mayupa tsa- mama iya -ra -tsuri

man.like 1SG.M- mother heart -VZR -PAS3
machona 1SG.M- mamá corazón VDR -PAS3
a man like wanted to be my mom
machona ha querido hacerse mi mamá

04AGO01-RA-014
tsapapatin mutsanaka zatsuri.
tsa- papa -tin mutsanaka ya -tsuri
1SG.M- father -MOD cure 3SG.F -PAS3
1SG.M- papá MOD curar 3SG.F -PAS3
My father cured him
Mi padre (si) le ha curado

04AGO01-RA-015
tsumi tsapapatsuri.
tsumi tsa -papa -tsuri
wiser 1F.S -father -PAS3
sabio 1F.S -papá -PAS3
my father was a wiser
mi padre era curandero

04AGO01-RA-016
yikua ya, za ikaratsuri.
yikua ya ya ikara -tsuri
because already 3SG.F sing -PAS3
por.eso ya 3SG.F cantar -PAS3
that's why he singed to her
por eso ya el (la) ikaró

04AGO01-RA-017
yantsu i zamutsanaka tsamamatsuri.
yantsui ya- mutsanaka tsa- mama -tsuri
there 3SG.F- cure 1SG.M- mother -PAS3
ahí.luego 3SG.F- curar 1SG.M- mamá -PAS3
there he cured my mom
ahí le curó a mi mamá

04AGO01-RA-018
yaikua m=m=rayaratsen yantsui tsapura katupe.
ya -ikua m=m=ra -yara -tsen yantsui tsa -pura katupe
like.this -RSN woman's.son -have -PUR3 there 1SG.F -FOC show.up
así-RZN hijo.de.mujer -tener -PROP3 ahí.luego 1SG.F -FOC aparecer
so she would know how to have a child, after that I showed up.
para que sepa tener hijo, después de eso yo aparecí.

04AGO01-RA-019
tsa uwaritsuri, tsaypa.
tsa uwari -tsuri ts- aypa
1SG.F fall -PAS3 1SG.F- grow.up

1SG.F caer -PAS3 1SG.F- crecer
I was born, I grew up
yo nací, crecí

04AGO01-RA-020
ay sukta wata aytaka tsapuratsuri.
ay sukta wata ay -taka tsa -pura -tsuri
already six year already -MOD 1SG.F -FOC -PAS3
ya seis año ya -MOD 1SG.F -FOC -PAS3
I was probably 6 years old by then
talvez ya tenía 6 años

04AGO01-RA-021
tuakaka yantsui.
tua -ka -ka yantsui
grow.up -REI -REI there
crecer -REI -REI ahí.luego
after I grew up
después (de estar) grandecita

04AGO01-RA-022
tsatuaminu itikakatsuri.
tsa- tuan -i -nu itika -ka -tsuri
1F.CL- elders, parents -EV -PL.F throw -MID -PAS3
1F.CL- mayores -VE -PL.F votar.algo -MID -PAS3
my parents had separated
mis padres se han separado

04AGO01-RA-023
tsapapa zapanaukuatsuri.
tsa- papa yapana -ukua -tsuri
1SG.M- father run -habitual -PAS3
1SG.M- papá correr -habitual -PAS3
my father ran away
mi padre se ha largado

04AGO01-RA-024
ya ichari tsamama.
ya ichari tsa- mama
3SG.F leave 1SG.M- mother
3SG.F dejar 1SG.M- mamá
he left my mom
el dejó a mi mamá

04AGO01-RA-025
ay ray erutsetse.
ay ray erutsu -etse
3F.LF PRT bring - 1SG.F
3F.LF pues llevar - 1SG.F
he is the one who brought me

el pues me ha traído

04AGO01-RA-026

ya	***ɨrɨrɨta***	***tsatsuri***	***tsamamatsui.***
ya	*ɨrɨrɨta*	*tsa -tsuri*	*tsa- mama -tsui*
3SG.F	take	1SG.F -PAS3	1SG.M- mother -ABL
3SG.F	arrancar	1SG.F -PAS3	1SG.M- mamá -ABL

he took me away from my mom
me ha arrancado/quitado de donde mi mamá

04AGO01-RA-027

etsepura	***watari***	***tsaumanu***	***yamɨmapu.***
etse -pura	*watari*	*tsa- umanu*	*yamɨma -pu*
1SG.F -FOC	almost	1SG.F- die	be.sad -INS
1SG.F -FOC	casi	1SG.F- morir	estar.triste -INS

I almost died because of the pain/sadness
Yo casí me muero con la pena

04AGO01-RA-028

yachunan	***tsapura***	***kakɨrɨtsuri.***
yachu -nan	*tsa -pura*	*kakɨrɨ -tsuri*
cry -only	1SG.F -FOC	live -PAS3
llorar -solamente	1SG.F -FOC	vivir -PAS3

I only lived crying
solo llorando he vivido

04AGO01-RA-029

tɨma	***tsa***	***iriwa***	***katika***	***tsa***	***mamachasu***	***uka(ka).***
tɨma	*tsa*	*iriwa*	*katika*	*tsa*	*mama -chasu*	*uka -ka*
NEG	1SG.F	come.back	hasta	1SG.M	mother -AFF	house -LOC
NEG	1SG.F	regresar	until	1SG.M	mamá -AFF	casa -LOC

I don't come back up to my mom's house
no regreso hasta la casa de mi mama (hasta no volver a la casa de mi mamá)

04AGO01-RA-030

yachupu	***tsaumanutsu..***
yachu -pu	*tsa- umanu -tsui*
cry -INS	1SG.F- die -ABL
llorar -INS	1SG.F- morir -ABL

I am going to die crying
voy a morir con (mi) llanto/llorando.

04AGO01-RA-031

utsu	***tsakuyana***	***tɨma***	***tsatseta***	***eyu.***
utsu	*tsa- kuyana*	*tɨma*	*tsa- tseta*	*eyu*
go	1SG.F- be.thin	NEG	1SG.F- want	eat

ir 1SG.F- ser.flaco NEG 1SG.F- querer comer
I am going to become thin without wanting to eat
me voy a poner flaca sin querer comer

04AGO01-RA-032

naninwa	***tsapura***	***maniakapatsuri***	***yantsui***
nanin -wa	*tsa -pura*	*maniakapa -tsuri*	*yantsui*
like.this -GER	1SG.F -FOC	weird -PAS3	there
así -GER	1SG.F -FOC	dañarse -PAS3	ahí.luego

that's how I hurt myself
así me he dañado yo

04AGO01-RA-033

tsapapa,	***yamɨma***	***umi***	***tsatsuri***	***yantsui***	***iriwataka***	***tsatsuri.***
tsa- papa	*yamɨma*	*umi*	*tsa -tsuri*	*yantsui*	*iriwataka*	*tsa -tsuri*
1SG.M- father	be.sad	see	1SG.F -PAS3	there	turn.up	1SG.F-PAS3
1SG.M- papá	estar.triste	ver	1SG.F -PAS3	ahí.luego	voltear	1SG.F -PAS3

then my father saw me with pain/ he felt bad for me, and so he returned me.
después mi padre me ha visto de pena/ ha sentido pena por mi, entonces me ha devuelto/regresado

04AGO01-RA-034

[ya	***erutsu***	***tsatsuri]***	***tsa***	***mama***	***kakɨri***	***tupaka.***
ya	*erutsu*	*tsa -tsuri*	*tsa*	*mama*	*kakɨri*	*tupa -ka*
3SG.F	bring	1SG.F -PAS3	1SG.M	mother	live	place -LOC
3SG.F	traer	1SG.F -PAS3	1SG.M	mamá	vivir	lugar -LOC

he took me to where my mom lives
me ha llevado donde ha vive mi mamá

04AGO01-RA-035

yaepetsui,	***tɨma***	***uyari***	***tsatseta***	***chikuarata***	***tsapapatsuri.***	
raepe -tsui	*tɨma*	*uyari*	*tsa- tseta*	*chikuarata*	*tsa-papa*	*-tsuri*
then -ABL	NEG	put.together	1SG.F-want	follow	1SG.M-	father -PAS3
entonces -ABL	NEG	reunir	1SG.F-querer	seguir	1SG.M-	papá -PAS3

after that I didn't want to follow my dad
después ya no he querido seguirle a mi papa

04AGO01-RA-035.b

yaepe	***tsakakɨri***	***tsamamamuki***	***asta***	***raepe***
yaepe	*tsa- kakɨri*	*tsa- mama -muki*	*asta*	*raepe*
there	1SG.F- live	1SG.M- mother -COM	until	then
ahí	1SG.F- vivir	1SG.M- mamáá -COM	hasta	ahí

tsatuatsuri		
tsa	*tua*	*-tsuri*
1SG.F	grow.up	-PAS3
1SG.F	crecer	-PAS3

there I lived with my mom until I grew up there

ahí he vivido con mi mamá hasta que ahí he crecido

04AGO01-RA-036

tsamamamukinan			***tsakakɨrɨ.***
tsa-	*mama*	*-muki* *-nan*	*tsa-* *kakɨrɨ*
1SG.M-	mother	-COM -only	1SG.M-live
1SG.M-	mamá	-COM -solamente	1SG.M- vivir

I only lived with my mom
sólamente con mi mamá he vivido

04AGO01-RA-037

tsanai	***amɨra***	***tsmamakɨra,***
tsa-	*nai* *amɨra*	*tsa-* *mama* *-kɨra*
1SG.M-	g.mother be.dead	1SG.M- mother -DIM
1SG.M-	abuela estar.muerto	1SG.M- mamá -DIM

with my deceased grandma, my mother
con mi abuela finada, mi mamacita

04AGO01-RA-038

nanin	***inumukinan***	***tsa***	***kakɨrɨtsuri***	***titika.***
nanin	*inu* *-muki* *-nan*	*tsa*	*kakɨrɨ* *-tsuri*	*titi* *-ka*
like.this	3PL.F -COM -only	1SG.F	live -PAS3	be.alone -MID
así	3PL.F -COM -solamente	1SG.F	vivir -PAS3	estar.solo -MID

like this I only lived with them alone (only with them)
así solamente con ellas he vivido sola (sólo con ellas)

04AGO01-RA-039

waynapain	***penupura***	***kakɨrɨ.***
wayna *-pa* *-in*	*penu*	*-pura* *kakɨrɨ*
woman -CPL -DER	1PL.EX.F	-FOC live
mujer -CPL -DER	1PL.EX.F	-FOC vivir

only women, we lived
sólo mujeres, nosotras hemos vivido

04AGO01-RA-040

ya..
ya
like.this
así

04AGO01-RA-041

inu..
inu
3PL.F
3PL.F
they
ellas

04AGO01-RA-042
mainani tsatsuri.
mainani tsa -tsuri
care 1SG.F -PAS3
cuidar 1SG.F -PAS3
have taken care of me
me han cuidado

04AGO01-RA-043
asta eskueraka tsakikatika tsa ikuatsen.
asta eskuera -ka tsa- aki katika tsa ikua -tsen
until school -LOC 1F.CL- get.in until 1SG.F know -PUR3
hasta escuela -LOC 1F.CL- entrar hasta 1SG.F saber -PROP3
I even went to school to learn
hasta en la escuela entre para aprender

04AGO01-RA-044
inu tseruwishkatsuri.
inu tseruwi -shka -tsuri
3PL.F serve -DER -PAS3
3PL.F server -DER -PAS3
they have helped me
ellas me han servido

04AGO01-RA-045
inu purepe tsamari.
inu purepe tsa- mari
3PL.F buy 1SG.M- thing
3PL.F comprar 1SG.M- cosa
they by my stuff
ellas compran mi(s) cosa(s)

04AGO01-RA-046
tsakuatiaran.
tsa- kuatiara -n
1SG.M- write -NZR
1SG.M- escribir -NDR
my motebook
mi cuaderno

04AGO01-RA-047
tsarapisnanin.
tsa- rapis nanin
1SG.M- pencil like.this
1SG.M- lapiz así
what is my pencil
lo que es mi lápiz

04AGO01-RA-048
tsamama..
tsa- *mama*
1SG.M- mother
1SG.M- mamá
my mom
mi mamá

04AGO01-RA-049
tsamamakɨra ***naniminu*** ***kamatan*** ***chɨpɨpurapu*** ***inu***
tsa- *mama* *-kɨra* *nanin - inu* *kamata* *-n* *chɨpɨ* *-pura* *-pu* *inu*
1SG.M- mother -DIM like.this - 3PL.F work -NZR price -FOC -INS 3PL.F
1SG.M- mamá -DIM asíi - 3PL.F trabajar -NDR precio -FOC -INS 3PL.F
mainani ***tsatsuri.***
mainani *tsa* *-tsuri*
care 1SG.F -PAS3
cuidar 1SG.F -PAS3
like this, with the price for their work they have taken care of me
así, con el precio de su trabajo ellas me han cuidado

04AGO01-RA-050
tsa ***ikuatsen.***
tsa *ikua* *-tsen*
1SG.F know -PUR3
1SG.F saber -PROP3
so I can study
para estudiar

04AGO01-RA-051
asta ***tsakuniati.***
asta *tsa-* *kuniati*
until 1SG.F- girl
hasta 1SG.F- señorita
until I became a young woman
hasta hacerme señorita

04AGO01-RA-052
chunka ***iskun*** ***wata.***
chunka *iskun* *wata*
ten nine year
diez nueve año
19 years old
19 años

04AGO01-RA-053
tsapura ***wayna*** ***aypatsuri.***
tsa *-pura* *wayna* *aypa* *-tsuri*
1SG.F -FOC woman grow.up -PAS3
1SG.F -FOC mujer crecer -PAS3

I became a woman
yo me hice/crecí mujer

04AGO01-RA-054
eskueraka ikuari.
eskuera -ka ikua -ri
school -LOC know -PROG
escuela -LOC saber -PROG
learning at school
aprendiendo en la escuela

04AGO01-RA-055
yantsui tsaupata
yantsui tsa upa -ta
there 1SG.F finish -CAU
ahí.luego 1SG.F acabar -CAU
the story ends there
ahí termina (la historia)

04AGO01-RA-056
tsaeskueray.
tsa- eskuera -uy
1SG.M- school -PAS1
1SG.M- escuela -PAS1
after that, when I finished school
(55,56) después, cuando ya he terminado la escuela

04AGO01-RA-057
tsauchimatsuri titika.
tsa- uchima -tsuri titi -ka
1SG.F- go.out -PAS3 be.alone -MID
1SG.F- salir -PAS3 estar.solo -MID
I went out alone
yo salí sola

04AGO01-RA-058
tsamamamukinan tsakakiri, tsanai.
tsa- mama -muki -nan tsa- kaki=ri tsa nai
1SG.M- mother -COM -only 1SG.F- live 1SG.F g.mother
1SG.M- mamá -COM -solamente 1SG.F- vivir 1SG.F abuela
I only lived with my mom, (and with) my grandma
viví solamente con mi mama, (y con) mi abuela

04AGO01-RA-059
tima uyari tsaaki eskueraka utsu tsapura yami=matsuri.
tima uyari tsa- aki eskuera -ka utsu tsa-pura yami=ma -tsuri
NEG put.together 1SG.F-get.in school -LOC go 1SG.F -FOC be.sad -PAS3
NEG reunir 1SG.F-entrar escuela -LOC ir 1SG.F -FOC estar.triste -PAS3

(because) I didn't train (constantly) at school I was sad
(porque) ya no he entrado (seguido) en la escuela he tenido pena

04AGO01-RA-060

yamɨmanan	***tskakɨrɨ.***
yamɨma -nan	*ts- kakɨrɨ*
be.sad -only	1SG.F- live
estar.triste -solamente	1SG.F- vivir

I only lived sadly
triste (nomás) he vivido

04AGO01-RA-061

pero...
but
pero

04AGO01-RA-062

etsepura	***tɨma.***
etse -pura	*tɨma*
1SG.F -FOC	NEG
1SG.F -FOC	NEG

I didn't..
yo no...

04AGO01-RA-063

tsa	***ikuaka***		***chiya,***		***iyapurapu.***		
tsa	*ikua*	*-ka*	*ts-*	*iya*	*iya*	*-pura*	*-pu*
1SG.F	know	-MID	1SG.F-	heart	heart	-FOC	-INS
1SG.F	saber	-MID	1SG.F-	corazón	corazón	-FOC	-INS

I didn't know how to think with my heart
yo (no) he sabido pensar con el corazón

04AGO01-RA-064

tsa	***ukaymata***		***eran***		***kamatan***		***na***	***inu***	***kumitsan.***	
tsa	*ukayma*	*-ta*	*era*	*-n*	*kamata*	*-n*	*na*	*inu*	*kumitsa*	*-n*
1SG.F	loose	-CAU	be.good	-NZR	work	-NZR	QT	3PL.F	say	-NZR
1SG.F	perder	-CAU	estar.bien	-NDR	trabajar	-NDR	CT	3PL.F	decir	-NDR

I have lost good work (it's what) they said
he perdido buen trabajo (es lo que) han dicho

04AGO01-RA-065

tsa	***eskuera***	***upapuka.***
tsa	*eskuera upa*	*-puka*
1SG.M	school finish	-when
1SG.M	escuela acabar	-cuando

when my school finishes (when school ended)
cuando mi escuela se acaba (cuando termino la escuela)

04AGO01-RA-066

tsamaestranu imintsarakatsuri.

tsa-	*maestra-nu*		*imintsara*	*-ka*	*-tsuri*
1SG.M-	teacher	-PL.F	story	-REI	-PAS3
1SG.M-	profesora	-PL.F	cuento	-REI	-PAS3

my teachers have talked
mis profesores han conversado

04AGO01-RA-067

ya, maestra masenumuki.

ya	*maestra*	*mase*	*-nu*	*-muki*
3SG.F	teacher	similar	-PL.F	-COM
3SG.F	profesora	similar	-PL.F	-COM

she (talks) with to other teacher just like her
ella (conversa) con otros profesores igual que ella

04AGO01-RA-068

inu tseta erutsu tsatsuri.

inu	*tseta*	*erutsu*	*tsa*	*-tsuri*
3PL.F	want	bring	1SG.F	-PAS3
3PL.F	querer	traer	1SG.F	-PAS3

they wanted to take me
me han querido llevar

04AGO01-RA-069

churaminu ikuatatara.

chura	*-n*	*-nu*	*ikua*	*-ta*	*-tara*
be.small		-NZR -PL.F	know	-CAU	-PUR1
ser.pequeño		-NDR -PL.F	saber	-CAU	-PROP1

to teach small kids
para enseñar a los pequeños

04AGO01-RA-070

etsepuraray timatseta utsutsuri.

etse	*-pura*	*ray*	*timatseta*	*utsu*	*-tsuri*
1SG.F	-FOC	PRT	NEG want	go	-PAS3
1SG.F	-FOC	pues	NEG querer	ir	-PAS3

I was the one who didn't want to go
yo pues no he querido irme

04AGO01-RA-071

akicha tsapura..

akicha	*tsa*	*-pura*
scare	1SG.F	-FOC
tener.miedo	1SG.F	-FOC

I am scared//fear is in me
tengo miedo// el miedo está en mi

04AGO01-RA-072
uti.
uti
embarrassment
vergueza
I am embarrassed
(tengo) verguenza

04AGO01-RA-073
yantsui,tsaukayma.
yantsui tsa- ukayma
there 1SG.F- loose
ahí.luego 1SG.F- perderse
there I lost
ahí he perdido

04AGO01-RA-074
tɨma tsaganashika tsakurikitsuri.
tɨma tsa- ganashika tsa- kuriki -tsuri
NEG 1SG.F- earn 1SG.M- money -PAS3
NEG 1SG.F- ganar 1SG.M- dinero -PAS3
I didn't earn my money
no he ganado mi plata

04AGO01-RA-075
tsakuniatitsuika, aypuka wijapura.
tsa- kuniati -tsui -ka ay -puka wija -pura
1SG.F- girl -ABL-LOC already -when old -FOC
1SG.F- señorita -ABL -LOC ya -cuando vieja -FOC
since I was a young woman, I am now an old woman
desde señorita, ahora soy vieja

04AGO01-RA-076
inu chikarika tsapuratsuri.
inu chikari -ka tsa -pura -tsuri
3PL.F lookfor -REI 1SG.F -FOC -PAS3
3PL.F buscar -REI 1SG.F -FOC -PAS3
they looked for me several times
ellos me han buscado reiteradamente

04AGO01-RA-077
ajanka tsyutitsen.
aja -n -ka ts- yuti -tsen
this -NZR -LOC 1SG.F- stay -PUR3
este -NDR -LOC 1SG.F- permanecer -PROP3
to be here now
para (ahora) estar aquí

04AGO01-RA-078

inu	***eruraka***	***tsapuratsuri,***			***tsapukita.***	
inu	*erura*	*-ka*	*tsa*	*-pura*	*-tsuri*	*tsapuki*	*-ta*
3PL.F	bring	-REI	1SG.F	-FOC	-PAS3	call	-CAU
3PL.F	traer	-REI	1SG.F	-FOC	-PAS3	llamar	-CAU

they brought me here again calling me
me han traído otra vez haciéndome llamar

04AGO01-RA-079

ajanka			***kunuminu,***		***yumitatara.***		
aja	*-n*	*-ka*	*kunumi*	*-nu*	*yumi*	*-ta*	*-tara*
this	-NZR	-LOC	young	-PL.F	give	-CAU	-PUR1
este	-NDR	-LOC	joven	-PL.F	dar	-CAU	-PROP1

here to teach young people
aquí para enseñar a los jóvenes

04AGO01-RA-080

ini	***kumitsa***	***kukamapu***		***naninwa***	***inu***	***eruraka***		***tsatsuri.***		
ini	*kumitsa*	*kukama*	*-pu*	*nanin*	*-wa*	*inu*	*erura*	*-ka*	*tsa*	*-tsuri*
1PL.IN	say	kokama	-INS	like.this	-GER	3PL.F	bring	-REI	1SG.F	-PAS3
1PL.IN	decir	kokama	-INS	así	-GER	3PL.F	traer	-REI	1SG.F	-PAS3

(so we) can talk in kokama, like this they brought me
(para que) hablemos kokama, así (diciendo) me han traído

04AGO01-RA-081

yantsui	***tsapura***		***yuti***	***ajanka.***		
yantsui	*tsa*	*-pura*	*yuti*	*aja*	*-n*	*-ka*
there	1SG.F	-FOC	stay	this	-NZR	-LOC
ahí.luego	1SG.F	-FOC	permanecer	este	-NDR	-LOC

that's how I'm here
así estoy aquí

04AGO01-RA-082

ts-im-intsararatsen				***natsenumira.***			
ts-	*-im-*	*intsara*	*-ra -tsen*	*na*	*-*	*tsenu*	*-mira*
1SG.F-		story	-VZR -PUR3	2SG		- hear	-PUR2
1SG.F-		cuento	-VDR -PROP3	2SG		- oir	-PROP2

to tell a story and for you to listen
para contar (y) tu para que escuches

04AGO01-RA-083

yawa	***tsapura...***	
yawa	*tsa*	*-pura*
like.this	1SG.F	-FOC
así	1SG.F	-FOC

that's how I am
así estoy yo

04AGO01-RA-084

wija	***astaypuka***			***tsapura***		***wijatsen.***	
wija	*asta*	*-ay*	*-puka*	*tsa*	*-pura*	*wija*	*-tsen*
old	until	-3F.OBJ	-when	1SG.F	-FOC	old	-PUR3
vieja	hasta	-3F.OBJ	-cuando	1SG.F	-FOC	vieja	-PROP3

I am old, I have gotten old
ya hasta vieja, me he envejecido

04AGO01-RA-085

pichka	***chunka***	***sukta***	***wata***	***tsapura***		***kakiri.***
pichka	*chunka*	*sukta*	*wata*	*tsa*	*-pura*	*kakiri*
five	ten	six	year	1SG.F	-FOC	live
cinco	diez	seis	añño	1SG.F	-FOC	vivir

I live for 56 years
56 años yo vivo

04AGO01-RA-086

utsari			***tsapura***		***yawachima.***
utsu	*-a*	*-ri*	*tsa*	*-pura*	*yawachima*
go	-EV	-PROG	1SG.F	-FOC	arrive
ir	-VE	-PROG	1SG.F	-FOC	llegar

I am going to arrive
ya estoy yendo a llegar

04AGO01-RA-087

naira		***tsaukuatsen.***		
nai	*-ra*	*tsa*	*-ukua*	*-tsen*
g.mother	-COND	1SG.F	-habitual	-PUR3
abuela	-COND	1SG.F	-habitual	-PROP3

I'm almost like my grandma
casi como abuela para estar ya

04AGO01-RA-088

tsima	***uyari***	***tsapura***		***amasika***	***kamatautsu***	
tsima	*uyari*	*tsa*	*-pura*	*amasika*	*kamata*	*-utsu*
NEG	put.together	1SG.F	-FOC	can	work	-FUT1
NEG	reunir	1SG.F	-FOC	poder	trabajar	-FUT1

upa	***chitsatsipura***			***aytsekapa***			***utsu.***
upa	*ts-*	*tsitsatsi*	*-pura*	*aytse*	*-ka*	*-pa*	*utsu*
finish	1SG.F-	eye	-FOC	bad	-MID	-ADV	go
acabar	1SG.F-	ojo	-FOC	mal	-MID	-ADV	ir

I won't be able to word, my eyes are going to finish disableling
ya no voy a poder trabajar, mis ojos se van a terminar de malograr

04AGO01-RA-089

tsakumitsatatsen				***kuatiaran.***	
tsa-	*kumitsa*	*-ta*	*-tsen*	*kuatiara*	*-n*
1SG.F-	say	-CAU	-PUR3	write	-NZR

1SG.F- decir -CAU -PROP3 escribir -NDR
to read (say what I wrote)
para leer (hablar lo escrito)

04AGO01-RA-090

yantsui pariatsu	***tsapura...***
yantsui pariatsu	*tsa -pura*
there suffer	1SG.F -FOC
ahí.luego sufrir	1SG.F -FOC

like this I now suffer
así ahora sufro

04AGO01-RA-091

kumitsata	***kuatiarantsen.***
kumitsa -ta kuatiara	*-n -tsen*
say -CAU write	-NZR -PUR3
decir -CAU escribir	-NDR -PROP3

to read
para leer

04AGO01-RA-092

chitsakuara			***umitata***			***ray***	***tsatseta lentes***		
ts-	*tsitsa*	*-kuara*	*umi*	*-ta*	*-ta*	*ray*	*tsa-*	*tseta*	*lentes*
1SG.F-	face	-INE	see	-CAU	-CAU	PRT	1SG.F-	want	glasses
1SG.F-	cara	-INE	ver	-CAU	-CAU	pues	1SG.F-	querer	lentes

na	***inu***	***chiratan.***		
na	*inu*	*chira*	*-ta*	*-n*
QT	3PL.F	name	-CAU	-NZR
así	3PL.F	nombre	-CAU	-NDR

I want what are called glasses so I can see
para poder mirar quiero lo que así llaman lentes

04AGO01-RA-093

tsakumitsa	***tsitsakuara***	***umitatanan.***			
tsa-	*kumitsa*	*tsitsa*	*-kuara*	*umi*	*-ta*	*-ta*	*-nan*
1SG.F-	say	face	-INE	see	-CAU	-CAU	-only
1SG.F-	decir	cara	-INE	ver	-CAU	-CAU	-solamente

I'm saying what ever works only so I can see
digo lo que (sirve) solamente para mirar

04AGO01-RA-094

yaepenan	***tsi=n=intsarachasu***	***upa***	***maritipa***	***api=se***	***tsi=n=intsarara.***
raepe -nan	*ts- i=n=intsara -chasu*	*upa*	*mari -tipa*	*api=se*	*ts- i=n=intsara -ura*
then -only	1SG.F- story -AFF	finish	thing -Q	else	1SG.F- story -3M.OBJ
entonces-solamente	1SG.F- cuento -AFF	acabar	cosa-Q	más	1SG.F- cuento -3M.OBJ

my story only ends there, what else am I going to tell
ahí nomas termina mi cuento, que cosa más voy a contar

04AGO01-RA-095
awi naninay.
awi *nanin* *ay*
just like.that already
así ahi .nomas
that's it.
ahí nomás ya .

3. TEXT: Origins of the Kokama-Kokamilla (traditional story)

SPEAKER: Victor Yuyarima Chota
COMMUNITY: Ocho de octubre
GENDER: Male
AGE: 64 (August, 2005)
INTERLOCUTOR: Rosa Amías Murayari (female)

05AGO02-VY-0000.0
tímintsarara maniataka ikia

t-	*ímintsara*	*-ra*	*mania*	*-taka*	*ikia*
1SG.M-	story	-VZR	how	-MOD	this
1SG.M-	cuento	-VDR	cómo	-quizá	este

I'm going to talk about how this
voy a contar cómo es esto

05AGO02-VY-0004.912
kukamakana katupetsuri ímina

kukama	*-kana*	*katupe*	*-tsuri*	*ímina*
kokama	-PL.M	show.up	-PAS3	long.ago
cocama	-PL.M	aparecer	-PAS3	antiguamente

(how) the Kokamas had showed up long time ago
los cocamas han aparecido antes

05AGO02-VY-0007.976
ajaa
ajaa
interj.
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0008.537
hm, ikian, ímina niapapa ukua upimaka

hm	*ikian*	*ímina*	*in-*	*papa*	*ukua*	*upi*	*- maka*
hm	this	long.ago	1PL.IN.C-	father	go.around	all	- where
hm	este	antiguamente	1PL.IN.C-	papá	andar	todo	- dónde

long time ago, our father use to be everywhere
antiguamente, nuestro padre andaba en todo lados

05AGO02-VY-0015.808

ra	***purara***	***ikian***	***tsukuri***	***wayna***	***uri***
ra	*purara*	*ikian*	*tsukuri*	*wayna*	*uri*
3SG.M	find	this	boa	woman	come
3SG.M	encontrar	este	boa	mujer	venir

He came across with this woman-boa
viene a encontrar a una mujer boa

05AGO02-VY-0020.394

yaparari	***nan***	***wepe,***	***wepe***	***ipatsu***	***tsima***	***ra***
yaparari	*-nan*	*wepe*	*wepe*	*ipatsu*	*tsima*	*-ra*
lie	-only	one	one	lake	edge	-DIF
echarse	-solamente	uno	uno	laguna	orilla	-DIF

who was lying down at the lake's shore
echada a la orilla de una cocha

05AGO02-VY-0024.961

uri	***ra***	***umi,***	***umi***	***pupe***	***nan***	***ra***
uri	*ra*	*umi*	*umi*	*-pupe*	*-nan*	*ra*
3SG.M.L	3SG.M	see	see	-INS2	-only	3SG.M
3SG.M.L	3SG.M	ver	ver	-INS2	-solamente	3SG.M

mimira	***ta***
mimira	*-ta*
woman's.son	-CAU
hijo.de.mujer	-CAU

only with a look, he makes her pregnant
la ve, sólo con su mirada la embaraza

05AGO02-VY-0030.879

hm
hmm

05AGO02-VY-0031.543

ikiaka		***t-ichari***		***wepe***	***tatairautsu***			***na***
ikia	*-ka*	*t-*	*ichari*	*wepe*	*ta*	*tairа*	*-utsu*	*na*
this	-LOC	1M.CL-	leave	one	1SG.M	man’son	-FUT1	QT
este	-LOC	1M.CL-	dejar	uno	1SG.M	hijo.h	-FUT1	CT

"here I'm going to leave a son," he says
"aquí voy a dejar un hijo," así (dice)

05AGO02-VY-0034.865

ay	***tsukuri***	***mimira***
ay	*tsukuri*	*mimira*
already	boa	woman's.son
ya	boa	hijo.de.mujer

the boa is already pregnant
ya se embaraza la boa

05AGO02-VY-0037.829

ay,	***uri***	***warikan***	***ɨwati***
ay	*uri*	*warika-n*	*ɨwati*
already	3SG.M.L	go.up -NZR	high
ya	3SG.M.L	subir -NZR	alto

he then goes above (to the sky)
ya ha subido arriba

05AGO02-VY-0043.397

ra	***taɨra***	***uwari,***	***tsukuri***
ra	*taɨra*	*uwari*	*tsukuri*
3SG.F	man'son	fall	boa
3SG.F	hijo.de.hombre	caer	boa

then his son is born, the boa
su hijo nace, la boa

05AGO02-VY-0048.951

tsukurikɨra

tsukuri	*-kɨra*
boa	-DIM
boa	-DIM

the little boa
la boita

05AGO02-VY-0049.715

tsukurikɨra

tsukuri	*-kɨra*
boa	-DIM
boa	-DIM

the little boa
la boita

05AGO02-VY-0051.178

uri,	***ay***	***ruwaripuka,***			***ra***	***uwata***
uri	*ay*	*r-*	*uwari*	*-puka*	*ra*	*uwata*
3SG.M.L	already	3SG.M-	fall	-when	3SG.M	walk
3SG.M.L	ya	3SG.M-	caer	-cuando	3SG.M	caminar

When he is born, he walks
él, ya nace, camina

05AGO02-VY-0056.446

amutse	***ra***	***utsu***
amutse	*ra*	*utsu*
far	3SG.M	go
lejos	3SG.M	ir

he goes far away

se va lejos

05AGO02-VY-0059.31

raepe	***ra***	***yawachima***	***wepe***	***ɨpatsukuara***
raepe	*ra*	*yawachima*	*wepe*	*ɨpatsu* *-kuara*
then	3SG.M	arrive	one	lake -INE
entonces	3SG.M	llegar	uno	laguna -INE

then he to a lake
entonces/ahí llega a una cocha

05AGO02-VY-0065.239

ɨpatsu	***ikia***
ɨpatsu	*ikia*
lake	this
laguna	este

a lake
una cocha

05AGO02-VY-0067.262

era	***kukunapura***	***tururukanan***	***-nan***
era	*kukuna* *-pura*	*tururuka*	*-nan*
very	cocona -FOC	redish	-onlyly
muy	cocona -FOC	ser.rojizo	-solamentete

the cocona (Solanum sessiliflorum) is good/ripen
la cocona esta bién madura

05AGO02-VY-0071.368

kukuna	***tsɨma***	***ra***	***eee,***	***ɨpatsu***	***tsɨma***	***ra***
kukuna	*tsɨma*	*-ra*	**eee*	*ɨpatsu*	*tsɨma*	*-ra*
cocona	edge	-DIF	***	lake	edge	-DIF
cocona	orilla	-DIF	***	laguna	orilla	-DIF

at the shore of cocona, hmm, at the shore of the lake
a la orilla de la cocona, eh, a la orilla de la cocha

05AGO02-VY-0074.635

hm
hm
hm

hm

05AGO02-VY-0074.943

uri	***warika***	***ikian,***	***apu,***
uri	*warika*	*ikian*	*apu*
3SG.M.L	go.up	this	well
3SG.M.L	subir	este	esteee

he goes up (from the port to the bank)
el sube, este eh

05AGO02-VY-0078.584

piripiri	***nanin***	***umanun***		***arɨwa***
piripiri	*nanin*	*umanu*	*-n*	*arɨwa*
herb	this.one	die	-NZR	above
piripiri	éste	morir	-NDR	arriba

above this piripiri which is dead (dried)
encima de este (que le llaman) piripiri que está seco

05AGO02-VY-0082.407

tsukuri	***warika***
tsukuri	*warika*
boa	go.up
boa	subir

the boa goes up
la boa sube

05AGO02-VY-0083.719

ajaa	***epetara***	
ajaa	*epe*	*-tara*
interj.	get.warm	-PUR1
interj.	calentarse	-PROP1

yeah, to get warm
ajá, para calentarse

05AGO02-VY-0085.938

kuarachi	***epetara***	
kuarachi	*epe*	*-tara*
sun	get.warm	-PUR1
sol	calentarse	-PROP1

to get warm with the sun
a calentarse con el sol/solearse

05AGO02-VY-0088.382

uri	***ikian***
uri	*ikian*
3SG.M.L	this
3SG.M.L	este

he
él

05AGO02-VY-0091.527

raepe	***ra***	***yutin***		***ra***	***yakuarara***
raepe	*ra*	*yuti*	*-n*	*ra*	*yakuarara*
there	3SG.M	stay	-NZR	3SG.M	remember
ahí	3SG.M	permanecer	-NDR	3SG.M	recordar

ramama	
ra-	*mama*
3SG.M-	mother
3SG.M-	mamá

Once there, he remembers his mother
cuando esta ahí se acuerda de su madre

05AGO02-VY-0096.123
hm
hm
hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-0097.264
maniataka		***tikua***		***ta***	***mamamia***	
mania	*-taka*	*t-*	*ikua*	*ta*	*mama*	*-mia*
how	-MOD	1SG.M-	know	1SG.M	mother	-MOD
cómo	-quizá	1SG.M-	saber	1SG.M	mamá	-MOD

"How would I be able to recognize my mother?"
"cómo quizas conocería a mi madre/como sabría..."

05AGO02-VY-0100.269
makatakura,			***amutsetaka***		***tuwata***	
maka	*-taka*	*-ura*	*amutse*	*-taka*	*t-*	*uwata*
where	-MOD	-3M.OBJ	far	-MOD	1SG.M-	walk
donde	-quizá	-3M.OBJ	lejos	-quizá	1SG.M-	caminar

"Where she might be? Far away she must be"
"donde estará, lejos quizas camina"

05AGO02-VY-0105.036
tsenutaka		***ta***	***tsapuki***	***rapuka***	
tsenu	*-taka*	*ta*	*tsapuki*	*ra*	*-puka*
hear	-MOD	1SG.M	call	3SG.M	-when
oir	-quizá	1SG.M	llamar	3SG.M	-cuando

ramia	
ra	*-mia*
3SG.M	-MOD
3SG.M	-MOD

"maybe she would listen if I call her"
talvez oiga cuando le llamo/oirá cuando le llamo?

05AGO02-VY-0110.223
na	***rikuaka***			***riya***	
na	*r-*	*ikua*	*-ka*	*r-*	*iya*
QT	3SG.M-	know	-MID	3SG.M-	heart
CT	3SG.M-	saber	-MID	3SG.M-	corazón

That's what he thinks
así piensa

05AGO02-VY-0112.682
yaparakanan			***ikia***	***eee***
yapara	*-ka*	*-nan*	*ikia*	*eee*
coild	-MID	-only	this	***
estar.enroscado	-MID	-solamente	este	***

he was coiled up.
estaba enroscado nomás

05AGO02-VY-0115.351

apu,	***umanun***		***piripiri***	***arɨwa***
apu	*umanu*	*-n*	*piripiri*	*arɨwa*
well	die	-NZR	herb	above
esteee	morir	-NDR	piripiri	arriba

on top of the dried piripiri
encima del piripiri seco

05AGO02-VY-0119.276

hm
hm
hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-0119.741

aytsemeka	***tupapenan***	***ra***	***yakuararakatura***			
aytsemeka	*tupapenan*	*ra*	*yakuarara*	*-ka*	*-ta*	*-ura*
truth	same.place	3SG.M	remember	-REI	-CAU	-3M.OBJ
ser.cierto	ahí.mismo	3SG.M	recordar	-REI	-CAU	-3M.OBJ

he remembers her again
otra vez la vuelve a recordar

05AGO02-VY-0123.673

raepe	***ra,***
raepe	*ra*
then	3SG.M
entonces	3SG.M

and so he
entonces él,

05AGO02-VY-0126.013

ra	***kumitsa***	***ikun***	***tsa***	***tsapuki***	***rutsu***	
ra	*kumitsa*	*ikun*	*tsa*	*tsapuki*	*r-*	*utsu*
3SG.M	talk	today	1SG.F	call	3SG.M-	go
3SG.M	hablar	hoy	1SG.F	llamar	3SG.M-	ir

he says "now I'm going to call her"
dice: "hoy la voy a llamar"

05AGO02-VY-0129.852

ratsenu ta			***ra***	***uritsen,***	
ra-	*tsenu*	*-ta*	*ra*	*uri*	*-tsen*
3SG.M-	hear	-1SG.M	3SG.M	come	-PUR3
3SG.M-	oir	-1SG.M	3SG.M	venir	-PROP3

she listens to me (and) she'll come
si me escucha para que venga

05AGO02-VY-0133.878
na ikian,
na ikian
QT this
CT este
like this
así este

05AGO02-VY-0135.929
tsukuri
tsukuri
boa
the boa
la boa

05AGO02-VY-0136.62
tsukurikɨra kumitsa
tsukuri -kɨra kumitsa
boa -DIM talk
boa -DIM hablar
the little boa talks
la boita habla

05AGO02-VY-0138.394
aytsemeka ra ipamata ryakɨ
aytsemeka ra ipama -ta r- yakɨ
truth 3SG.M rise.up -CAU 3SG.M- head
ser.cierto 3SG.M levantarse -CAU 3SG.M- cabeza
for real he raises his head
de verdad levanta su cabeza

05AGO02-VY-0142.65
ra yapararitupatsui
ra yaparari -tupa -tsui
3SG.M lie -REL -ABL
3SG.M echarse -REL.donde -ABL
from where he was lying
de donde estaba echada

05AGO02-VY-0145.194
hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-0146.756
ya, tsapuki wiiiiiii, na
ya tsapuki wiii na
already call boa.sound QT
ya llamar sound.boa CT

ra ***eretse***
ra *eretse*
3SG.M be.loud
3SG.M ser.fuerte
he calls: "wiiii"; like this he does it loud
llama wii (silbando), así fuerte...

05AGO02-VY-0154.397
ajaa, ***yawiyuta***
ajaa *ya-* *wiyuta*
interj. 3SG.F- weasel
interj. 3SG.F- silbar

silba/llama
tɨma ***mari*** ***katupe***
tɨma *mari* *katupe*
NEG thing show.up
NEG cosa aparecer
Nothing shows up
no aparece nada/nada aparece

05AGO02-VY-0159.262
ajaa, ***ikian*** ***(ra)*** ***tsapukita*** ***na*** ***ra*** ***kumitsa***
ajaa *ikian* *ra* *tsapuki* *-ta* *na* *ra* *kumitsa*
interj. this 3SG.M call -CAU QT 3SG.M talk
interj. este 3SG.M llamar -CAU CT 3SG.M hablar
"this is its call," like this he says
esta es su llamada, así dice

05AGO02-VY-0164.381
tupapenan ***mukuika*** ***uyari,***
tupapenan *mukuika* *uyari*
same.place two time
ahí.mismo dos vez
again, two times
otra vez, llama dos veces

05AGO02-VY-0168.868
ay ***ra*** ***tsapukin***
ay *ra* *tsapuki* *-n*
already 3SG.M call -NZR
ya 3SG.M llamar -NDR
wiiii ***na*** ***ruri***
wiii *-i* *na* *r-* *uri*
boa.sound -EV 2SG 3SG.M- come
sound.boa -VE 2SG 3SG.M- venir
he already calls (twice) wiii, and she comes
ya le ha llamado wiii, así viene (la madre)

05AGO02-VY-0178.381

ikian	***niakumitsa***		***ya***	***tapiara***	***wiuta***
ikian	*inu*	*- kumitsa*	*ya*	*tapiara*	*wiuta*
this	3PL.M	- talk	already	be.late	boa.sound
este	3PL.M	- hablar	ya	tarde	silbar

this, they talk. He keeps on whistling for a while
este habla, demora silbando/silba por largo rato

05AGO02-VY-0182.928

ay	***tsukurikana***		***uri,***
ay	*tsukuri*	*-kana*	*uri*
already	boa	-PL.M	come
ya	boa	-PL.M	venir

the boas come
ya vienen las boas

05AGO02-VY-0185.672

maniamaniakan	***tsukuri***	***uri***
maniamaniakan	*tsukuri*	*uri*
all.kind	boa	come
toda.clase	boa	venir

all kinds of boas come
vienen todas clase de boas

05AGO02-VY-0187.915

amutsewetutsu		
amutsewe	*-ta*	*-utsu*
be.close	-CAU	-AND
estar.cerca	-CAU	-AND

(they) come close
se van acercando

05AGO02-VY-0189.988

ajaa,	***ene***	***tsima***	***ta***	***mama,***	***ya***	***utsu***
ajaa	*ene*	*tsima*	*ta*	*mama*	*ya*	*utsu*
interj.	2SG.L	NEG	1SG.M	mother	already	go
interj.	2SG.L	NEG	1SG.M	mamá	ya	ir

You are not my mother, (and she) leaves
tu no eres mi madre, ya (se) va..

05AGO02-VY-0194.865

rama	***urika***	
ramua	*uri*	*-ka*
other	come	-REI
otro	venir	-REI

Another comes back.
otro viene otra vez

05AGO02-VY-0196.006

riay	***ene***	***tɨma***	***ta***	***tsapukiuy***
riay	*ene*	*tɨma*	*ta*	*tsapuki* -*uy*
also	2SG.L	NEG	1SG.M	call -PAS1
también	2SG.L	NEG	1SG.M	llamar -PAS1

I haven't call you either
también/tampoco a tí no te he llamado

05AGO02-VY-0198.47

ta	***mama***	***ta***	***tsapuki***
ta	*mama*	*ta*	*tsapuki*
1SG.M	mother	1SG.M	call
1SG.M	mamá	1SG.M	llamar

I call my mother
a mi madre le llamo

05AGO02-VY-0200.723

rama	***tsukuri***	***urika***	***rianan***	***ra***	***kumitsaka***	***rawa***	***iriwutsu***	
ramua	*tsukuri*	*uri* -*ka*	*ria* -*nan*	*ra*	*kumitsa* -*ka*	*rawa*	*iriwa*	-*utsu*
other	boa	come-REI	like.this-only	3SG.M	talk -REI	go	come.back	-FUT1
otro	boa	venir -REI	así-solamente	3SG.M	hablar -REI	ir	regresa	-FUT1

another boa comes, he says the same thing "go back (where you came from)"
otra boa viene, así/eso nomas dice 've y regresa'

05AGO02-VY-0204.899

awɨri	***tsukurikana***	***uritsuri***	***rakakura***
awɨri	*tsukuri* -*kana*	*uri* -*tsuri*	*ra*- *kakura*
how.many	boa -PL.M	come -PAS3	3SG.M- side
cuanto	boa -PL.M	venir -PAS3	3SG.M- lado

quite a few boas come to his side
cuantas (bastantes) boas han venido a su lado

05AGO02-VY-0210.287

tɨma	***ra***	***tseta***	***ikuakaka***		***rana***
tɨma	*ra*	*tseta*	*ikua* -*ka*	-*ka*	*rana*
NEG	3SG.M	want	know -REI	-REI	3PL.M
NEG	3SG.M	querer	saber -REI	-REI	3PL.M

he doesn't want to recognize them
no les quiere reconocer

05AGO02-VY-0213.501

hm

hm

05AGO02-VY-0214.299

raepetsui	***ra***	***mama***	***tapiaratsui***	***katupiuri***
raepetsui	*ra*	*mama*	*tapiara* -*tsui*	*katupe* -*uri*
after	3SG.M	mother	be.late -ABL	show.up -come

después 3SG.M mamá tarde -ABL aparecer -venir
after some time, his mother shows up
después de mucho rato aparece su madre

05AGO02-VY-0217.387
enetakatamama
ene -taka ta mama
2SG.L -MOD 1SG.M mother
2SG.L -quizá 1SG.M mamá
"maybe you are my mother"
tú quizás eres mi madre

05AGO02-VY-0219.871
enetaka, eh ikian
*ene -taka *eh ikian*
2SG.L -MOD *** this
2SG.L -quizá *** este
"maybe you..."
tú quizas,...

05AGO02-VY-0224.137
taicharitsuri, ta uwaritupatsui
ta ichari -tsuri ta uwari -tupa -tsui
1SG.M leave -PAS3 1SG.M fall -REL -ABL
1SG.M dejar -PAS3 1SG.M caer -REL -ABL
"are the one I left where I was born"
he dejado donde he nacido

05AGO02-VY-0229.344
etse namama, aja, ikian ramama kumitsa,
etse na- mama aja ikian ra- mama kumitsa
1SG.F 2SG- mother ah this 3SG.M- mother talk
1SG.F 2SG- mamá ajá este 3SG.M- mamá hablar
"I am your mother", his mother says
"yo soy tu mamá," dice esta su mamá

05AGO02-VY-0234.734
ajaa; etse
ajaa etse
interj. 1SG.F
hm , I
ajá, yo

05AGO02-VY-0236.194
mariariray ene ajanka
mari -ri -ray ene ajan -ka
thing -for -PRT 2SG.L this -LOC
cosa -para.que -pues 2SG.L este -LOC
"Why are you here"
"para qué pues estas aquí" (que estas haciendo aquí)

05AGO02-VY-0238.928

epeari	***ta,***	***ikian***	***kuarachi***	***tsaku***
epe	*-ri*	*ta*	*ikian*	*kuarachi*	*tsaku*
get.warm	-PROG	1SG.M	this	sun	hot
calentarse	-PROG	1SG.M	este	sol	calor

"I am warming myself up (with) the heat of the sun"
"estoy calentándome con el sol"

05AGO02-VY-0244.876

aja
aja
ah
ajá

05AGO02-VY-0246.61

ajan	***ɨpatsu***	***tsɨmara,***	***ajan***
ajan	*ɨpatsu*	*tsɨma*	*-ra*	*ajan*
this	lake	edge	-DIF	this
este	laguna	orilla	-DIF	este

ɨpatsu	***chirara***
ɨpatsu	*chira*	*-ra*
lake	name	-VZR
laguna	nombre	-VDR

"at this side of the lake, this lake is called"
"en esta orilla de la cocha, esta cocha se llama"

05AGO02-VY-0252.397

kukuna	***ɨpatsu***	***na***	***rakumitsa,***	***ikian***
kukuna	*ɨpatsu*	*na*	*ra-*	*kumitsa*	*ikian*
cocona	lake	QT	3SG.M-	talk	this
cocona	laguna	CT	3SG.M-	hablar	este

"Kokona lake", that he says, this
cocona cocha, así dice, este

05AGO02-VY-0256.774

yamama

ya-	*mama*
3SG.F-	mother
3SG.F-	mamá

his mom
su mamá

05AGO02-VY-0257.222

ramama,	***aja,***	***ikian***	***chirara***	***kukuna***	***ɨpatsu***
ra-	*mama*	*aja*	*ikian*	*chira*	*-ra*	*kukuna*	*ɨpatsu*
3SG.M-	mother	ah	this	name	-VZR	cocona	lake

3SG.M- mamá ajá este nombre -VDR cocona laguna
his mom, "this is called Kokona lake"
su mamá, "este se llama cocona cocha"

05AGO02-VY-0262.492
ajaa, mariraray na tsapukitsuy, na
ajaa marira ray na tsapuki - tsa -uy na
interj. why PRT 2SG call - 1SG.F -PAS1 QT
interj. para.que pues 2SG llamar - 1SG.F -PAS1 CT
ra kumitsa,
ra kumitsa
3SG.M talk
3SG.M hablar
"why did you call me?"
"para qué pues me has llamado"

05AGO02-VY-0270.123
ajaa
ajaa
interj.
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0271.03
ta ikuatsenene, maniataka tamama
ta ikua -tsen -ene mania -taka ta- mama
1SG.M know -PUR3 -2.O how -MOD 1SG.M- mother
1SG.M saber -PROP3 -2.O cómo -quizá 1SG.M- mamá
"to know you; how would my mother be? (I thought to myself)"
para conocerte, cómo será mi madre [me preguntaba]

05AGO02-VY-0275.13
rikua ta tsapukinuy
rikua ta tsapuki -n -uy
because 1SG.M call -2SG -PAS1
por.eso 1SG.M llamar -2SG -PAS1
"that's why I called you"
"por eso te he llamado"

05AGO02-VY-0277.273
ay eray papisha
ay era -ay papisha
already be.good -already son.grown
ya estar.bien -ya hijo.adulto
"It's OK, son"
"ya, esta bien hijo"

05AGO02-VY-0281.509
ene, t-mapuray tsukuriutsu
ene t- ma -pura -ay tsukuri -utsu

2SG.L NEG -FOC -already boa -FUT1
2SG.L NEG -FOC -ya boa -FUT1
"you will not longer be a boa"
"tu ya no vas a ser boa"

05AGO02-VY-0285.575
aja
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0286.705
ene napapaya utsu
ene na- papa -yá utsu
2SG.L 2SG- father -CMP go
2SG.L 2SG- papá -CMP ir
"You will be like your father"
"tu vas a ser como tu padre"

05AGO02-VY-0289.1
napapa ikuapura na ikuautsu
na- papa ikua -pura na ikua -utsu
2SG- father know -FOC 2SG know -FUT1
2SG- papá saber -FOC 2SG saber -FUT1
"you will get/know your father's wisdom"
"la sabiduría de tu padre vas a conocer/saber"

05AGO02-VY-0292.775
tɨmapuray na utsu ajan ɨpatsukuara
tɨma -pura -ay na utsu ajan ɨpatsu -kuara
NEG -FOC -already 2SG go this lake -INE
NEG -FOC -ya 2SG ir este laguna -INE
"you will not going back to the lake"
"ya no vas a ir a esa cocha"

05AGO02-VY-0296.761
riaura, na ra kumitsa
ria -ura na ra kumitsa
like.this -3M.OBJ QT 3SG.M talk
así -3M.OBJ CT 3SG.M hablar
that's what he says
así es, le dice

05AGO02-VY-0299.545
tsa yakuarara napapapuka
tsa yakuarara na- papa -puka
1SG.F remember 2SG- father -when
1SG.F recordar 2SG- papá -cuando
"when I remember (think about) your father"
"cuando recuerdo a tu padre"

05AGO02-VY-0301.748

tsaniuri	***ajarupe,***		***na***	***ra***	***tsapuki***	***ikian***	***ipatsu***	***tsima***	
tsaniuri	*aja*	*-rupe*	*na*	*ra*	*tsapuki*	*ikian*	*ipatsu*	*tsima*	*-ra*
come.in	this	-FIN	QT	3SG.M	call	this	lake	edge	-DIF
adelante	este	-FIN	CT	3SG.M	llamar	este	laguna	orilla	-DIF

"come over here", like he calls to the side of the lake
"ven por acá," así (le) llama a la orilla de la cocha

05AGO02-VY-0305.974

ajaa
ajaa
interj.
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0306.522

tsukuri	***upuri***	***rutsutsen***			***ipatsu***	***tsima***	
tsukuri	*upuri*	*r-*	*utsu*	*-tsen*	*ipatsu*	*tsima*	*-ra*
boa	fall	3SG.M-	go	-PUR3	lake	edge	-DIF
boa	caer	3SG.M-	ir	-PROP3	laguna	orilla	-DIF

the boa goes down (from the branches of the tree) to go to the edge of the lake
la boa cae (se baja de las ramas secas) para ir a la orilla de la cocha

05AGO02-VY-0309.62

tsakumitsara			***napapapuka***		
tsa-	*kumitsa*	*-ra*	*na-*	*papa*	*-puka*
1SG.F-	talk	-COND	2SG-	father	-when
1SG.F-	hablar	-COND	2SG-	papá	-cuando

"When I talk to your father"
"cuando hable con tu padre"

05AGO02-VY-0312.934

ene,	***ene,***	***eee***	***ajan,***	***katupiutsu***		***awara***	
ene	*ene*	*eee*	*ajan*	*katupe*	*-utsu*	*awa*	*-ra*
2SG.L	2SG.L	***	this	show.up	-FUT1	person	-PUR
2SG.L	2SG.L	***	este	aparecer	-FUT1	persona	-PROP

"you will turn into a person"
"tú vas a aparecer (convertirte) en persona"

05AGO02-VY-0321.827

hm
hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-0322.989

timapuray			***na***	***utsu***	***tsukuri***
tima	*-pura*	*-ay*	*na*	*utsu*	*tsukuri*
NEG	-FOC	-already	2SG	go	boa
NEG	-FOC	-ya	2SG	ir	boa

"You will not longer be a boa"
"ya no vas a ser boa"

05AGO02-VY-0326.093
natsenuay
na- *tsenu* *-ay*
2SG- hear -3F.OBJ
2SG- oir -3F.OBJ
"are you listening?"
"escuchas?"

05AGO02-VY-0328.477
tatsenura ***na*** ***kumitsa***
ta- *tsenu* *-ura* *na* *kumitsa*
1SG.M- hear -3M.OBJ QT talk
1SG.M- oir -3M.OBJ CT hablar
"I listen", he says
"(lo) escucho," así dice

05AGO02-VY-0330.477
hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-0331.359
tsakumitsutsu
tsa- *kumitsa* *-utsu*
1SG.F- talk -FUT1
1SG.F- hablar -FUT1
"I am going to tell you"
"voy a hablar (te voy a contar)"

05AGO02-VY-0335.313
na ***papa*** ***ĩmĩna***
na *papa* *ĩmĩna*
2SG father long.ago
2SG papá antiguamente
"your father, long time ago,"
"tu padre antes"

05AGO02-VY-0336.749
ya ***umipupenan*** ***ya*** ***mĩmĩrata*** ***etse***
ya *umi* *-pupe* *-nan* *ya* *mĩmĩra* *-ta* *etse*
3SG.F see -INS2 -only 3SG.F woman's.son -CAU 1SG.F
3SG.F ver -INS2 -solamente 3SG.F hijo.de.mujer -CAU 1SG.F
"with only his sight he made me pregnant"
"sólo con su mirada me ha embarazado"

05AGO02-VY-0340.754

ɨ́ss,	***ay***	***ikiakatika***			***ay***	***awa-ura***	
ɨ́ss	*ay*	*ikia*	*-kati*	*-ka*	*ay*	*awa*	*-ra*
ideo	already	this	-up.to	-LOC	already	person	-PUR
ideo	ya	este	-hasta	-LOC	ya	persona	-PROP

"and here it is, it's already a person"
"hasta aquí ya esta, ya es persona"

05AGO02-VY-0346.182

hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-0347.233

yanka		***napapa***		***ya***	***umipupenan***		
ya	*-nka*	*na-*	*papa*	*ya*	*umi*	*-pupe*	*-nan*
like.this	-MOD	2SG-	father	3SG.F	see	-INS2	-only
así	-MOD	2SG-	papá	3SG.F	ver	-INS2	-solamente

mɨ́mɨ́rata		***tsatsuriay***		
mɨ́mɨ́ra	*-ta*	*tsa*	*-tsuri*	*-ay*
woman's.son	-CAU	1SG.F	-PAS3	-already
hijo.de.mujer	-CAU	1SG.F	-PAS3	-ya

"Like your father, with only his sight he made me pregnant"
"así como tu padre con sólo mirarme me había embarazado"

05AGO02-VY-0352.311

ene	***yay***	***utsu***	***na***	***umipupenan***			***na***
ene	*yay*	*utsu*	*na*	*umi*	*-pupe*	*-nan*	*na*
2SG.L	also	go	2SG	see	-INS2	-only	2SG
2SG.L	también	ir	2SG	ver	-INS2	-solamente	2SG

erata		***upi***	***awautsu,***	
era	*-ta*	*upi*	*awa*	*-utsu*
be.good	-CAU	all	person	-FUT1
estar.bien	-CAU	todo	persona	-FUT1

"you too, with only a look you will cure all the people,"
"tu también, sólo con mirar vas a curar a toda la gente"

05AGO02-VY-0357.499

namɨ́mɨ́rata			***waynanutsu***		
na-	*mɨ́mɨ́ra*	*-ta*	*wayna*	*-nu*	*-tsu*
2SG-	woman's.son	-CAU	woman	-PL.F	-DAT
2SG-	hijo.de.mujer	-CAU	mujer	-PL.F	-DAT

"you will make woman pregnant"
vas a embarazar a mujeres

05AGO02-VY-0359.942

ria	***nakakɨ́rɨ́utsu***		
ria	*na-*	*kakɨ́rɨ́*	*-utsu*

like.this 2SG- live -FUT1
así 2SG- vivir -FUT1
"like this you will live"
"así vas a vivir"

05AGO02-VY-0364.017
raepetsui na utsu napapa kakura
raepetsui na utsu na- papa kakura
after 2SG go 2SG- father side
después 2SG ir 2SG- papá lado
"only after that you will go to your father's side"
"después te vas al lado de tu padre"

05AGO02-VY-0367.292
na tsukuri wayna kumitsa
na tsukuri wayna kumitsa
QT boa woman talk
CT boa mujer hablar
that's what the woman-boa says
así dice la mujer boa

05AGO02-VY-0370.036
upinan ay ruwaka awara
upi -nan ay r- uwaka awa -ra
all -only already 3SG.M- become person -PUR
todo -solamente ya 3SG.M- convertirse persona -PROP
all (the boas) turn into people
todas (las boas) ya se convierten en gente

05AGO02-VY-0373.101
utsu yuwaka
utsu y- uwaka
go 3SG.F- become
ir 3SG.F- convertirse
"he transforms"
"ya se convierte"

05AGO02-VY-0374.032
utsu ra uwaka
utsu ra uwaka
go 3SG.M become
ir 3SG.M convertirse
he gets transformed
ya se convierte

05AGO02-VY-0375.584
raepe rakumitsa
raepe ra- kumitsa
then 3SG.M- talk
entonces 3SG.M- hablar

then he says
entonces habla

05AGO02-VY-0377.888

ajantsui	***t=imapurá***	***na***	***umitsutsu***
ajan -tsui	*t=ima -purá*	*na*	*umi - tsa -utsu*
this -ABL	NEG -FOC	2SG	see - 1SG.F -FUT1
este -ABL	NEG -FOC	2SG	ver - 1SG.F -FUT1

"after that you will not longer go"
"después de esto ya no vas a ver"

05AGO02-VY-0381.132

yawa	***utsu***	***ene***	***uwata***	***tuyukari***	***ritamanu***	
yawa	*utsu*	*ene*	*uwata*	*tuyuka -ri*	*ritama -nu*	
go	go	2SG.L	walk	ground -DIF	community	-PL.F
vete	ir	2SG.L	caminar	tierra -DIF	comunidad	-PL.F

chitay		***na***	***ukua***
chita	*ay*	*na*	*ukua*
a.lot	QT	2SG	go
bastante	CT	2SG	andar

"go around the earth, all the villages --he says-- go visit"
"ve andar por la tierra/el mundo, a todos los pueblos --dice-- visítales"

05AGO02-VY-0387.782

yanka		***na***	***papa***	***ukuatsuriay***		
ya	*-nka*	*na*	*papa*	*ukua*	*-tsuri*	*-ay*
like.this	-MOD	2SG	father	go	-PAS3	-already
así	-MOD	2SG	papá	andar	-PAS3	-ya

"like this your father used to go around"
"así era/andaba tu padre"

05AGO02-VY-0390.045

tsukuri	***wayna***	***upuri,***
tsukuri	*wayna*	*upuri*
boa	woman	fall
boa	mujer	caer

the woman-boa goes to the water
la mujer boa va al agua

05AGO02-VY-0393.229

makataka		***ra***	***utsu***
maka	*-taka*	*ra*	*utsu*
where	-MOD	3SG.M	go
donde	-quizá	3SG.M	ir

where would she may go
(a) dónde quizás va

05AGO02-VY-0395.35

uriray		***ay***	***warika***
uri	*-ray*	*ay*	*warika*
3SG.M.L	PRT	already	go.up
3SG.M.L	pues	ya	subir

it seems he already goes up
él pues ya sube

05AGO02-VY-0397.476

ɨwatikamari

ɨwatikan	*-ari*
hill	-DIF
loma	-DIF

to the hill
a la loma

05AGO02-VY-0399.088

raepe	***ra***	***umikakutsu***			
raepe	*ra*	*umi*	*-ka*	*-ka*	*-utsu*
then	3SG.M	see	-MID	-REI	-AUX
entonces	3SG.M	ver	-MID	-REI	-AUX

there he goes to see
entonces ahí el se va a verlo/ allá se ven

05AGO02-VY-0401.411

apu,	***upimaka***		***ra***	***umi***
apu	*upi*	*-maka*	*ra*	*umi*
well	all	-where	3SG.M	see
esteee	todo	-donde	3SG.M	ver

he looks everywhere
por todos lados mira

05AGO02-VY-0404.526

hm

hm

05AGO02-VY-0405.533

mariraray		***tamama***		***yankatatuy***			***ria***
marira	*-ray*	*ta*	*-mama*	*yankata*	*-t*	*-uy*	*ria*
why	PRT	1SG.M-	mother	put	-CAU	-PAS1	like.this
para.que	pues	1SG.M-	mamá	poner	-CAU	-PAS1	así

"why would my mother put me in this position (has given me this task)"
"por qué pues mi mamá me ha puesto así (me ha dado esa tarea de ir por todo el mundo)"

05AGO02-VY-0411.042

yikuaka			***yiya***	
y-	*ikua*	*-ka*	*y-*	*iya*
3SG.F-	know	-MID	3SG.F-	heart
3SG.F-	saber	-MID	3SG.F-	corazón

he thinks
piensa (lit. sabe en su corazón)

05AGO02-VY-0412.33

ajaa,	***ta***	***utsu***
ajaa	*ta*	*utsu*
interj.	1SG.M	go
interj.	1SG.M	ir

"I go"
"voy"

05AGO02-VY-0414.14

aytsemeka	***ra***	***uwata***
aytsemeka	*ra*	*uwata*
truth	3SG.M	walk
ser.cierto	3SG.M	caminar

for real he walks
de verdad camina

05AGO02-VY-0417.064

rayawachimutsu			***wepe***	***ritamaka***	
ra-	*yawachima*	*-utsu*	*wepe*	*ritama*	*-ka*
3SG.M-	arrive	-AUX	one	community	-LOC
3SG.M-	llegar	-AUX	uno	comunidad	-LOC

he arrives to a village
llega a un pueblo

05AGO02-VY-0419.838

ajaa
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0420.671

raepe	***rakumitsa***	
raepe	*ra-*	*kumitsa*
there	3SG.M-	talk
entonces	3SG.M-	hablar

there he says
ahí dice

05AGO02-VY-0422.562

ta	***ikian***	***eee,***	***katupe***	***tsukuri,***	***tsukuritsui***	
ta	*ikian*	**eee*	*katupe*	*tsukuri*	*tsukuri*	*-tsui*
1SG.M	this	***	show.up	boa	boa	-ABL
1SG.M	este	***	aparecer	boa	boa	-ABL

"I showd up from a boa (I am descendant of a boa)"
"yo aparecí de boa"

05AGO02-VY-0429.371

ajaa
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0430.473

ta	***papa***	***ɨmɨna***	***awa***
ta	*papa*	*ɨmɨna*	*awa*
1SG.M	father	long.ago	person
1SG.M	papá	antiguamente	persona

"Long time ago, my father was a person"
"mi papá antiguamente fue persona"

05AGO02-VY-0432.696

uri	***rumipupenan***			
uri	*r-*	*umi*	*-pupe*	*-nan*
3SG.M	3SG.M-	see	-INS2	-only
3SG.M	3SG.M-	ver	-INS2	-solamente

ramɨmɨrata			***tamama***	
ra-	*mɨmɨra*	*-ta*	*ta-*	*mama*
3SG.M-	woman's.son	-CAU	1SG.M-	mother
3SG.M-	hijo.de.mujer	-CAU	1SG.M-	mamá

"With only a glance he made my mother pregnant"
"él con su mirada a embarazado a mi madre"

05AGO02-VY-0437.733

raepetsui	***takatupe***	
raepetsui	*ta-*	*katupe*
after	1SG.M	show.up
después	1SG.M	aparecer

"from there/out of that I show up"
"después de eso/de ahí yo he aparecido"

05AGO02-VY-0440.237

tamama		***kumitsa***	***tatsui***	
ta-	*mama*	*kumitsa*	*ta*	*-tsui*
1SG.M-	mother	talk	1SG.M	-DAT
1SG.M-	mamá	hablar	1SG.M	-DAT

"my mom told me"
"mi mamá me ha dicho"

05AGO02-VY-0442.761

ene	***utsu***	***na***	***papayá,***		***na***	***ra***	***kumitsa***
ene	*utsu*	*na*	*papa*	*-yá*	*na*	*ra*	*kumitsa*
2SG.L	go	2SG	father	-CMP	QT	3SG.M	talk
2SG.L	ir	2SG	papá	-CMP	CT	3SG.M	hablar

"go around like your father", she said (mama-boa)
"vete al igual que tu padre", así dice (la mamá boa)

05AGO02-VY-0447.587

aytsemeka	***yuka***	***ritamaka***	
aytsemeka	*yuka*	*ritama*	*-ka*
truth	there	community	-LOC

ser.cierto allá comunidad -LOC
for real in that village
de verdad en ese pueblo

05AGO02-VY-0450.151
upi awakana chikariura
upi awa -kana chikari -ura
all person -PL.M look.for -3M.OBJ
todo persona -PL.M buscar -3M.OBJ
everyone looks for him
toda la gente le busca (a la boa hijo)

05AGO02-VY-0453.616
ra umipupenan ra
ra umi -pupe -nan ra
3SG.M see -INS2 -only 3SG.M
3SG.M ver -INS2 -solamente 3SG.M
eratatsen rana
era -ta -tsen rana
be.good -CAU -PUR3 3PL.M
estar.bien -CAU -PROP3 3PL.M
to cure them with only a look/his sight
para que les cure sólo con su mirada

05AGO02-VY-0456.2
hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-0457.102
aykuankana,
aykua -n -kana
become.sick -NZR -PL.M
enfermarse -NDR -PL.M
the sick people
los enfermos

05AGO02-VY-0458.962
ajaa
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0459.534
ria ryaukiura
ria r- yauki -ura
like.this 3SG.M- make -3M.OBJ
así 3SG.M- hacer -3M.OBJ
and he does it
así lo hace (los cura con la mirada)

05AGO02-VY-0461.357

rama	***ritamaka***		***ria,***	***rama***	***ritamaka***	
ramua	*ritama*	*-ka*	*ria*	*ramua*	*ritama*	*-ka*
other	community	-LOC	like.this	other	community	-LOC
otro	comunidad	-LOC	así	otro	comunidad	-LOC

ria,	***rama***	***ritamaka***		***ria***
ria	*ramua*	*ritama*	*-ka*	*ria*
like.this	other	community	-LOC	like.this
así	otro	comunidad	-LOC	así

In other village is the same thing, in other village, the same thing
así (de igual manera hace) en otro pueblo, así en otro pueblo...

05AGO02-VY-0466.474

ay	***ra***	***kunumi***
ay	*ra*	*kunumi*
already	3SG.M	young
ya	3SG.M	joven

he is already a young boy
ya es/se hace joven

05AGO02-VY-0467.987

rapurara		***wepe***	***wayna***
ra-	*purara*	*wepe*	*wayna*
3SG.M-	find	one	woman
3SG.M-	encontrar	uno	mujer

he finds a woman
encuentra una mujer

05AGO02-VY-0470.45

uri	***riay***	***ramɨmɨra***			***umipupenan***		
uri	*riay*	*ra-*	*mɨmɨra*	*-ta*	*umi*	*-pupe*	*-nan*
3SG.M.L	also	3SG.M-	woman's.son	-CAU	see	-INS2	-only
3SG.M.L	también	3SG.M-	hijo.de.mujer	-CAU	ver	-INS2	-solamente

to her too he makes pregnant only with a look
a esa también la embaraza sólo con la mirada

05AGO02-VY-0473.097

hm

hm

05AGO02-VY-0473.741

ajaa,	***ay***	***ramɨmɨra***			***waynapura***	
ajaa	*ay*	*ra-*	*mɨmɨra*	*-ta*	*wayna*	*-pura*
interj.	already	3SG.M-	woman's.son	-CAU	woman	-FOC
interj.	ya	3SG.M-	hijo.de.mujer	-CAU	mujer	-FOC

he already makes the woman pregnant
ya embaraza a la mujer

05AGO02-VY-0477.48

ikian	***wayna***	***kumitsa***	***ratsui***
ikian	*wayna*	*kumitsa*	*ra -tsui*
this	woman	talk	3SG.M -DAT
este	mujer	hablar	3SG.M -DAT

this woman tells him
esta mujer le dice

05AGO02-VY-0480.865

ma,	***manianan,***	***tima***	***na***	***ukiri***
ma	*mania -nan*	*tima*	*na*	*ukiri*
***	how -only	NEG	2SG	sleep
***	cómo -solamente	NEG	2SG	dormir

tsamuki
tsa -muki
1SG.F -COM
1SG.F -COM

"how could that happen, you don't sleep with me"
"cómo pues (sucedio), no duermes conmigo"

05AGO02-VY-0484.681

ay	***tsa***	***mimira,***	***enenan***		***umitsuriay***		
ay	*tsa*	*mimira*	*ene*	*-nan*	*umi*	*-tsuri*	*-ay*
already	1SG.F	woman's.son	2SG.L	-only	see	-PAS3	-already
ya	1SG.F	hijo.de.mujer	2SG.L	-solamente	ver	-PAS3	-ya

"I am pregnant, only you saw (me)"
"ya estoy embarazada, tu solamente (me) has mirado"

05AGO02-VY-0488.166

wijo
wijo
old man
viejo

05AGO02-VY-0490.076

ria
ria
like this
así

05AGO02-VY-0491.483

ta	***tairaura,***	***inan,***	***inan***
ta	*taira -ura*	*inan*	*inan*
1SG.M	man'son -3M.OBJ	PROH	PROH
1SG.M	hijo.h -3M.OBJ	PROH	PROH

"he is my son, watch out, watch out"
"mi hijo es, cuidado, cuidado"

05AGO02-VY-0495.206
manian niya
mania -n n- iya
how -NZR 2SG- heart
cómo -NZR 2SG- corazón
"what do you think?"
cómo piensas?/qué piensas?/qué dices?

05AGO02-VY-0497.018
uri tataɨra
uri ta- taɨra
3SG.M.L 1SG.M- man's.son
3SG.M.L 1SG.M- hijo.de.hombre
"he is my son"
él es mi hijo (le dice el hijo boa a su nueva mujercita)

05AGO02-VY-0498.45
seniur, manianantaka ikia, ajan napitsara
seniur mania -nan -taka ikia ajan napitsara
god how -only -MOD this this man
dios cómo -solamente -quizá este este hombre
"oh lord, how is that this man (makes children)"
"ay dios, cómo pues este hombre (cómo pues hace hijos)"

05AGO02-VY-0503.377
umipupenan
umi -pupe -nan
see -INS2 -only
ver -INS2 -solamente
"only with a look"
"sólo con la mirada"

05AGO02-VY-0506.215
[risas] nan
nan
like.this
así
like this
like this

05AGO02-VY-0506.716
na wayna ikuakaka ya iya
na wayna ikua -ka -ka ya iya
QT woman know -MID -REI 3SG.F heart
CT mujer saber -MID -REI 3SG.F corazón
the woman thinks (to herself)
así piensa la mujer (para si misma/en su corazón)

05AGO02-VY-0509.256
ajaa, ***raepetsui*** ***ikia***
ajaa *raepetsui* *ikia*
interj. after this
interj. después este
after that
después de eso

05AGO02-VY-0512.831
ikiratsenkira ***ay*** ***uwari***
ikiratsen *-kira* *ay* *uwari*
child -DIM already fall
niño -DIM ya caer
the kid is born
el niño/la criaturita ya nace

05AGO02-VY-0515.415
ajaa
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0515.992
raepenan ***ura***
raepe *-nan* *ura*
there -only 3M.OBJ
entonces -solamente 3M.OBJ
he (father-boa) is right there (while the baby is born)
ahi nomás esta él (la boa-hijo junto a su mujer dando a luz)

05AGO02-VY-0517.598
ikian ***ratakira*** ***eee,*** ***ra*** ***umitsen***
ikian *ra-* *takira* **eee* *ra* *umi* *-tsen*
this 3SG.M- man'son *** 3SG.M see -PUR3
este 3SG.M- hijo.h *** 3SG.M ver -PROP3
to see his son
para que vea a su hijo

05AGO02-VY-0522.124
uwaripuka
uwari *-puka*
fall -when
caer -cuando
when he is born
cuando nace

05AGO02-VY-0523.546
ajaa
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0524.005

ra	***uwari***	***wepe***	***napitsarakɨra***
ra	*uwari*	*wepe*	*napitsara*	*-kɨra*
3SG.M	fall	one	man	-DIM
3SG.M	caer	uno	hombre	-DIM

he is born a boy
nace un varoncito

05AGO02-VY-0526.591

ya	***taɨra***
ya	*taɨra*
3SG.F	man'son
3SG.F	hijo.h

his son
su hijo

05AGO02-VY-0527.534

ajaa,
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0528.965

uri	***ikian***	***wayna***	***yaparachita,***
uri	*ikian*	*wayna*	*yaparachi*	*-ta*
3SG.M.L	this	woman	dance	-CAU
3SG.M.L	este	mujer	bailar	-CAU

this woman maker him dance
a él (al bebe) le hace bailar la mujer

05AGO02-VY-0531.458

rikuanka			***waynakana***		***yaparachita,***	
r-	*ikua*	*-nka*	*wayna*	*-kana*	*yaparachi*	*-ta*
3SG.M-	RSN	-MOD	woman	-PL.M	dance	-CAU
3SG.M-	RZN	-MOD	mujer	-PL.M	bailar	-CAU

that's why maybe women make (their children) dance
por eso quizas las mujeres hacen (saben hacer) bailar

05AGO02-VY-0533.081

rana	***mɨmɨrakɨra***		***ukɨrɨ***	***ikiara***
rana	*mɨmɨra*	*-kɨra*	*ukɨrɨ*	*ikiara*
3PL.M	woman's.son	-DIM	sleep	like.this
3PL.M	hijo.de.mujer	-DIM	dormir	así

their children sleep like that
sus hijos duermen así (cuando les hacen bailar)

05AGO02-VY-0534.864

rikua,		***raepetsui***	***rana***	***ikuan***	
r-	*ikua*	*raepetsui*	*rana*	*ikua*	*-n*
3SG.M-	RSN	after	3PL.M	know	-NZR

3SG.M- RZN después 3PL.M saber -NDR
that's why, then, they have learned
por eso, de eso (desde ese momento) han aprendido

05AGO02-VY-0538.879

ikia wayna yaparachita ramɨmɨrakɨra

ikia wayna yaparachi -ta ra- mɨmɨra -kɨra
this woman dance -CAU 3SG.M- woman's.son -DIM
este mujer bailar -CAU 3SG.M- hijo.de.mujer -DIM
this woman make his little child dance
esta mujer hace bailar a su hijito

05AGO02-VY-0541.763

[risas]
[laughs]
[risas]

05AGO02-VY-0542.796

ikian ay ra kumitsa
ikian ay ra kumitsa
this like.this 3SG.M talk
este así 3SG.M hablar
this one, he talks
este habla así

05AGO02-VY-0544.437

ta uwaritsuriay, ta
ta uwari -tsuri -ay ta
1SG.M fall -PAS3 -already 1SG.M
1SG.M caer -PAS3 -ya 1SG.M
uwakatsuriay awara
uwaka -tsuri -ay awa -ra
become -PAS3 -already person -PUR
convertirse -PAS3 -ya persona -PROP
"I was born, I was transformed into a person"
"yo he nacido, yo me he convertido en persona"

05AGO02-VY-0548.202

ikian kukuna ɨpatsuka, na
ikian kukuna ɨpatsu -ka na
this cocona lake -LOC QT
este cocona laguna -LOC CT
"at the cocona lake"
"en la cocha de cocona," así

05AGO02-VY-0552.458

hm, kukuna ɨpatsu tsɨmara
hm kukuna ɨpatsu tsɨma -ra

hm cocona lake edge -DIF
hm cocona laguna orilla -DIF
at the shore of the Cocona-lake
en la orilla de la cocha de cocona?

05AGO02-VY-0553.742

raepe	***ra***	***tsi=mara***		***tuwakatsuriay***			***awara***	
raepe	*ra*	*tsi=ma*	*-ra*	*ta-*	*uwaka*	*-tsuri*	*-ay*	*awa*	*-ra*
there	3SG.M	edge	-DIF	1SG.M	become	-PAS3	-already	person	-PUR
ahí	3SG.M	orilla	-DIF	1SG.M	convertirse	-PAS3	-ya	persona	-PROP

"there, at the shore I got transformed into a person"
"ahi, en la orilla yo me transformé en persona"

05AGO02-VY-0557.245

ikian	***ta***	***utsu***	***ti=mapurá***
ikian	*ta*	*utsu*	*ti=ma*	*-purá*
this	1SG.M	go	NEG	-FOC
este	1SG.M	ir	NEG	-FOC

ta	***chirarutsu***		
ta	*chira*	*-ra*	*-utsu*
1SG.M	name	-VZR	-FUT1
1SG.M	nombre	-VDR	-FUT1

"I will not longer be called"
"este, ya no me voy a llamar"

05AGO02-VY-0561.992

ikian	***este***	***tsukuri***
ikian	*este*	*tsukuri*
this	this	boa
este	este	boa

hmm, boa
este, boa

05AGO02-VY-0564.427

tsukuri
tsukuri
boa
boa

05AGO02-VY-0564.857

ta	***chirarutsu***			***ikian***	***kukama***
ta	*chira*	*-ra*	*-utsu*	*ikian*	*kukama*
1SG.M	name	-VZR	-FUT1	this	kokama
1SG.M	nombre	-VDR	-FUT1	este	cocama

"my name will be, hmm, Kokama"
"mi nombre va a ser/me voy a llamar kokama"

05AGO02-VY-0568.602

na	***ra***	***kumitsa,***	***tʲimapurá***		***kukuna,***
na	*ra*	*kumitsa*	*tʲima*	*-purá*	*kukuna*
QT1	3SG.M	talk	NEG	-FOC	cocona
CT1	3SG.M	hablar	NEG	-FOC	cocona

sino	***kukama***
sino	*kukama*
otherwise	kokama
sino	cocama

that's what he says, no cocona but Kokama
así dice, no kokona sino kokama

05AGO02-VY-0571.916

ajaa	***raepetsui***		***kukamakana***		***katupe***
ajaa	*raepe*	*-tsui*	*kukama*	*-kana*	*katupe*
interj.	there	-ABL	kokama	-PL.M	show.up
interj.	ahí	-ABL	cocama	-PL.M	aparecer

the Kokamas show up from there
ajá, de esto/ahí han aparecido los cocama

05AGO02-VY-0574.951

ikian	***ɨpatsu***	***tsʲima***	***ran***		***kukuna***	***kana***	***tsui***
ikian	*ɨpatsu*	*tsʲima*	*-ra*	*-n*	*kukuna*	*-kana*	*-tsui*
this	lake	edge	-DIF	-NDR	cocona	-PL.M	-ABL
este	laguna	orilla	-DIF	-NDR	cocona	-PL.M	-ABL

from the cocona at the shore of the lake
de estas coconas de la orilla de la cocha

05AGO02-VY-0579.327

ikian,	***tsukurikʲratsui***		
ikian	*tsukuri*	*-kʲra*	*-tsui*
this	boa	-DIM	-ABL
este	boa	-DIM	-ABL

from the little boa
de esta boita

05AGO02-VY-0582.632

uri	***rikua***		***ra***	***chirara***		***ikian***	***kukama***
uri	*r-*	*ikua*	*ra*	*chira*	*-ra*	*ikian*	*kukama*
3SG.M.L	3SG.M-	RSN	3SG.M	name	-VZR	this	kokama
3SG.M.L	3SG.M-	RZN	3SG.M	nombre	-VDR	este	cocama

that's why it's called Kokama
por eso se llama kokama

05AGO02-VY-0586.407

raepetsui	***ikian***	***wayna,***	***ikian***
raepetsui	*ikian*	*wayna*	*ikian*

after this woman this
después este mujer este
after that this woman
después esa mujer

05AGO02-VY-0590.253

yaparachita	***ra***	***mɨmɨrakɨra***	***kukamakɨra,***
yaparachi	*-ta*	*ra* *mɨmɨra* *-kɨra*	*kukama* *-kɨra*
dance	-CAU	3SG.M woman's.son -DIM	kokama -DIM
bailar	-CAU	3SG.M hijo.de.mujer -DIM	cocama -DIM

kukamakɨra,	***kukamakɨra,***	***kukamakɨra***
kukama *-kɨra*	*kukama* *-kɨra*	*kukama* *-kɨra*
kokama -DIM	kokama -DIM	kokama -DIM
cocama -DIM	cocama -DIM	cocama -DIM

keeps making her little son dance (saying): little Kokama, little Kokama, little Kokama...
le hace bailar a su hijito: kokamita, kokamita, kokamita...

05AGO02-VY-0595.142
[risas]
[laughs]

05AGO02-VY-0595.6

uriaka	***ra***	***kumitsa***
uriaka	*ra*	*kumitsa*
too.much	3SG.M	talk
mucho	3SG.M	hablar

she said that so many times
por demás hablá así

05AGO02-VY-0597.313

ra	***kumitsa***	***tsupara***
ra	*kumitsa*	*tsupara*
3SG.M	talk	lost
3SG.M	hablar	perderse

she gets confused
se ha equivocado en hablar

05AGO02-VY-0600.698

ra	***kumitsa***	***kukamiriakɨra,***	***kukamiriakɨra***	***na***
ra	*kumitsa*	*kukamiria* *-kɨra*	*kukamiria* *-kɨra*	*na*
3SG.M	talk	Kokamilla -DIM	Kokamilla -DIM	QT
3SG.M	hablar	cocamilla -DIM	cocamilla -DIM	CT

he says: kukamiria, kukamiria...
dice "kokamillita, kokamillita, así

05AGO02-VY-0604.012

rikua	***kukamiriakana***	***riay***	***emete***
r- *ikua*	*kukamiria* *-kana*	*riay*	*emete*

3SG.M- RSN Kokamilla -PL.M also exist
3SG.M- RZN cocamilla -PL.M también haber
that's why the Kokamillas also exist
por eso los cocamillas también existen

05AGO02-VY-0605.985

ikian ra mɨmɨrapura

ikian ra mɨmɨra -pura
this 3SG.M woman's.son -FOC
este 3SG.M hijo.de.mujer -FOC
this is his son
este es su hijo

05AGO02-VY-0608.159

kukamiria

kukamiria
Kokamilla
cocamilla

05AGO02-VY-0608.697

ajaa, ikian ra mɨmɨra, ikian rama kukama taɨra

ajaa ikian ra mɨmɨra ikian ramua kukama taɨra
interj. this 3SG.M woman's.son this other kokama man’son
interj. este 3SG.M hijo.de.mujer este otro cocama hijo.h
well. this son, this the son of another Kokama
ajá, este es su hijo, este es hijo de otro kokama

05AGO02-VY-0613.005

uri kukamiria

uri kukamiria
3SG.M.L Kokamilla
3SG.M.L cocamilla
he is Kokamilla
él es cocamilla

05AGO02-VY-0614.898

hm, ya

hm ya
hm already
hm ya

05AGO02-VY-0615.977

ajaa, ra mama kumitsa ratsui

ajaa ra mama kumitsa ra -tsui
interj. 3SG.M mother language 3SG.M -DAT
interj. 3SG.M mamá lengua 3SG.M -DAT
his mom says to him
ajá, su mama le dice

05AGO02-VY-0618.564

enekɨra kukamiria, napapa kukama

ene	*-kɨra*	*kukamiria*	*na-*	*papa*	*kukama*
2SG.L	-DIM	Kokamilla	2SG-	father	kokama
2SG.L	-DIM	cocamilla	2SG-	papá	cocama

you are Kokamilla, your father is Kokama
tú eres cocamilla, tu padre es kokama

05AGO02-VY-0621.808

na eee ikia,

na	**eee*	*ikia*
QT	***	this
CT	***	este

like this
así

05AGO02-VY-0624.3

ikia wayna, ra mama kumitsa ikia

ikia	*wayna*	*ra*	*mama*	*kumitsa*	*ikia*
this	woman	3SG.M	mother	talk	this
este	mujer	3SG.M	mamá	hablar	este

ɨkɨratsenkɨratsui

ɨkɨratsen	*-kɨra*	*-tsui*
child	-DIM	-DAT
niño	-DIM	-DAT

this woman, the mom talks says to his little son
ésta mujer, su mamá habla a su hijito

05AGO02-VY-0629.332

ajaa

interj.

05AGO02-VY-0629.713

ria rana ipukuatura

ria	*rana*	*ipukua*	*-t*	*-ura*
like.this	3PL.M	get.used.to	-CAU	-3M.OBJ
así	3PL.M	acostumbrarse	-CAU	-3M.OBJ

like this they get him used to it
así lo acostumbran

05AGO02-VY-0632.043

kukamiria, kukamiria, na rianka ikiaka

kukamiria	*kukamiria*	*na*	*rian*	*-ka*	*ikia*	*-ka*
Kokamilla	Kokamilla	QT1	that	-MOD	this	-LOC
cocamilla	cocamilla	CT1	eso	-MOD	este	-LOC

rana chirata uriatikapanan

rana	*chira*	*-ta*	*uriati*	*-ka*	*-pa*	*-nan*
3PL.M	name	-CAU	for.nothing	-REI	-CPL	-only

3PL.M nombre -CAU en.vano -REI -CPL -solamente
Kokamilla, Kokamilla, like this they get a name out of nothing
cocamilla, cocamilla, de esa manera, aquí nombran de la nada,

05AGO02-VY-0637.01
ria rana chiratan
ria rana chira -ta -n
like.this 3PL.M name -CAU -NZR
así 3PL.M nombre -CAU -NDR
like this they get named
así les nombran

05AGO02-VY-0638.823
ay ra aypan, uriray ay utsu,
ay ra aypa -n uri -ray ay utsu
already 3SG.M grow.up -NZR 3SG.L.M -SPE already go
ya 3SG.M crecer -NDR 3SG.L.M -SPE ya ir
rama tuparupe
ramua tupa -rupe
other place -FIN
otro lugar -FIN
once he has grown up, he goes somewhere else
ya crecido, el pués se va a otra parte

05AGO02-VY-0644.601
hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-0644.99
rama ritamakanarupe
ramua ritama -kana -rupe
other community -PL.M -FIN
otro comunidad -PL.M -FIN
to other villages
hacia otras comunidades

05AGO02-VY-0646.744
raepe ra katupeta kukamiriakanautsu
raepe ra katupe -ta kukamiria -kana -utsu
then 3SG.M show.up -CAU Kokamilla -PL.M -FUT1
entonces 3SG.M aparecer -CAU cocamilla -PL.M -FUT1
then, he makes himself show up in front of the Kokamillas
entonces se va a aparecer a los cocamillas

05AGO02-VY-0649.638
ikian kukamiria katupetatarapura
ikian kukamiria katupe -ta -tara -pura
this Kokamilla show.up -CAU -REL.A -FOC
este cocamilla aparecer -CAU -REL.A -FOC
this is the one that shows up in front of the Kokamilla

éste es el que se aparece a los cocamilla

05AGO02-VY-0652.973
riay katupeta kukamakana, upi ritama
riay katupe -ta kukama -kana upi ritama
also show.up -CAU kokama -PL.M all community
también aparecer -CAU cocama -PL.M todo comunidad
ruwatan ritamapurakana
r- uwata -n ritama -pura -kana
3SG.M- walk -NZR community -FOC -PL.M
3SG.M- caminar -NDR comunidad -FOC -PL.M
he also shows up to the Kokamas, all the villages, the villages he has walked
también se aparece a los cocamas, todas las comunidades, en/a los pueblos que ha caminado

05AGO02-VY-0659.051
ajaa
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0659.442
ra chirata kukama
ra chira -ta kukama
3SG.M name -CAU kokama
3SG.M nombre -CAU cocama
he names Kokama
el (les) nombra cocama

05AGO02-VY-0660.984
kukama
kukama
kokama
cocama

05AGO02-VY-0661.888
ajaa, raepetsui ay ikia
ajaa raepetsui ay ikia
interj. after already this
interj. después ya este
after that, this
despues, ya

05AGO02-VY-0664.079
uruputini mama uri
uruputini mama uri
condor mother come
condor mamá venir
the mother of the condor comes
viene la madre del condor

05AGO02-VY-0666.352
ajaa
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0666.833
ra erutsutsenura ra papa kakura, ra
ra erutsu -tsen -ura ra papa kakura ra
3SG.M bring -PUR3 -3M.OBJ 3SG.M father side 3SG.M
3SG.M llevar -PROP3 -3M.OBJ 3SG.M papá lado 3SG.M
ɨwatita rutsu
ɨwati -ta r- utsu
get.up -CAU 3SG.M- go
levantar -CAU 3SG.M- ir
to take him to the side of his father; he will lift him up
para que lo lleve al lado de su padre; le va a levantar

05AGO02-VY-0671.019
hm, ay yay pai
hm ay yay pai
hm like.this PRT uncle
hm así pues tío
this is it, uncle
ah, así es tío

05AGO02-VY-0673.003
ajaa, uri eee, uri, ay na papa
*ajaa uri *eee uri ay na papa*
interj. 3SG.M.L *** 3SG.M.L QT2 2SG father
interj. 3SG.M.L *** 3SG.M.L CT2 2SG papá
tsapukitene
tsapuki -ta -ene
call -CAU -2.O
llamar -CAU -2.O
he (says:) "your father call you"
el (dice): "tu padre te llama"

05AGO02-VY-0678.75
ta erutsu nutsu
ta erutsu n- utsu
1SG.M bring 2SG- go
1SG.M llevar 2SG- ir
"I'll take you"
"te voy a llevar"

05AGO02-VY-0680.553
tsaniuritarɨwa, yaparari
tsaniuri t- arɨwa yaparari
come.in 1SG.M- above lie

adelante 1SG.M- arriba echarse
"come, get on top of me'
"ven héchate encima de mi"

05AGO02-VY-0683.938
na ria ra kumitsa ratsui
na ria ra kumitsa ra -tsui
QT1 like.this 3SG.M talk 3SG.M -DAT
CT1 así 3SG.M hablar 3SG.M -DAT
that's what he (condor) says to him (boa's son)
así le dijo

05AGO02-VY-0685.63
aytsemeka ra ikian, apu
aytsemeka ra ikian apu
truth 3SG.M this well
ser.cierto 3SG.M este esteee
for real, this
de verdad, este

05AGO02-VY-0689.305
uruputini
uruputini
condor
cóndor
the condor
el condor (lit. gallinazo blanco)

05AGO02-VY-0691.404
ajaa
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0692.287
uwe
uwe
fly
volar
flies
vuela

05AGO02-VY-0693.651
puj, puj
**puj *puj*
[sound of condor flying]
[VY 'imita el vuelo del condor (llevando peso)]

05AGO02-VY-0694.647
ya erutsay
ya erutsu -ay
3SG.F bring -3F.OBJ

3SG.F llevar -3F.OBJ
he takes him
lo lleva

05AGO02-VY-0695.791

ra erutsura ɨwati

ra erutsu -ura ɨwati
3SG.M bring -3M.OBJ get.up
3SG.M llevar -3M.OBJ levantar
he takes him above
lo lleva a lo alto

05AGO02-VY-0697.226

ra yawachimutsu
ra yawachima -utsu
3SG.M arrive -AUX
3SG.M llegar -AUX
he goes to arrive
él va a llegar

05AGO02-VY-0699.86

makataka rapapa kakɨrɨ

maka -taka ra- papa kakɨrɨ
where -MOD 3SG.M- father live
donde -quizá 3SG.M- papá vivir
perhaps where his father lives
quizá dónde vive su padre

05AGO02-VY-0702.224

ajaa
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0702.97

raepe tɨma ra umi rapapa

raepe tɨma ra umi ra- papa
there NEG 3SG.M see 3SG.M- father
ahí NEG 3SG.M ver 3SG.M- papá
there, he does not see his father
ahí no ve a su padre

05AGO02-VY-0705.789

urinan yawachima, ikiaka napapa
uri -nan yawachima ikia -ka na- papa
3SG.M.L -only arrive this -LOC 2SG- father
3SG.M.L -solamente llegar este -LOC 2SG- papá
kakɨrɨ

kakɨrɨ

live
vivir
he just arrive, his father lives here (where he arrives)
él nomás llega, ahí vive su papá

05AGO02-VY-0709.714

tɨma rumiura

tɨma r- umi -ura
NEG 3SG.M- see -3M.OBJ
NEG 3SG.M- ver -3M.OBJ
(but) he (boa's son) does not see him (his father)
(pero) no lo ve

05AGO02-VY-0710.886

temende yapapa
temente ya- papa
no.exist 3SG.F- father
no.hay 3SG.F- papá
his father is not there
no hay su papá

05AGO02-VY-0712.365

temende rapapa
temente ra- papa
no.exist 3SG.M- father
no.hay 3SG.M- papá
his father is not there
no hay su papá

05AGO02-VY-0713.54

ra yapɨka

ra yapɨka
3SG.M sit
3SG.M sentar
he sits
me siento [se sienta]

05AGO02-VY-0715.643

ikiatsui na umi, upi na taɨrakanutsu

ikia -tsui na umi upi na taɨra -kana -utsu
this -ABL 2SG see all 2SG man'son -PL.M -FUT1
este -ABL 2SG ver todo 2SG hijo.h -PL.M -FUT1
"from here you will see all your children
"desde aquí vas a ver todos tus hijos"

05AGO02-VY-0719.879

tuyukarinkana, na ikian
tuyuka -ri -n -kana na ikian

ground -DIF -NZR -PL.M QT1 this
tierra -DIF -NDR -PL.M CT1 este
"hte ones that are in the ground, this...
los que estan en la tierra, así...

05AGO02-VY-0722.162
uruputini ***kumitsa*** ***ratsui***
uruputini *kumitsa* *ra* *-tsui*
*** talk 3SG.M -DAT
condor hablar 3SG.M -DAT
is what the condor tells him
le dice el condor

05AGO02-VY-0724.05
ajaa
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0724.726
rikua ***ikian***
r- *ikua* *ikian*
3SG.M- RSN this
3SG.M- RZN este
that's why
por eso

05AGO02-VY-0726.719
uruputini ***tɨma*** ***tseta*** ***ichariura***
uruputini *tɨma* *tseta* *ichari* *-ura*
condor NEG want leave -3M.OBJ
condor NEG querer dejar -3M.OBJ
the condor doesn't want to leave him
el condor no lo quiere dejar

05AGO02-VY-0729.713
raepe ***ra*** ***kakura*** ***uruputini*** ***yuriti***
raepe *ra* *kakura* *uruputini* *yuriti*
then 3SG.M side condor stay
entonces 3SG.M lado condor permanecer
and so the condor stays with him
entonces el condor se queda a su lado

05AGO02-VY-0734.029
urinan ***titinan*** ***ya***
uri *-nan* *titi* *-nan* *ya*
3SG.M.L -only be.alone -only already
3SG.M.L -solamente estar.solo -solamente ya
kumitsaka ***uruputinimuki***
kumitsa *-ka* *uruputini* *-muki*
talk -REI condor -COM

hablar -REI condor -COM
he only talks to the condor
solamente él habla con el condor

05AGO02-VY-0738.155

mari	***mandara-ray***		***neruratauy***			
mari	*maritara*	*-ray*	*n-*	*erura*	*-ta*	*-uy*
thing	what.for	-PRT	2SG-	bring	-CAU	-PAS1
cosa	para.que	pues	2SG-	traer	-CAU	-PAS1

why did you bring me
para que pués me has traido

05AGO02-VY-0740.148

ikiaka		***napapa***		***kakɨritsuriay,***			***ikiatsui***	
ikia	*-ka*	*na-*	*papa*	*kakɨri*	*-tsuri*	*-ay*	*ikia*	*-tsui*
this	-LOC	2SG-	father	live	-PAS3	-already	this	-ABL
este	-LOC	2SG-	papá	vivir	-PAS3	-ya	este	-ABL

your father lived here, from here
acá ha vivido tu padre, de acá

05AGO02-VY-0744.034

ikiatsui		***na***	***ikuaka***		***niyautsu***		
ikia	*-tsui*	*na*	*ikua*	*-ka*	*n-*	*iya*	*-utsu*
this	-ABL	2SG	know	-MID	2SG-	heart	-FUT1
este	-ABL	2SG	saber	-MID	2SG-	corazón	-FUT1

form here you will think
desde acá vas a pensar

05AGO02-VY-0747.599

tɨma	***napapayá***		
tɨma	*na-*	*papa*	*-yá*
NEG	2SG-	father	-CMP
NEG	2SG-	papá	-CMP

not like your dad
no como tu papá

05AGO02-VY-0750.034

ikukume		***numanuta***		***ikian***
ikukume		*n-*	*umanu*	*-ta*	*ikian*
frequently		2SG-	die	-CAU	this
frecuentemente		2SG-	morir	-CAU	este

tuyukarin			***awakanutsu***		
tuyuka	*-ri*	*-n*	*awa*	*-kana*	*-utsu*
ground	-DIF	-NZR	person	-PL.M	-AND
tierra	-DIF	-NDR	persona	-PL.M	-AND

don't kill people that live in the ground frequently
a cada rato (no) vayas a matar a la gente (que vive) en la tierra

05AGO02-VY-0754.519

uri	***uchikata***		***mundupura***	
uri	*uchika*	*-ta*	*mundu*	*-pura*
3SG.M.L	finish	-CAU	world	-FOC
3SG.M.L	terminar	-CAU	mundo	-FOC

he finishes of the world
él termina el mundo

05AGO02-VY-0757.593

tima	***tapiarawa***
tima	*tapiara* *-wa*
NEG	be.late -GER
NEG	tarde -GER

quickly
sin demora (rápido)

05AGO02-VY-0760.307

yumirakapa			***nanin***	***napapa***	
yumira	*-ka*	*-pa*	*nanin*	*na-*	*papa*
be.angry	-MID	-CPL	like.this	2SG-	father
estar.molesto	-MID	-CPL	así	2SG-	papá

your father is nothing but angry
rabioso nomás es tu padre

05AGO02-VY-0763.252

enetaka		***tima***	***ryá***	
ene	*-taka*	*tima*	*ra*	*-yá*
2SG.L	-MOD	NEG	3SG.M	-CMP
2SG.L	-quizá	NEG	3SG.M	-CMP

maybe you are not like him
talvez no eres como él

05AGO02-VY-0765.254

tsukuritsui		***yauki***	***nikua,***		***ene***	***tima***
tsukuri	*-tsui*	*yauki*	*n-*	*ikua*	*ene*	*tima*
boa	-ABL	make	2SG-	RSN	2SG.L	NEG
boa	-ABL	hacer	2SG-	RZN	2SG.L	NEG

yumirautsu	
yumira	*-utsu*
be.angry	-FUT1
estar.molesto	-FUT1

don't get angry because they made you out of the big snake
por qué te han hecho de la boa, no vayas a rabiarte

05AGO02-VY-0769.571

mundu	***t-ima***	***uchikautsu***		***na***	***ikian***	***apu***	***kumitsa***
mundu	*t-ima*	*uchika*	*-utsu*	*na*	*ikian*	*apu*	*kumitsa*
world	NEG	finish	-FUT1	QT1	this	well	talk
mundo	NEG	terminar	-FUT1	CT1	este	esteee	hablar

the world won't end, that's he says
el mundo no se va a terminar, así dice esteee

05AGO02-VY-0772.986
uruputini,
uruputini
condor
the condor
el condor

05AGO02-VY-0774.3
ajaa
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0774.873
ratsui

ra	*-tsui*
3SG.M	-DAT
3SG.M	-DAT

to him
a él

05AGO02-VY-0775.91

era	***(ra)***	***tsapiariura***	
era	*ra*	*tsapiari*	*-ura*
very	3SG.M	believe	-3M.OBJ
muy	3SG.M	creer	-3M.OBJ

he believes him very much
bien le cree

05AGO02-VY-0778.784
ajaa
interj.

05AGO02-VY-0779.809

raepe	***ikian***	***uruputini***	***kumitsa***	***ikian***
raepe	*ikian*	*uruputini*	*kumitsa*	*ikian*
then	this	condor	talk	this
entonces	este	condor	hablar	este

and so the condor says (to him)
entonces habla el condor (a el)

05AGO02-VY-0783.611

ratsui,		***ta***	***ichari***	***nutsu***	
ra	*-tsui*	*ta*	*ichari*	*n-*	*utsu*
3SG.M	-DAT	1SG.M	leave	2SG-	go
3SG.M	-DAT	1SG.M	dejar	2SG-	ir

to him, I'm going to leave you
a él, te voy a dejar

05AGO02-VY-0786.154

tupapenan	***ta***	***utsuka***		***tuyukari***	
tupapenan	*ta*	*utsu*	*-ka*	*tuyuka*	*-ri*
same.place	1SG.M	go	-REI	ground	-DIF
ahí.mismo	1SG.M	ir	-REI	tierra	-DIF

I'm going back to the earth
otra vez voy a ir a la tierra

05AGO02-VY-0789.499

t=ma

t=ma
NEG
NEG
no

05AGO02-VY-0791.925

ta,	***yauki***	***rama***	***uruputinikanautsu***		
ta	*yauki*	*ramua*	*uruputini*	*-kana*	*-utsu*
1SG.M	make	other	condor	-PL.M	-FUT1
1SG.M	hacer	otro	condor	-PL.M	-FUT1

I'm going to make other condors
voy a hacer otros cóndores

05AGO02-VY-0796.78

ene	***t=ma***	***utsu***
ene	*t=ma*	*utsu*
2SG.L	NEG	go
2SG.L	NEG	ir

you're not going
tú no vas

05AGO02-VY-0799.153

ene	***erura***	***tapura***	
ene	*erura*	*ta*	*-pura*
2SG.L	bring	1SG.M	-FOC
2SG.L	traer	1SG.M	-FOC

you brought me
tú me has traído

05AGO02-VY-0800.605

enemuki takakirirutsu

ene	*-muki*	*ta-*	*kakiri-*	*-utsu*
2SG.L	-COM	1SG.M-	live	-FUT1
2SG.L	-COM	1SG.M-	vivir	-FUT1

I'm going to live with you
contigo voy a vivir

05AGO02-VY-0802.588

rama uruputinikana

ramua	*uruputini*	*-kana*
other	condor	-PL.M
otro	condor	-PL.M

other condors
otros cóndores

05AGO02-VY-0804.361

urikana eee eyu puánutsu

uri	*-kana*	*eee*	*eyu*	*puá*	*-n*	*-utsu*
3SG.M.L	-PL.M	***	eat	be.rotten	-NZR	-FUT1
3SG.M.L	-PL.M	***	comer	estar.descompuesto	-NDR	-FUT1

they are going to eat rotten
ellos van a comer podrido

05AGO02-VY-0809.939

tsima ikian puánpura

tsima	*ikian*	*puá*	*-n*	*-pura*
NEG	this	be.rotten	-NZR	-FOC
NEG	este	estar.descompuesto	-NDR	-FOC

no, the decomposed
no, lo descompuesto

05AGO02-VY-0813.404

tsima uriati upatsen

tsima	*uriati*	*upa*	*-tsen*
NEG	in.vein	end	-PUR3
NEG	en.vano	terminar	-PROP3

so that it won't end for nothing (the decomposed)
para que no se termine por gusto (lo descompuesto)

05AGO02-VY-0814.826

urikana eyurautsu ene tsima, ikiaka

uri	*-kana*	*eyu*	*-ra*	*-utsu*	*ene*	*tsima*	*ikia*	*-ka*
3SG.M.L	-PL.M	eat	-3M.OBJ	-FUT1	2SG.L	NEG	this	-LOC
3SG.M.L	-PL.M	comer	-3M.OBJ	-FUT1	2SG.L	NEG	este	-LOC

na kakirirutsu tamuki

na	*kakɨrɨ*	*-utsu*	*ta*	*-muki*
2SG	live	-FUT1	1SG.M	-COM
2SG	vivir	-FUT1	1SG.M	-COM

they are going to eat it, not you, you're going to live here with me
ellos lo van a comer, tu no, aquí vas a vivir conmigo

05AGO02-VY-0819.222

tɨma	***ratseta***		***yumunu***	***uruputini***
tɨma	*ra-*	*tseta*	*yumunu*	*uruputini*
NEG	3SG.M-	want	send	condor
NEG	3SG.M-	querer	enviar	condor

you don't want to let it go
no lo quiere mandar al gallinazo (no lo quiere dejar ir)

05AGO02-VY-0821.53

ah,	***utsu***	***yurititay***		
ah	*utsu*	*y-yuriti*	*-ta*	*-ay*
ah	go	stay	-CAU	-3F.OBJ
ah	ir	permanecer	-CAU	-3F.OBJ

it's goign to make you stay
le va a hacer quedar

05AGO02-VY-0822.389

ah,	***utsu***	***ra***	***yurititura***		
ah	*utsu*	*ra*	*yuriti*	*-ta*	*-ura*
ah	go	3SG.M	stay	-CAU	-3M.OBJ
ah	ir	3SG.M	permanecer	-CAU	-3M.OBJ

aha, it's going to make you stay
ajá, le va a hacer quedar

05AGO02-VY-0824.289

na	***ikian,***	***ɨmɨna***	***kukamakana***		***katupe***
na	*ikian*	*ɨmɨna*	*kukama*	*-kana*	*katupe*
QT1	this	long.ago	kokama	-PL.M	show.up
CT1	este	antiguamente	cocama	-PL.M	aparecer

that's how the kokama showed up
así han aparecido los kokamas

05AGO02-VY-0828.095

hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-0828.661

tɨma	***uriatinan***	***katupenkana***		
tɨma	*uriatinan*	*katupe*	*-n*	*-kana*
NEG	pointless	show.up	-NZR	-PL.M
NEG	inutil	aparecer	-NDR	-PL.M

they didn't show up out of nowhere
no han aparecido de la nada

05AGO02-VY-0830.518
emete ikia
emete ikia
exist this
haber este
they exist..
existen..

05AGO02-VY-0832.908
maniataka ikia, rapapa chiratsuri, ikia
mania -taka ikia ra- papa chira -tsuri ikia
how -MOD this 3SG.M- father name -PAS3 this
cómo -MOD este 3SG.M- papá nombre -PAS3 este
what was his father's name
como quizas era el nombre de su padre

05AGO02-VY-0836.577
ikia tsukuri, tsukuripapa maniataka
ikia tsukuri tsukuri -pa -pa mania -taka
this boa boa -CPL -CPL how -MOD
este boa boa -CPL -CPL cómo -quizá
rachiratsuriay
ra- chira -tsuri -ay
3SG.M- name -PAS3 -already
3SG.M- nombre -PAS3 -ya
that big snake, what the father of the big snake's name
esa boa, cómo quizas era el nombre del padre de la boa

05AGO02-VY-0842.455
ikia t=ma, t=ma rachirara kémari
ikia t=ma t=ma ra- chirara kémari
this NEG NEG 3SG.M- have.name kemari
este NEG NEG 3SG.M- llamarse kemari
from here, his name is not kemari
de este, el no se llama kémari

05AGO02-VY-0845.189
ah
ah

05AGO02-VY-0845.9
rama chira
ramua chira
other name
otro nombre
another name

otro nombre

05AGO02-VY-0856.926
maniá kukamakana katupe
maniá kukama -kana katupe
how kokama -PL.M show.up
cómo cocama -PL.M aparecer
(like this) is how the kokamas show up
(así es) cómo aparecen los cocamas

05AGO02-VY-0859.48
ɨpatsukuarapen kukuna, kukuna,
ɨpatsu -kuara -pe -n kukuna kukuna
lake -INE -there -NZR cocona cocona
laguna -INE -ahí -NDR cocona cocona
tsɨmarapen kukunapura
tsɨma -ra -pe -n kukuna -pura
edge -DIF -there -NZR cocona -FOC
orilla -DIF -ahí -NDR cocona -FOC
form the cocona that is in the edge, the cocona, the cocona that is in the shore
(de) a cocona que esta en la cocha, cocona, la cocona que esta en la orilla

05AGO02-VY-0864.547
uri tɨma tseta chirara kukuna
uri tɨma tseta chira -ra kukuna
3SG.M.L NEG want name -VZR cocona
3SG.M.L NEG querer nombre -VDR cocona
he didn't want to be named cocona
el no quería llamarse cocona

05AGO02-VY-0867.401
uri erataka kumitsa kukama
uri erataka kumitsa kukama
3SG.M.L be.good talk kokama
3SG.M.L arreglar hablar cocama
he fixes it calling it kokama
el (lo) arregla diciendo cocama

05AGO02-VY-0871.637
ah, kukama
ah kukama
ah kokama
ah cocama

05AGO02-VY-0872.321
ta ikian kukama
ta ikian kukama
1SG.M this kokama

1SG.M este cocama
I am htis kokama
yo soy este cocama

05AGO02-VY-0873.71

ikian	***ipatsukuara***	***es***	***kukuna***
ikian	*ipatsu* *-kuara*	*es*	*kukuna*
this	lake -INE	be	cocona
este	laguna -INE	es	cocona

cocona is the one from the lake
lo de la cocha es cocona

05AGO02-VY-0876.124

ikian	***ta***	***kukama***
ikian	*ta*	*kukama*
this	1SG.M	kokama
este	1SG.M	cocama

I am kokama
yo soy cocama

05AGO02-VY-0877.726

raepetsui	***ay***	***rana***	***ikua***	***kukama,***
raepetsui	*ay*	*rana*	*ikua*	*kukama*
after	already	3PL.M	know	kokama
después	ya	3PL.M	saber	cocama

from then on you all knew the kokama
desde entonces han conocido al cocama

05AGO02-VY-0880.101

ikian	***ah,***	***ra,***	***ra***	***uwatatuparupe***		
ikian	*ah*	*ra*	*ra*	*uwata*	*-tupa*	*-rupe*
this	ah	3SG.M	3SG.M	walk	-REL	-FIN
este	ah	3SG.M	3SG.M	caminar	-REL.donde	-FIN

ritamakana	
ritama	*-kana*
community	-PL.M
comunidad	-PL.M

the villages where you walked around
los pueblos por donde ha caminado

05AGO02-VY-0884.516

urikana		***ay,***	***ay***	***ikua,***	***ikian***	***rana,***	***rakana***		***kukama***
uri	*-kana*	*ay*	*ay*	*ikua*	*ikian*	*rana*	*ra*	*-kana*	*kukama*
3SG.M.L	-PL.M	already	already	know	this	3PL.M	3SG.M	-PL.M	kokama
3SG.M.L	-PL.M	ya	ya	saber	este	3PL.M	3SG.M	-PL.M	cocama

they, already know, they are your kokama
ellos, ya saben/conocen, ellos su(s) cocama

05AGO02-VY-0889.763

tikua		***kukamakana***		***chita***
t-	*ikua*	*kukama*	*-kana*	*chita*
1SG.M-	RSN	kokama	-PL.M	a.lot
1SG.M-	RZN	cocama	-PL.M	bastante

for me the kokamas are a lot
por mi los kokamas son bastantes

05AGO02-VY-0893.278

awɨrɨ	***ritamapurataka***		
awɨrɨ	*ritama*	*-pura*	*-taka*
how.many	community	-FOC	-MOD
cuanto	comunidad	-FOC	-quizá

ruwatatsuriay			***ɨmɨna***
r-	*uwata*	*-tsuri*	*-ay*	*ɨmɨna*
3SG.M-	walk	-PAS3	-already	long.ago
3SG.M-	caminar	-PAS3	-ya	antiguamente

how many villages have they settled around long ago
en cuantos pueblos quizas ha andado antes

05AGO02-VY-0896.673

ee	***upi***	***rachirata***			***rana***	***kukamapu,***	
**ee*	*upi*	*ra-*	*chira*	*-ta*	*rana*	*kukama*	*-pu*
*****	all	3SG.M-	name	-CAU	3PL.M	kokama	-INS
*****	todo	3SG.M-	nombre	-CAU	3PL.M	cocama	-INS

kukamapu,		***kukamapunan***		
kukama	*-pu*	*kukama*	*-pu*	*-nan*
kokama	-INS	kokama	-INS	-only
cocama	-INS	cocama	-INS	-solamente

they named everybody kokama, with kokama, only in kokama
a todos les ha hechado nombre con el cocama, con cocama, sólo en cocama

05AGO02-VY-0901.891

ah	***rikua***		***kukamiriakana***		***aychuwanan***
ah	*r-*	*ikua*	*kukamiria*	*-kana*	*aytsewanan*
ah	3SG.M-	RSN	Kokamilla	-PL.M	a.bit
ah	3SG.M-	RZN	cocamilla	-PL.M	poco

that's why there is only a few kokamilla
por eso los cocamilla son pocos

05AGO02-VY-0906.998

ra	***taɨrakɨraikua***				***utsu,***	***utsu***	***kukamillakana***	
ra	*taɨra*	*-kɨra*	*-ikua*		*utsu*	*utsu*	*kukamiria*	*-kana*
3SG.M	man'son	-DIM	-RSN		go	go	Kokamilla	-PL.M
3SG.M	hijo.h	-DIM	-RZN		ir	ir	cocamilla	-PL.M

that's why his son makes himself kokamilla
por eso su hijo se va para cocamilla (se hace cocamilla)

05AGO02-VY-0911.294
eh ***ikian*** ***yaukitara***
eh *ikian* *yauki* *-tara*
*** this make -REL.A
*** este hacer -REL.A
the one who made him
este que le ha hecho

05AGO02-VY-0913.868
ah, ***ay*** ***ya*** ***chita***
ah *ay* *ya* *chita*
ah already 3SG.F a.lot
ah ya 3SG.F bastante
ah, he grew
ah, el ha aumentado
raepe ***ra*** ***mirikuara,*** ***aja***
raepe *ra* *mirikua* *-ra* *aja*
there 3SG.M wife -PUR ah
ahí 3SG.M esposa -PROP ajá

ahí ya (encuentra) para su mujer

05AGO02-VY-0917.804
uri, ***rupuri*** ***unikuara***
uri *r-* *upuri* *uni* *-kuara*
3SG.M.L 3SG.M- fall water -INE
3SG.M.L 3SG.M- caer agua -INE
he. he falls into the water
él, él se cae al agua

05AGO02-VY-0920.898
ikian ***ra*** ***ta#ra***
ikian *ra* *ta#ra*
this 3SG.M man'son
este 3SG.M hijo.h
his son
este su hijo

05AGO02-VY-0922.681
aja, ***utsu*** ***yupuri?***
aja *utsu* *y-* *upuri*
ah go 3SG.F- fall
ajá ir 3SG.F- caer
aha, is he going to fall?
ajá, se va a caer?
ikian, ***aja***
ikian *aja*
this aha

este ajá
this
si este...

05AGO02-VY-0925.328

wayna,	***ayratú***			***aypa,***	***aypa,***	***aypautsun,***	
wayna	*ay*	*-ra*	*-tu*	*aypa*	*aypa*	*aypa*	*-utsu -n*
woman	already	-3M.OBJ	-AUG	grow.up	grow.up	grow.up	-AND -NZR
mujer	ya-	-3M.OBJ	-AUG	crecer	crecer	crecer	-AND -NDR

richari		***ramama***	
r-	ichari	ra-	mama
3SG.M-	leave	3SG.M-	mother
3SG.M-	dejar	3SG.M-	mamá

the woman... when (the big snake) is growing he leaves his mom
la mujer... cuando (la boa) va creciendo le deja a su mamá

05AGO02-VY-0930.782

ramama		***kukama***
ra-	*mama*	*kukama*
3SG.M-	mother	kokama
3SG.M-	mamá	cocama

his mom is kokama
su mamá es cocama

05AGO02-VY-0933.485

ra	***upuri***	***unipu***	
ra	*upuri*	*uni*	*-pu*
3SG.M	fall	water	-INS
3SG.M	caer	agua	-INS

he falls into the water
se cae al agua

05AGO02-VY-0935.449

ray		***ipira***	***yapichika***	***unikuara***	
ra	*ay*	*ipira*	*yapichika*	*uni*	*-kuara*
3SG.M	already	fish	catch	water	-INE
3SG.M	ya	pez	agarrar	agua	-INE

the fish grabs him in the water
el pez le agarra en el agua

05AGO02-VY-0940.762

maniaray		***rachirutsu***		
maniá	*-ray*	*ra-*	*chira*	*-utsu*
how	PRT	3SG.M-	name	-FUT1
cómo	pues	3SG.M-	nombre	-FUT1

what his name is going to be
cómo pues va a ser su nombre

05AGO02-VY-0943.059
upi waynakana tsetaura
upi wayna -kana tseta -ura
all woman -PL.M want -3M.OBJ
todo mujer -PL.M querer -3M.OBJ
rupuripuka unikuara
r- upuri -puka uni -kuara
3SG.M- fall -when water -INE
3.CL- caer -cuando agua -INE
all the women want him when he falls into the water
todas las as mujeres lo querían (para ellas) cuando se cay ▪ al agua

05AGO02-VY-0947.85
nuri ipiramuki nan
n- uri ipira -muki nan
2SG- come fish -COM like.this
2SG- venir pez -COM así
"you come with fish" (the women say)
"vienes con peces" (las mujeres decían)

05AGO02-VY-0949.777
emete ikian wayna
emete ikian wayna
exist this woman
haber este mujer
there is this woman
hay esta/una mujer

05AGO02-VY-0953.777
kuatiashirayarara arirama
kuatiashira -yara -ra arirama
last.name -possessed -VZR last.name
apellido -poseído -VDR apellido
who's last name is Arirama
que tiene su apellido arirama

05AGO02-VY-0956.402
hm
hm
hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-0957.174
uriray tsapukiura tsaniuri
uri -ray tsapuki -ura tsaniuri
3SG.M.L PRT call -3M.OBJ come.in
3SG.M.L pues llamar -3M.OBJ adelante
he calls her: "come in"
él pues le llama a la mujer: ven

05AGO02-VY-0960.371

mari kuatiashiratipene?

mari *kuatiashira* *-tipa* *-ene*

thing last.name -Q -2.O

cosa apellido -Q -2.O

"what's your last name?"

"cual es tu apellido?"

05AGO02-VY-0963.042

uri ikua ryaki-kuara ikua mari kuatiashirantaka ikian wayna nan

uri *ikua* *r- yaki- -kuara* *ikua* *mari* *kuatiashira -n -taka* *ikian* *wayna* *nan*

3SG.M.L know 3SG.M-head -INE RSN thing last.name -NZR -MOD this woman like.this

3SG.M.L saber 3SG.M-cabeza-INE RZN cosa apellido -NZR -quizá este mujer así

because he knows in his head (already) what the lastname of this woman is

porque sabe en su cabeza cual es el apellido de esta mujer

05AGO02-VY-0969.324

aja

ajá

05AGO02-VY-0969.861

aja tima ruki-ra,

aja *tima* *r-* *uki-ra*

ah NEG 3SG.M- refuse

ajá NEG 3SG.M- prohibir

uki-ra remera... ramenamuki

uki-ra *r-* *emera* *ra-* *mena* *-muki*

refuse 3SG.M- for.eating 3SG.M- husband -COM

prohibir 3SG.M- para.comer 3SG.M- marido -COM

"one shouldn't prohibit anything to her husband"

no debe prohibirle nada/no ser miserable con su marido

05AGO02-VY-0973.824

ra, ra kumitsa ta ikian arirama

ra *ra* *kumitsa* *ta* *ikian* *arirama*

3SG.M 3SG.M talk 1SG.M this last.name

3SG.M 3SG.M hablar 1SG.M este apellido

he (the boa) says "I am Arirama"

el (la boa) dice soy arirama

05AGO02-VY-0978.292

jaja nan

jaja *nan*

laugh like.this

risa así

laughs

risas

05AGO02-VY-0978.869
ay rana erutsura
ay rana erutsu -ura
already 3PL.M bring -3M.OBJ
ya 3PL.M llevar -3M.OBJ
then they take him
entonces ya lo llevan (las mujeres a la boa)

05AGO02-VY-0981.468
ra, rana tsetaura arirama rikua
ra rana tseta -ura arirama r- ikua
3SG.M 3PL.M want -3M.OBJ last.name 3SG.M- RSN
3SG.M 3PL.M querer -3M.OBJ apellido 3SG.M- RZN
they like him because he is Arirama
lo quieren porque es Arirama

05AGO02-VY-0984.64
aja
ajá

05AGO02-VY-0985.332
rikua ikian, rana chirata ikian, apu
r- ikua ikian rana chirata ikian apu
3SG.M- RSN this 3PL.M give.name this well
3SG.M- RZN este 3PL.M nombrar este esteee
that's why, they call it
por eso, este, ellos lo llaman , este

05AGO02-VY-0989.2
shararana chiran
sharara na chira -n
heron QT1 name -NZR
garza CT1 nombre -NDR
sharara, that's how it's named
sharara, asi le llaman

05AGO02-VY-0990.846
hm yarinama
hm yarinama
hm
hm sharara
ah! Sharara
ah, sharara

05AGO02-VY-0991.948
ra arirama na, ra upuri ra erura ipira na
ra arirama na ra upuri ra erura ipira na
3SG.M last.name QT 3SG.M fall 3SG.M bring fish QT
3SG.M apellido CT 3SG.M caer 3SG.M traer pez CT
he is arirama, he goes down into the water, he brings fish

el es arirama, el se cae, el trae peces

05AGO02-VY-0996.555
yarinama,
yarinama
heron
sharara
jaja, yarinama
jaja yarinama
laugh heron
risa sharara
sharara
Sharara

05AGO02-VY-0999.727
yarinama nan chiran
yarinama nan chira -n
heron like.this name -NZR
sharara así nombre -NDR
sharara, like that it's named
sharara, así es su nombre
aja, uriray yumatitakura arirama na
aja uri -ray yumati -ta -ka -ura arirama na
ah 3SG.M.L PRT direct -CAU -MID -3M.OBJ last.name QT1
ajá 3SG.M.Lpues directo -CAU -MID -3M.OBJ apellido CT1
he then changes/straightens it to arirama, like that
él pues lo endereza a arirama, así (de yarinama>arirama)

05AGO02-VY-1005.868
yarinama
yarinama
heron
sharara
raepetsui ikian shararapura katupe
raepetsui ikian sharara -pura katupe
after this heron -FOC show.up
después este garza -FOC aparecer
from then on the heron shows up
desde entonces aparece la garza

05AGO02-VY-1010.336
ria ra uwata
ria ra uwata
like.this 3SG.M walk
así 3SG.M caminar
like this he walks
así camina

05AGO02-VY-1013.071

ra	***mirikuara***		***wepe***	***wayna***
ra	*mirikua*	*-ra*	*wepe*	*wayna*
3SG.M	wife	-PUR	one	woman
3SG.M	esposa	-PROP	uno	mujer

he makes a woman his wife
le hace su esposa a una mujer

05AGO02-VY-1014.914

uri	***tɨma,***	***tɨma***	***ichari***	***ra***	***mirikua***
uri	*tɨma*	*tɨma*	*ichari*	*ra*	*mirikua*
3SG.M.L	NEG	NEG	leave	3SG.M	wife
3SG.M.L	NEG	NEG	dejar	3SG.M	esposa

he does not leave his wife
él no, no deja a su mujer

05AGO02-VY-1018.68

ra,	***rapapa***		***kuikatsui***		***umiura***	
ra	*ra-*	*papa*	*kuika*	*-tsui*	*umi*	*-ura*
3SG.M	3SG.M-	father	there	-ABL	see	-3M.OBJ
3SG.M	3SG.M-	papá	allá	-ABL	ver	-3M.OBJ

his father look at him from over there
su papa lo mira desde allá

05AGO02-VY-1022.977

ɨwatitsui,		***hm***	***ɨwatitsui***	
ɨwati	*-tsui*	*hm*	*ɨwati*	*-tsui*
high	-ABL	hm	high	-ABL
alto	-ABL	hm	alto	-ABL

from above, hm, from above
desde lo alto, hmm, de lo alto

05AGO02-VY-1025.008

ay	***ra***	***taɨrayara,***		***rama***	***taira,***
ay	*ra*	*taɨra*	*-yara*	*ramua*	*taira*
already	3SG.M	man’son	-possessed	other	man's.daughter
ya	3SG.M	hijo.hombre	-poseído	otro	hija.de.hombre

rama	***taɨra,***	***rama***	***taira,***	***rama***	***taɨra***	***nan***
ramua	*taɨra*	*ramua*	*taira*	*ramua*	*taɨra*	*nan*
other	man’son	other	man's.daughter	other	man’son	like.this
otro	hijo.h	otro	hija.de.hombre	otro	hijo.h	así

he has a son, then other daughter, another son, another daughter, like this,
ya tiene su hijo, otra hija, otro hijo, otra hija, otro hijo, así (etc)

05AGO02-VY-1030.743

ay	***ya***	***chita***
ay	*ya*	*chita*
already	3SG.F	a.lot

ya 3SG.F bastante
he increases in number?
ya aumenta?
ay ra chitautsu
ay ra chita -utsu
already 3SG.M a.lot -FUT1
ya 3SG.M bastante -FUT1
he will soon increase
ya va a aumentar

05AGO02-VY-1033.164
ay rama ikian ra chirata; ene chirutsu
ay ramua ikian ra chirata ene chira -utsu
already other this 3SG.M give.name 2SG.L name -FUT1
ya otro este 3SG.M nombrar 2SG.L nombre -FUT1
he calls another: "you will be called"
a otro le llama: "tu te vas a llamar"

05AGO02-VY-1039.243
ah, maniataka rachiratura
ah maniá -taka ra- chira -ta -ura
ah how -MOD 3SG.M- name -CAU -3M.OBJ
ah cómo -quizá 3SG.M- nombre -CAU -3M.OBJ
how he might call him
cómo quizas le llama

05AGO02-VY-1041.789
nakuatiashira, tapayuri; rana uri, uriray
na- kuatiashira tapayuri rana uri uri -ray
2SG- last.name last.name 3PL.M come 3SG.M.L -MOD
2SG- apellido apellido 3PL.M venir 3SG.M.L -pues
rana chikari rana kuatiashirayara
rana chikari rana kuatiashira -yara
3PL.M look.for 3PL.M last.name -possessed
3PL.M buscar 3PL.M apellido-poseído
"your lastname: Tapayuri". They come to him. They look for him to get their names.
tu apellido tapayuri; ellos vienen, a el pues le buscan para que les de/otorgue/haga su apellido

05AGO02-VY-1048.196
tapayuri, tapullima,
tapayuri tapullima
last.name last.name
apellido apellido
Tapayuri, Tapullima
Tapayuri, Tapullima

05AGO02-VY-1050.102
yuyarima na, maniataka ra tai=rakana kuatiashirayarautsu
yuyarima na maniá -taka ra tai=ra -kana kuatiashira -yara -utsu

last.name QT1 how -MOD 3SG.M man'son -PL.M last.name -possessed -FUT1
apellido CT1 cómo -quizá 3SG.M hijo.h -PL.M apellido -poseído -FUT1
Lastname, how he might give lastnames to his sons
apellido; cómo quizas a sus hijos les da su apellido

05AGO02-VY-1054.846
aja
ajá

05AGO02-VY-1055.274
ikian ɨwatin papa
ikian ɨwati -n papa
this high -NZR father
este alto -NDR papá
the father who is above
el padre que está en lo alto

05AGO02-VY-1058.524
uri ikuatakapa ra taɨra yakɨkuara
uri ikua -ta -ka -pa ra taɨra yakɨ -kuara
3SG.M know -CAU -REI -CPL 3SG.M man'son head -INE
3SG.M.FL saber -CAU -REI -CPL 3SG.M hijo.h cabeza -INE
he put wisdom into his son's head
el pone/da sabiduría en la cabeza de su hijo

05AGO02-VY-1063.274
ikuakatsui
ikua -ka -tsui
know -LOC -ABL
saber -LOC -ABL
from what he knows
de lo que sabe/de su conocimiento

05AGO02-VY-1064.791
aja, ɨwatitsui
aja ɨwati -tsui
ah high -ABL
ajá alto -ABL
from above
de lo alto
raepetsui ay, ay tana chita utsu
raepetsui ay ay tana chita utsu
after already already 1PL.EX.M a.lot go
después ya ya 1PL.EX.M bastante ir
then the Kokamillas will go increase in number
despues (los cocamillas) ya vamos a ser bastantes

05AGO02-VY-1069.446

t+ma ***ukuatseme***

t+ma *ukuatseme*
NEG too.much
NEG mucho
no too much
no mucho

05AGO02-VY-1072.212

ikian	***kukamakana***		***riakukamapuratin***				
ikian	*kukama*	*-kana*	*ria*	*-*	*kukama*	*-pura*	*-tin*
this	kokama	-PL.M	like.this	-	kokama	-FOC	-MOD
este	cocama	-PL.M	así	-	cocama	-FOC	-CER

ukuatsemenan	***chitakapa***			
ukuatseme	-nan	chita	-ka	-pa
too.much	-only	a.lot	-REI	-CPL
mucho	-solamente	bastante	-REI	-CPL

the Kokamas, the Kokamas increase a lot
los cocamas, los cocamas si aumentan por demás

05AGO02-VY-1075.915

hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-1076.557

upimaka		***natsenu***		***kukama***
upi	*-maka*	*na-*	*tsenu*	*kukama*
all	-where	2SG-	hear	kokama
todo	-donde	2SG-	oir	cocama

everywhere you hear Kokama
en todas partes escuchas cocama

05AGO02-VY-1079.964

riatsun	***rikua***		***riay***
riatsun	*r-*	*ikua*	*riay*
like.this	3SG.M-	RSN	also
así	3SG.M-	RZN	también

that's why also
por eso (mismo) es así

05AGO02-VY-1081.948

yatsun	***yikua***	
yatsun	*y-*	*ikua*
like.this	3SG.F-	RSN
like.this	3SG.F-	RZN

that's why
por eso

05AGO02-VY-1083.104

aja,	***ria***	***ay***	***kukama***
aja	*ria*	*ay*	*kukama*
ah	like.that	already	kokama
ajá	así	ya	cocama

like this the Kokama shows up
así (aparece) el cocama

05AGO02-VY-1085.479

ikia,	***upi***	***ikian***	***parana***	***nuwan***	
ikia	*upi*	*ikian*	*parana*	*nua*	*-n*
this	all	this	river	bebig	-NZR
este	todo	este	río	sergrande	-NDR

along the big river
por todo el río grande (el Amazonas)

05AGO02-VY-1089.62

upi	***kukamapurakana***		
upi	*kukama*	*-pura*	*-kana*
all	kokama	-FOC	-PL.M
todo	cocama	-FOC	-PL.M

all are Kokamas
todos son cocamas

05AGO02-VY-1091.901

weperapa		***awa,***	***rama***	***awapurakana***		
wepe	*-rapa*	*awa*	*rama*	*awa*	*-pura*	*-kana*
one	-only	person	other	person	-FOC	-PL.M
uno	-solamente	persona	otro	persona	-FOC	-PL.M

only a few people are other people (different ethnic background)
solo algunas personas son otras gentes (no-cocamas)

05AGO02-VY-1094.761

ikia	***nanayrupe***		***riay***	***kukamakana***	
ikia	*nanay*	*-rupe*	*riay*	*kukama*	*-kana*
this	river	-FIN	also	kokama	-PL.M
este	río	-FIN	también	cocama	-PL.M

along the Nanay River there are also Kokamas
por el río Nanay también hay cocamas

05AGO02-VY-1098.745

ikian	***ritamakuara***		***emete***	***kukama,***	***kukamiria***
ikian	*ritama*	*-kuara*	*emete*	*kukama*	*kukamiria*
this	community	-INE	exist	kokama	Kokamilla
este	comunidad	-INE	haber	cocama	cocamilla

here, in the city of Iquitos there are Kokama, Kokamilla
aquí en el pueblo (Iquitos) hay cocamas, cocamillas

05AGO02-VY-1104.651

ta	***utsu***	***ikian,***	***maniawatsun***		***rana***
ta	*utsu*	*ikian*	*maniawatsu*	*-n*	*rana*

1SG.M go this how -NZR 3PL.M
1SG.M ir este como -NZR 3PL.M
chiratan ikian ninarumi
chirata -n ikian ninarumi
give.name -NZR this Ninarumi
nombrar -NDR este Ninarumi
I go, hoe do they call it, this Ninarumi
yo voy, como le llaman a esto.. Ninarumi

05AGO02-VY-1109.213
raepe kukama, kukamiriakana
raepe kukama kukamiria -kana
there kokama Kokamilla -PL.M
ahí cocama cocamilla -PL.M
there there are Kokama, Kokamillas
ahi hay cocamas y cocamillas

05AGO02-VY-1111.916
yayti
yay
also
también
yes, also (there)
también hay

05AGO02-VY-1113.119
ta utsu kuika llanchama na chiran wepe domingo tana utsu
ta utsu kuika llanchama na chira -n wepe domingo tana utsu
1SG.M go there *** QT1 name -NZR one sunday 1PL.EX.M go
1SG.M ir allá LLanchama CT1 nombre -NDR uno domingo 1PL.EX.M ir
umitara
umi -tara
see -PUR1
ver -PROP1
I got overthere, it's called Llanchama, one Sunday (for us) to see
voy allá a donde llaman Llanchama, un domingo para ver

05AGO02-VY-1118.029
yumutsarikankana umitara
yumutsarika -n -kana umi -tara
play -NZR -PL.M see -PUR1
jugar -NDR -PL.M ver -PROP1
to see the games
para ver los juegos

05AGO02-VY-1119.322
hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-1120.072
raepe tapurara
raepe ta- purara
there 1SG.M-find
ahí 1SG.M-encontrar
there I meet
ahí encuentro

05AGO02-VY-1121.869
murayari
murayari
Murayari
Murayari
Murayari
Murayari

05AGO02-VY-1123.349
karitimari
karitimari
last.name
caritimari
Caritimari
Caritimari

05AGO02-VY-1125.489
ikian tapayuri
ikian tapayuri
this last.name
este apellido
this Tapayuri
este Tapayuri

05AGO02-VY-1128.677
kukamiriakana
kukamiria -kana
Kokamilla -PL.M
cocamilla -PL.M
Kokamillas
es cocamilla

05AGO02-VY-1130.895
hm, inu kakɨrɨ
hm inu kakɨrɨ
hm 3PL.F live
hm 3PL.F vivir
they live
ahí viven

05AGO02-VY-1133.269

aja,	***ikian***	***rana***	***papauri***		***tsuntaratara***	
aja	*ikian*	*rana*	*papa*	*uri*	*tsuntara*	*-tara*
ah	this	3PL.M	father	come	soldier	-PUR1
ajá	este	3PL.M	papá	venir	soldado	-PROP1

their father came as a soldier
su papá viene para soldado

05AGO02-VY-1136.207

tiimapuray			***iriwa***
tiima	*-pura*	*-ay*	*iriwa*
NEG	-FOC	-already	come.back
NEG	-FOC	-ya	regresa

and he didn't go back
y ya no regresa

05AGO02-VY-1138.129

kuikarupe	***ra***	***kakiriutsu***	
kuika	*-rupe*	*ra*	*kakiri*	*-utsu*
there	-FIN	3SG.M	live	-AUX
allá	-FIN	3SG.M	vivir	-AUX

over there he goes to live
allá va a vivir

05AGO02-VY-1140.332

ikitu	***waynamuki?***
ikitu	*wayna*	*-muki*
Iquitos	woman	-COM
Iquitos	mujer	-COM

with a woman from Iquitos?
con una mujer de Iquitos?

tiima
tiima
NEG
NEG
No
no

05AGO02-VY-1143.348

hm,	***ikia***	***ra***	***utsu***	***kamatatara***		***raepe***	***rapurara***		***wayna***
hm	*ikia*	*ra*	*utsu*	*kamata*	*-tara*	*raepe*	*ra-*	*purara*	*wayna*
hm	this	3SG.M	go	work	-PUR1	there	3SG.M-	find	woman
hm	este	3SG.M	ir	trabajar	-PROP1	ahí	3SG.M-	encontrar	mujer

he goes to work there, then I find a woman
el va a trabajar y ahí encuentra mujer

05AGO02-VY-1147.096
aja
ajá

05AGO02-VY-1147.978
raepe ra, ramɨmɨratura ay ra taɨrakana chita
raepe ra ra- mɨmɨra -ta -ura ay ra taɨra -kana chita
there 3SG.M 3SG.M- woman's.son -CAU -3M.OBJ already 3SG.M man'son -PL.M a.lot
ahí 3SG.M 3SG.M- hijo.de.mujer-CAU-3M.OBJ ya 3SG.M hijo.h -PL.M bastante
then he gaves her children (makes her pregnant), his children are a lot
ahí le da hijos, bastantes ya son sus hijos

05AGO02-VY-1152.822
upimaniakan kuatiashirapura ikiarupe
upi -maniá -ka -n kuatiashira -pura ikia -rupe
all - how -REI -NZR last.name -FOC this -FIN
todo - cómo -REI -NZR apellido-FOC este-FIN
ay, ay llanchama-kati-nan tikua
ay ay llanchama -kati-nan t- ikua
already already llanchama-until-only 1SG.M- know
ya ya llanchama-hasta-solo 1SG.M- saber
all kinds of lastnames are overthere, up to Llanchama I know
toda clase de apellidos ya hay ahí, hasta llanchama ya he conocido

05AGO02-VY-1159.687
ikian ritamakuara
ikian ritama -kuara
this community -INE
este comunidad -INE
in this village
en el pueblo

05AGO02-VY-1161.618
raepetsui mas, kuika,
raepetsui mas kuika
after more there
después mas allá
then, further away
luego, más allá

05AGO02-VY-1164.821
Yayakati chitanpura na, rana kumitsa
yayakati chita -n -pura na rana kumitsa
go.up.river a.lot -NZR -FOC QT1 3PL.M talk
surcar bastante -NDR -FOC CT1 3PL.M hablar
tatsui
ta -tsui
1SG.M -DAT
1SG.M -DAT

"going up the river there are a lot (of Kokamas)", they told me
surcando hay bastantes, así me dicen

05AGO02-VY-1169.477

hm	***raeperupe***		***kukamapura,***		***kukamiriapura***	
hm	*raepe*	*-rupe*	*kukama*	*-pura*	*kukamiria*	*-pura*
hm	there	-FIN	kokama	-FOC	Kokamilla	-FOC
hm	ahí	-FIN	cocama	-FOC	cocamilla	-FOC

overthere are Kokamas, Kokamillas
ahí hay cocamas, cocamillas

05AGO02-VY-1173.617

rana	***kumitsa***	***ikian***	***arirama***
rana	*kumitsa*	*ikian*	*arirama*
3PL.M	talk	this	last.name
3PL.M	hablar	este	apellido

they say this Arirama
ellos mencionan Arirama

05AGO02-VY-1176.586

kuritima
kuritima
last.name
curitima
Curitima
Curitima

05AGO02-VY-1179.024

apu,	***maniwari***
apu	*maniwari*
well	last.name
esteee	Manihuari
Manihuari	
Manihuari	

05AGO02-VY-1181.664

rana	***emete***	***ikian***	***nanay,***	***este,***	***yayakatirupe***	
rana	*emete*	*ikian*	*nanay*	*este*	*yayakati*	*-rupe*
3PL.M	exist	this	river	this	go.up.river	-Fin
3PL.M	haber	este	río	este	surcar	-Fin

they are along the Nanay River, going un the river
ellos estan en el río Nanay, surcando

05AGO02-VY-1187.352

hm
hm

05AGO02-VY-1188.107

na	***ikia***	***awakana***		***kumitsa***	***tatsui***	
na	*ikia*	*awa*	*-kana*	*kumitsa*	*ta*	*-tsui*

QT	this	person	-PL.M	talk	1SG.M	-DAT
CT	este	persona	-PL.M	hablar	1SG.M	-DAT

that's what this people told me
así me dice esa gente

05AGO02-VY-1192.764

ria	***ikia***	***kukamakana***		***katupe***	***=m=ina***
ria	*ikia*	*kukama*	*-kana*	*katupe*	*=m=ina*
like.this	this	kokama	-PL.M	show.up	long.ago
así	este	cocama	-PL.M	aparecer	antiguamente

like this the Kokamas show up, a long time ago
así aparecen los cocama antiguamente

05AGO02-VY-1197.389

yaepe	***yupa***	
yaepe	*y-*	*upa*
there	3SG.F-	end
ahí	3SG.F-	terminar

it (the story) finishes there
ahi termina

05AGO02-VY-1198.693

raepe
raepe
there
ahí
there (it finishes)
ahí (termina).

4. TEXT: Bite of snake (personal narrative)

SPEAKER: Rosa Amías Murayari
COMMUNITY: San Pablo de Tipishca
GENDER: Female
AGE: 62 (August, 2005)
INTERLOCUTOR: Victor Yuyarima Chota (male)

04AGO03-RA-001

epe	***tseta***	***tsenu***	***tsa***	***=m=intsaraka.***	
epe	*tseta*	*tsenu*	*tsa*	*=m=intsara*	*-ka*
2PL	want	hear	1SG.F	story	-REI
2PL	querer	oir	1SG.F	cuento	-REI

do you want to hear how I talk?
quieren oir lo que yo converso?

04AGO03-RA-002

tsa kumitsapu.
tsa kumitsa -pu
1SG.F say -INS
1SG.F decir -INS
with my language
con mi idioma

04AGO03-RA-003

ikun tsa ɨmɨntsarara.

ikun tsa ɨmɨntsara -ra
today 1SG.F story -VZR
hoy 1SG.F cuento -VDR
today I narrate
hoy cuento

04AGO03-RA-004

tsa mɨmɨra.

tsa mɨmɨra
1SG.F woman's.son
1SG.F hijo.de.mujer
my son...
(lo que) a mi hijo...

04AGO03-RA-005

mui karutatsuri.
mui karuta -tsuri
snake bite -PAS3
vibora morder -PAS3
the snake bit (him)
la víbora mordió

04AGO03-RA-006

maniawaka ya karuta yatsuri
mania - yawaka ya karuta ya -tsuri
how - manner 3SG.F bite 3SG.F -PAS3
cómo - manera 3SG.F morder 3SG.F -PAS3

nanin tsa ɨmɨntsararutsu epe
nanin tsa ɨmɨntsara -ra -utsu epe
like.this 1SG.F story -VZR -FUT1 2PL
así 1SG.F cuento -VDR -FUT1 2PL

tsenumira.
tsenu -mira
hear -PUR
oir -PROP
howit bit him, this is what I'm going to tell you for you to hear
como le había mordido, eso/así les voy a contar para que escuchen

04AGO03-RA-007

yararaka	***mui***	***karuta***	***yatsuri***		***kaɨ***	***kanuarari.***	
yararaka	*mui*	*karuta*	*ya*	*-tsuri*	*kaɨ*	*kanuara*	*-ri*
snake.esp	snake	bite	like.this	-PAS3	shin	bonee	-DIF
jergón	vibora	morder	así	-PAS3	canilla	hueso	-DIF

the jergon snake bit him around/along the bone of the shin
la víbora jergón le picó por el hueso de la canilla

04AGO03-RA-008

ay;	***watari***	***ya***	***umanutuy.***		
ay	*watari*	*ya*	*umanu*	*-ta*	*-uy*
already	miss	3SG.F	die	-CAU	-PAS1
ya	faltar	3SG.F	morir	-CAU	-PAS1

it almost killed him
le faltó/casi le mata

04AGO03-RA-009

inu	***erutsu***	***yatsuri.***	
inu	*erutsu*	*ya*	*-tsuri*
3PL.F	bring	3SG.F	-PAS3
3PL.F	llevar	3SG.F	-PAS3

they took him
ellos le llevaron (RA: han llevado)

04AGO03-RA-010

ya	***kamata***	***iruanu.***	
ya	*kamata*	*irua*	*-nu*
3SG.F	work	friend	-PL.F
3SG.F	trabajar	compañer(o)	-PL.F

his friends from work
sus compañeros de trabajo

04AGO03-RA-011

deslisadorupu		***erutsu***	***yatsuri***		***mirafloresika***	
deslisadoru	*-pu*	*erutsu*	*ya*	*-tsuri*	*mirafloresi*	*-ka*
bote	-INS	bring	3SG.F	-PAS3	Miraflores	-LOC
deslizador	-INS	llevar	3SG.F	-PAS3	Miraflores	-LOC

inu	***mutsanakatuparanka.***				
inu	*mutsanaka*	*-tupa*	*-ra*	*-n*	*-ka*
3PL.F	cure	-REL	-PUR	-NZR	-LOC
3PL.F	curar	-REL	-PROP	-NDR	-LOC

in a outboard boat they took him to Miraflores to cure him
con deslizador le llevan a Miraflores donde le van a curar

04AGO03-RA-012

temente	***inu***	***purara***	***tsanitariu.***
temente	*inu*	*purara*	*tsanitariu*
no.exist	3PL.F	find	nurse
no.hay	3PL.F	encontrar	sanitario

there is not, they don't find the nurse
no le encuentran al sanitario

04AGO03-RA-013

yaikua		***inu***	***yumunu***	***yatsuri***		***sanrejiska.***	
ya	*-ikua*	*inu*	*yumunu*	*ya*	*-tsuri*	*sanrejis*	*-ka*
like.this	-RSN	3PL.F	send	3SG.F	-PAS3	San.Regis	-LOC
así	-RZN	3PL.F	enviar	3SG.F	-PAS3	San.Regis	-LOC

that's why they send him to San Regis
por eso le han enviado a San Regis

04AGO03-RA-014

yaepetsui,	***este***	***doctora.***
yaepetsui	*este*	*doctora*
then	this	doctor
después	este	doctora

then, this doctor
después, esa doctora

04AGO03-RA-015

janina	***nan***	***chiran***		***mutsanaka***	***yatsuri.***	
janina	*nan*	*chira*	*-n*	*mutsanaka*	*ya*	*-tsuri*
Janina	like.this	name	-NZR	cure	3SG.F	-PAS3
Janina	así	nombre	-NDR	curar	3SG.F	-PAS3

Janina, like this is her name, cures him
Janina, asi es su nombre, le curó

04AGO03-RA-016

iruaka	***kuarachi***	***penu***	***kakɨrɨ***	***(yaepe)***	***tsa***
iruaka	*kuarachi*	*penu*	*kakɨrɨ*	*there*	*tsa*
four	sun	1PL.EX.F	live	there	1SG.F
cuatro	sol	1PL.EX.F	vivir	ahí	1SG.F

mɨmɨramuki.

mɨmɨra	*-muki*
woman's.son	-COM
hijo.de.mujer	-COM

four days we lived (there) with my son
cuatro días vivimos ahí, yo con mi hijo

04AGO03-RA-017

tsatsatsɨma		***tsa***	***mɨmɨrapurachasu.***		
tsatsatsɨma	*-ri*	*tsa*	*mɨmɨra*	*-pura*	*-chasu*
scream	-PROG	1SG.F	woman's.son	-FOC	-AFF
gritar	-PROG	1SG.F	hijo.de.mujer	-FOC	-AFF

my poor son was screaming
gritando estaba mi pobre hijo

04AGO03-RA-018

kashi	***irurun***		***asta***	***ya***	***tsutshima***	
kashi	*iruru*	*-n*	*asta*	*ya*	*tsutshima*	*-ka*
shin	swell	-NZR	until	3SG.F	leg	-LOC
canilla	incharse	-NDR	hasta	3SG.F	muslo	-LOC

asta	***ya***	***tseweka***	***piruaraka***		***ya***	***warikatsen.***	
asta	*ya*	*tseweka*	*piruara*	*-ka*	*ya*	*warika*	*-tsen*
until	3SG.F	belly	skin	-LOC	3SG.F	go.up	-PUR3
hasta	3SG.F	barriga	piel	-LOC	3SG.F	subir	-PROP3

the swelling of his shin goes up to his leg/muscle to go on up to the skin of his belly
el inchado de su canilla está hasta su muslo, para que suba (seguía subiendo) hasta su barriga

04AGO03-RA-019

pitani	***yatua;***		***iruru.***
pitani	*ya*	*-tua*	*iruru*
ripen	3SG.F	-AUG	swell
madurar	3SG.F	-AUG	incharse

redish is this one, swelling
colorado esta esaso,inchado

04AGO03-RA-020

ay;	***itsitaka***			***tsapuratsuri.***		
ay	*itsi*	*-ta*	*-ka*	*tsa*	*-pura*	*-tsuri*
3SG.L.F	fear	-CAU	-MID	1SG.F	-FOC	-PAS3
3SG.L.F	susto	-CAU	-MID	1SG.F	-FOC	-PAS3

It scares me
ya me asusté, eso me asusta

04AGO03-RA-021

asta;	***tsapura***		***yachutsuri,***		***utsari***		***tsa***
asta	*tsa*	*-pura*	*yachu*	*-tsuri*	*utsu*	*-ri*	*tsa*
until	1SG.F	-FOC	cry	-PAS3	go	-PROG	1SG.F
hasta	1SG.F	-FOC	llorar	-PAS3	ir	-PROG	1SG.F

mimira	***umanu,***	***nan***	***tsa***	***yamima.***
mimira	*umanu*	*nan*	*tsa*	*yamima*
woman's.son	die	like.this	1SG.F	be.sad
hijo.de.mujer	morir	así	1SG.F	estar.triste

I cried, my son is dying, like this I was sad
yo lloré, ya se esta yendo, mi hijo se muere (mi hijo se esta yendo a la muerte), así estoy triste

04AGO03-RA-022

tsa	***tseta***	***uchimata***		***yatsuri.***	
tsa	*tseta*	*uchima*	*-ta*	*ya*	*-tsuri*
1SG.F	want	go.out	-CAU	3SG.F	-PAS3
1SG.F	querer	salir	-CAU	3SG.F	-PAS3

I wanted to take him out

yo le he querido sacar

04AGO03-RA-023
postakuaratsui.
posta *-kuara* *-tsui*
health.center -INE -ABL
centro.salud -INE -ABL
from the healthcenter
de la posta

04AGO03-RA-024
yaikua janina yumunu penutsuri
ya *-ikua* *janina* *yumunu* *penu* *-tsuri*
like.this -RSN Janina send 1PL.EX.F -PAS3
así -RZN Janina enviar 1PL.EX.F -PAS3
nautaka uyarika.
nauta *-ka* *uyarika*
Nauta -LOC again
Nauta -LOC otra.vez
that's why Janina sent us to Nauta again
por eso Janina nos mandó a Nauta otra vez

04AGO03-RA-025
deslisadorupu.
deslisadoru *-pu*
bote -INS
deslizador -INS
by outboard boat
con deslizador

04AGO03-RA-026
wepe ipitsaka penu utsutsuri mediaora
wepe *ipitsa* *-ka* *penu* *utsu* *-tsuri* *mediaora*
one night -LOC 1PL.EX.F go -PAS3 half.hour
uno noche -LOC 1PL.EX.F ir -PAS3 mediahora
asta ospitaluka,
asta *ospitalu* *-ka*
until hospital -LOC
hasta hospital -LOC
one morning we went (travel for) half an hour until the hospital
una mañana nos hemos ido, media hora hasta el hospital

04AGO03-RA-027
penu; yutitsen.
penu *yuti* *-tsen*
1PL.EX.F stay -PUR3
1PL.EX.F permanecer -PROP3
to stay
para permanecer

04AGO03-RA-028
chunka kuashi.
chunka kuashi
ten day
diez día
ten days
diez días

04AGO03-RA-029
penu kakɨrɨ .
penu kakɨrɨ
1PL.EX.F live
1PL.EX.F vivir
we lived (there)
hemos vivido (ahí)

04AGO03-RA-030
tɨma ya amatsɨka eratsuri.
tɨma ya amatsɨka era -tsuri
NEG 3SG.F complete be.good -PAS3
NEG 3SG.F completar estar.bien -PAS3
He wouldn't/couldn't get better
no podía terminar de estar bien (sanarse)

04AGO03-RA-031
puraynan ya kaɨ iruru.
puray -nan ya kaɨ iruru
same -only 3SG.F shin swell
igual -solamente 3SG.F canilla incharse
the same, his shin is still swollen
igual nomás esta inchada su canilla (sigue inchada)

04AGO03-RA-032
tɨma yatsuri; ya era..
tɨma ya -tsuri ya era
NEG 3SG.F -PAS3 3SG.F be.good
NEG 3SG.F -PAS3 3SG.F estar.bien
it didn't get better
no se ponía bien (no se sanaba)

04AGO03-RA-033
puari ya kaɨutsu.
puaa -ri ya kaɨ -utsu
be.rotten -PROG 3SG.F shin -AND
estar.descompuesto -PROG 3SG.F canilla -AND

his shin is decomposing
ya se está pudriendo su canilla

04AGO03-RA-034

pɨtani	***ya***	***irurutupaka,***			***yaikua.***	
pɨtani	*ya*	*iruru*	*-tupa*	*-ka*	*ya*	*-ikua*
ripen	3SG.F	swell	-REL	-LOC	like.this	-RSN
madurar	3SG.F	incharse	-REL	-LOC	así	-RZN

the swollen area is redish, that's why
colorado estaba donde su inchazon, por eso

04AGO03-RA-035

sanitario	***ɨpɨka***	***ya***	***kaɨtsuri.***
sanitario	*ɨpɨka*	*ya*	*kaɨ* *-tsuri*
nurse	cut	3SG.F	shin -PAS3
sanitario	cortar	3SG.F	canilla -PAS3

the nurse cut his shin
el sanitario le cortó su canilla

04AGO03-RA-036

yaepetsui	***ya***	***uchimatatsen.***		
yaepe *-tsui*	*ya*	*uchima*	*-ta*	*-tsen*
there -ABL	3SG.F	go.out	-CAU	-PUR3
ahí -ABL	3SG.F	salir	-CAU	-PROP3

so that it can go out
después para que salga

04AGO03-RA-037

tsuwɨ	***puánpura***			***ya***	***tsumuki,***	
tsuwɨ	*puá*	*-n*	*-pura*	*ya*	*tsu*	*-muki*
blode	be.rotten	-NZR	-FOC	SG.F	meat	-COM
sangre	destar.descompuesto	-NDR	-FOC	SG.F	carne	-COM

ya	***tsuwɨpura***	***puá.***
ya	*tsuwɨ* *-pura*	*puá*
3SG.F	blood -FOC	be.rotten
3SG.F	sangre -FOC	estar.descompuesto

the decomposed blood with flesh, the blood is decomposed
sangre podrida con su carne, su sangre esta edionda

04AGO03-RA-038

yapura	***inu***	***uchimatatsuri.***		
ya *-pura*	*inu*	*uchima*	*-ta*	*-tsuri*
3SG.F -FOC	3PL.F	go.out	-CAU	-PAS3
3SG.F -FOC	3PL.F	salir	-CAU	-PAS3

they took out it
eso lo sacaron

04AGO03-RA-039

yantsui	***doctor***	***yumunu***	***penutsuri***		***penu***
yantsui	*doctor*	*yumunu*	*penu*	*-tsuri*	*penu*
there	doctor	send	1PL.EX.F	-PAS3	1PL.EX.F
ahí.luego	doctor	enviar	1PL.EX.F	-PAS3	1PL.EX.F

iriwatsen		***penu***	***ukaka.***	
iriwa	*-tsen*	*penu*	*uka*	*-ka*
come.back	-PUR3	1PL.EX.F	house	-LOC
regresar	-PROP3	1PL.EX.F	casa	-LOC

and then the doctor send us to come back to our house
luego el doctor nos mando para regresar a nuestra casa

04AGO03-RA-040

wepe	***yatsɨtsui;***	***ya***	***kaɨpura.***	
wepe	*yatsɨ*	*-tsui*	*kaɨ*	*-pura*
one	moon	-ABL	shin	-FOC
uno	luna	-ABL	canilla	-FOC

after a month, his shin
después de un mes, su canilla

04AGO03-RA-041

inu	***ɨpɨka***	***-tupatsui.***	
inu	*ɨpɨka*	*-tupa*	*-tsui*
3PL.F	cut	-REL	-ABL
3PL.F	cortar	-REL	-ABL

from where the cut it
de donde le han cortado

04AGO03-RA-042

ya	***tsu***	***puánpura***			***atsɨrɨkatsuri.***	
ya	*tsu*	*puá*	*-n*	*-pura*	*atsɨrɨka*	*-tsuri*
3SG.F	meat	decompose	-NZR	-FOC	go.down	-PAS3
3SG.F	carne	desconponerse	-NDR	-FOC	bajar	-PAS3

his decomposed flesh/muscle is going down
su carne podrida esta bajando

04AGO03-RA-043

utsari		***ya***	***kaɨ***	***upa***	***kakuarawa.***	
utsu	*-ri*	*ya*	*kaɨ*	*upa*	*kakuara*	*-wa*
go	-PROG	3SG.F	shin	finish	hole	-GER
ir	-PROG	3SG.F	canilla	acabar	huequearse	-GER

his shin is about to end/be gone full of holes
ya se va a terminar su canilla huequeándose

04AGO03-RA-044

ya	***kaɨpura***	***upa.***

ya	*kaɨ*	*-pura*	*upa*
3SG.F	shin	-FOC	finish
3SG.F	canilla	-FOC	cabar

his shin is gone
su canilla se termina

04AGO03-RA-045

ay itsɨtakapa penutsuri

ay	*itsɨ*	*-ta*	*-ka*	*-pa*	*penu*	*-tsuri*
already	fear	-CAU	-MID	-CPL	1PL.EX.F	-PAS3
ya	susto	-CAU	-MID	-CPL	1PL.EX.F	-PAS3

utsari ya umanu kaɨ puápu.

utsu	*-ri*	*ya*	*umanu*	*kaɨ*	*puá*	*-pu*
go	-PROG	3SG.F	die	shin	be.rotten	-INS
ir	-PROG	3SG.F	morir	canilla	estar.descompuesto	-INS

this really scared us, it's going to die with the decomposition of the shin
eso nos asustó por demás, ya se va a morir pudriendo su canilla (con la descomposición de su canilla)

04AGO03-RA-046

ya kaɨ kanuarapuranan

ya	*kaɨ*	*kanuara*	*-pura*	*-nan*
3SG.F	shin	bone	-FOC	-only
3SG.F	canilla	hueso	-FOC	-solamente

yurititsen.

yuriti	*-tsen*
leave	-PUR3
quedar	-PROP3

to leave his shin with only bones
puro/solo hueso va a quedar su canilla

04AGO03-RA-047

yaikua wepe vecino eruraka yatsuri

ya	*-ikua*	*wepe*	*vecino*	*erura*	*-ka*	*ya*	*-tsuri*
3SG.F	-RSN	one	neighbor	bring	-REI	3SG.F	-PAS3
3SG.F	-RZN	uno	vecino	traer	-REI	3SG.F	-PAS3

ajanka ikitukatika ospitaluka.

aja	*-n*	*-ka*	*ikitu*	*-kati*	*-ka*	*ospitalu*	*-ka*
this	-NZR	-LOC	Iquitos	-up.to	-LOC	hospital	-LOC
este	-NZR	-LOC	Iquitos	-hasta	-LOC	hospital	-LOC

that is why one neighbor brought him again here, up to Iquitos, to the hospital
por eso un vecino le vuelve a traer acá, hasta Iquitos, al hospital

04AGO03-RA-048

ikitu aaa, ospitalu ikituka.

ikitu	*****	*ospitalu*	*ikitu*	*-ka*
Iquitos	***	hospital	Iquitos	-LOC

Iquitos *** hospital Iquitos -LOC
Iquitos, to the hospital in Iquitos
Iquitos, al hospital Iquitos

04AGO03-RA-049
ya erura yatsuri.
ya erura ya -tsuri
3SG.F bring 3SG.F -PAS3
3SG.F traer 3SG.F -PAS3
he brought him
él le ha traído

04AGO03-RA-050
yaepe inu mutsanakatsuri wepe semana ya
yaepe inu mutsanaka -tsuri wepe semana ya
there 3PL.F cure -PAS3 one week already
ahí 3PL.F curar -PAS3 uno semana already
ukayma yaepe.
ukayma yaepe
loose there
perderse ahí
there they cured him, he got lost for a week
entonces, ellos le han curado, ahí una semana él se pierde

04AGO03-RA-051
yaepetsui inu erutsu yatsuri.
yaepe -tsui inu erutsu ya -tsuri
there -ABL 3PL.F bring 3SG.F -PAS3
ahí -ABL 3PL.F llevar 3SG.F -PAS3
then they bring him
después le han llevado

04AGO03-RA-052
lomismonan ya iriwakatsuri tʉma era.
lomismo -nan ya iriwa -ka -tsuri tʉma era
the.same -only 3SG.F come.back -REI -PAS3 NEG be.good
lo.mismo -solamente 3SG.F regresar -REI -PAS3 NEG estar.bien
just the same he comes back again, not OK
igual nomás él ha vuelto, no bien

04AGO03-RA-053
naniwa tsa mʉmʉra chasu
naniwa tsa mʉmʉra -chasu
like.this 1SG.F woman's.son -AFF
así 1SG.F hijo.de.mujer -AFF
aykuatsuri.
aykua -tsuri
be.sick -PAS3

enfermarse -PAS3
like this my poor son got sick
así mi hijito se ha enfermado

04AGO03-RA-054
yantsui; ukaka.
yantsui uka -ka
there house -LOC
ahí.luego casa -LOC
later, at the house
después en la casa

04AGO03-RA-055
yairiwa tupaka penu
ya - iriwa tupa -ka penu
3SG.F - come.back place -LOC 1PL.EX.F
3SG.F - regresar lugar -LOC 1PL.EX.F
mutsanaka yatsuri, [yaepe yamia.]
mutsanaka ya -tsuri yaepe ya -mia
cure 3SG.F -PAS3 there 3SG.F -MOD
curar 3SG.F -PAS3 ahí 3SG.F -MOD
in the place to where he goes back, we cure him [there it could be]
a donde ha regresado (en ese lugar) ahí lo hemos curado, [ahí sería]

04AGO03-RA-056
upimari; ɨwɨrati
upi - mari ɨwɨrati
all - thing forest
todos - cosa monte
everything from the forest
toda cosa del monte,

04AGO03-RA-057
ɨwɨratin ɨwɨra-tsa, mutsananu.
ɨwɨrati -n ɨwɨra- tsa mutsana -nu
forest -NZR tree - leaf cure -PL.F
monte -NZR árbol- hoja remedio -PL.F
leaves from the tree, remedies
hoja del árbol, remedios

04AGO03-RA-058
ururakan; penu ɨyɨtan
uraraka -n penu ɨyɨ -ta -n
boil -NZR 1PL.EX.F cook -CAU -NZR
hervir -NDR 1PL.EX.F asar -CAU -NDR
tɨapu penu tsukuta yatsuri.
tɨa -pu penu tsukuta ya -tsuri

liquid	-INST	1PL.EX.F	clean	3SG.F-PAS3
caldo	-INST	1PL.EX.F	lavar	3SG.F-PAS3

boiled, with the liquid we have cooked we washed him
hervidos, con el caldo que hemos cocinado, le hemos lavado

04AGO03-RA-059

ya	***eratsen.***	
ya	*era*	*-tsen*
3SG.F	be.good	-PUR3
3SG.F	estar.bien	-PROP3

so that he gets better
para que se sane

04AGO03-RA-060

yaepetsui;	***akaya***	***piruara,***	***penu.***	
yaepe	*-tsui*	*akaya*	*piruara*	*penu*
there	-ABL	uvos	skin	1PL.EX.F
ahí	-ABL	uvos	piel	1PL.EX.F

later, the skin of the uvos, we
después la cáscara del uvos, que nosotros hemos

04AGO03-RA-061

ararakatan			***asta***	***ya.***
araraka	*-ta*	*-n*	*asta*	*ya*
boil	-CAU	-NZR	until	like.this
hervir	-CAU	-NDR	hasta	así

boiled until, like this
hervido, hasta

04AGO03-RA-062

tia	***tua***	***chura***	***katika***	***nanin***
tia	*tua*	*chura*	*katika*	*nanin*
liquid	get.older	be.small	until	ike.this
caldo	crecer	ser.pequeño	hasta	así

refinado	***na***	***inu***	***kumitsaran.***			
refinado	*na*	*inu*	*kumitsa*	*-ra*	*-n*	
refine	QT1	3PL.F	talk	-3M.OBJ	-NZR	
refinado	CT1	3PL.F	hablar	-3M.OBJ	-NDR	

a lot of liquid until it reduces to a little bit, "refinado", like this they call it
bastante caldo hasta hacerse poquito (mermado), ese que le llaman refinado

04AGO03-RA-063

ya-pú	***,***	***penu***	***tsukuta***	***yatsuri***		***yaepemia***	
ya	*-pu*	*penu*	*tsukuta*	*ya*	*-tsuri*	*yaepe*	*-mia*
3SG.F	-INS	1PL.EX.F	clean	3SG.F	-PAS3	there	-MOD
3SG.F	-INS	1PL.EX.F	lavar	3SG.F	-PAS3	ahí	-MOD

niya	***ya***	***era.***	
ni	*-ya*	*ya*	*era*
NEG	-CMP	3SG.F	be.good

NEG -CMP 3SG.F estar.bien
with that, we washed him, like this, no even in this way (with this treatment) he gets better
con esó lo hemos lavado, ahí pues/quizas, ni así se sana

04AGO03-RA-064
yantsui; felizmente wepe vecino raepe
yantsui felizmente wepe vecino raepe
there happily one neighbor there
ahí.luego felizmente uno vecino ahí
kakɨrɨn.
kakɨrɨ -n
live -NZR
vivir -NDR
later, a neighbor that lives there
después un vecino que vive ahí

04AGO03-RA-065
rakunatsui urin wepe familia.
rakuna -tsui uri -n wepe familia
Lagunas -ABL come -NZR one family
Lagunas -ABL venir -NDR uno familia
a family that came from Lagunas
una famillia que vino de Lagunas

04AGO03-RA-066
aytaka ikua mutsanatsuri.
ay -taka ikua mutsana -tsuri
3SG.F.L -MOD know ? -PAS3
3SG.F.L -MOD saber remedio -PAS3
he might have knew how to cure
él quizás sabía curar

04AGO03-RA-067
bejetal mutsana na inu kumitsaran.
bejetal mutsana na inu kumitsa -ra -n
plant medicine QT1 3PL.F say -3M.OBJ -NZR
vegetal remedio CT1 3PL.F decir -3M.OBJ -NDR
(with) "vegetal/natural medicine", they call it
remedio vegetal lo que así le llaman

04AGO03-RA-068
ayray pariatsutataka tsa
ay - ray pariatsu -ta -taka tsa
3SG.L.F - SPE suffer -CAU -MOD 1SG.F
3SG.L.F - SPE sufrir -CAU -quizá 1SG.F
mɨmɨrachasutsuri.
mɨmɨra -chasu -tsuri
woman's.son -AFF -PAS3

hijo.de.mujer -AFF -PAS3
he may have felt sorry for my poor son
él quizá ha tenido pena de mi pobre hijo

04AGO03-RA-069

yantsui	***ya***	***paritsara***	***yatsuri***	
yantsui	*ya*	*paritsara*	*ya*	*-tsuri*
there	3SG.F	invite	3SG.F	-PAS3
ahí.luego	3SG.F	invitar	3SG.F	-PAS3

yapay	***iniutsu***		***nawapapu.***	
yapay	*ini*	*-utsu*	*nawapa*	*-pu*
lets	1PL.IN	-FUT1	river.name	-INS
vamos	1PL.IN	-FUT1	Nawapa	-INS

then he invited him (my son): "let's go to Nawapa"
despues él le invitó "vamos a Nawapa"

04AGO03-RA-070

ta	***erutsene,***		***raepe***	***ta***	***mutsanakatsenene.***		
ta	*erutsu*	*-ene*	*raepe*	*ta*	*mutsanaka*	*-tsen*	*-ene*
1SG.M	bring	2SG	there	1SG.M	cure	-PUR3	2SG
1SG.M	llevar	2SG	ahí	1SG.M	curar	-PROP3	2SG

I take you to cure you there
te llevo para curarte allá

04AGO03-RA-071

na	***eratsen,***		***dietashka.***
na	*era*	*-tsen*	*dietashka*
2SG	be.good	-PUR3	diet
2SG	estar.bien	-PROP3	dieta

So that you can get better, (with) diets
para que te sanes, dietando/con dieta

04AGO03-RA-072

ta	***mutsanaka***	***nautsu***		***na***	***ya***	***erutsu***
ta	*mutsanaka*	*na*	*-utsu*	*na*	*ya*	*erutsu*
1SG.M	cure	2SG	-FUT1	QT	3SG.F	bring
1SG.M	curar	2SG	-FUT1	CT	3SG.F	llevar

yatsuri.	
ya	*-tsuri*
3SG.F	-PAS3
3SG.F	-PAS3

'I'll cure you", like this he took him
"te voy a curar", así diciendo le llevó

04AGO03-RA-073

yantsuika		***aytsemeka***	***wepe***	***yatsɨ***	***tsa***
yantsui	*-ka*	*aytsemeka*	*wepe*	*yatsɨ*	*tsa*
there	-LOC	it.s.true	one	moon	1SG.F
ahí.luego	-LOC	de.verdad	uno	luna	1SG.F

mimirachasu		***ukayma***	***utsutsuri***		***yaepe***	***nawapakuara.***	
mimira	*-chasu*	*ukayma*	*utsu*	*-tsuri*	*yaepe*	*nawapa*	*-kuara*
woman's.son	-AFF	lose	AND	-PAS3	there	river.name	-INE
hijo.de.mujer	-AFF	perder	AND	-PAS3	ahí	Nawapa	-INE

from that momen, for real for a month my poor son goes to get lose there, in the Nawapa River.
desde ahí de verdad un mes mi hijo se ha ido a perder/ se ha perdido ahí en el (río) Nawapa

04AGO03-RA-074

maritaka,	***chuchawasha.***
mari	*-taka*	*chuchawasha*
thing	-MOD	esp.veg
cosa	-MOD	chuchuhuasi

what maybe, chuchuwasi (drink)
como quizás, el caldo del chuchuwasi

04AGO03-RA-075

tiapu		***ya***	***kuratata***		***yatsuri***	
tia	*-pu*	*ya*	*kurata*	*-ta*	*ya*	*-tsuri*
liquid	-INST	3SG.F	drink	-CAU	3SG.F	-PAS3
caldo	-INST	3SG.F	beber	-CAU	3SG.F	-PAS3

kakirinan	***chaputan.***	
kakiri	*-nan*	*chaputa*	*-n*
live	-only	mix	-NZR
vivir	-solamente	chapear	-NDR

he made him drink with (this) liquid, freshly mixed
él le ha dado de tomar este caldo, chapeado fresquito

04AGO03-RA-076

yapurapu			***ya***	***kuratata***		***yatsuri,***	
ya	*-pura*	*-pu*	*ya*	*kurata*	*-ta*	*ya*	*-tsuri*
3SG.F	-FOC	-INS	3SG.F	drink	-CAU	3SG.F	-PAS3
3SG.F	-FOC	-INS	3SG.F	beber	-CAU	3SG.F	-PAS3

wepe	***tason***	***timitsama***	***nan***	***ya***	***iminintsarayara***	
wepe	*tason*	*timitsama*	*nan*	*ya*	*iminintsara*	*-yara*
one	bowl	full	like.this	3SG.F	story	-make
uno	tazón	lleno	así	3SG.F	cuento	-hacer

uritsuri		***yukun***	***tsa***	***mimirachasu,***		***yaepetsui.***	
uri	*-tsuri*	*yukun*	*tsa*	*mimira*	*-chasu*	*yaepe*	*-tsui*
VEN	-PAS3	DEM	1SG.F	woman's.son	-AFF	there	-ABL
VEN	-PAS3	esa	1SG.F	hijo.de.mujer	-AFF	ahí	-ABL

with that he made him drink; a full bowl; like this he came to tell me my poor son; after that
(con) eso le ha dado de tomar; un tazón lleno, así me ha venido a contar eso mi pobre hijo, después

04AGO03-RA-077

mukuika	***chunka***	***kuarachi***	***ya;.***
mukuika	*chunka*	*kuarachi*	*ya*
two	ten	sun	3SG.F
dos	diez	sol	3SG.F

twenty days, he
veinte días él

04AGO03-RA-078

ya	***ikakuta***		***yatsuri.***	
ya	*ikaku*	*-ta*	*ya*	*-tsuri*
3SG.F	diet	-CAU	3SG.F	-PAS3
3SG.F	dietar	-CAU	3SG.F	-PAS3

he put him in a diet
le ha hecho dietar

04AGO03-RA-079

yantsui	***ya***	***kaɨchasu.***	
yantsui	*ya*	*kaɨ*	*-chasu*
there	3SG.F	shin	-AFF
ahí.luego	3SG.F	canilla	-AFF

later, his poor shin
después su canillita

04AGO03-RA-080

tɨma	***uyari***	***ipiutsuri***		***ay***	***ya***
tɨma	*uyari*	*ipiu*	*-tsuri*	*ay*	*ya*
NEG1	time	infect	-PAS3	already	3SG.F
NEG1	vez	infectarse	-PAS3	ya	3SG.F

ikana,	***yaepetsui.***	
ikana	*yaepe*	*-tsui*
dry	there	-ABL
secarse	ahí	-ABL

it does not longer gets infected; it already dries; and later
ya no se infecta otra vez, se seca, después

04AGO03-RA-081

maniataka		***inu***	***chirata***		***yaera.***	
mania	*-taka*	*inu*	*chira*	*-ta*	*ya*	*-era*
how	-MOD	3PL.F	name	-CAU	3SG.F	-MOD
cómo	-MOD	3PL.F	nombre	-CAU	3SG.F	-MOD

how they migh call it
cómo le llaman a ese pues

04AGO03-RA-082

wɨratiputi	***nanin***	***mutsana.***
wɨratiputi	*nanin*	*mutsana*

veg.	like.this	remedy
suelda.c.suelda	así	remedio

vegetal sp. like this this remedy
suelda con suelda, así (le dicen), remedio

04AGO03-RA-083

ɨwɨrari tseyunin uyariwa;

ɨwɨra	*-ri*	*tseyuni*	*-n*	*uyari*	*-wa*
tree	-DIF	sprout	-NZR	put.together	-GER
árbol	-DIF	brotar	-NDR	reunir	-GER

yapura.

ya	*-pura*
3SG.F	-FOC
3SG.F	-FOC

which grows attached around a tree, this one
apegado alreadedor del palo brota, ese

04AGO03-RA-084

ikanatanpu.

ikana	*-ta*	*-npu*
dry	-CAU	-after
secarse	-CAU	-después

after it dries
después que se seca

04AGO03-RA-085

polbo, tanimuka penu yaukinpu yapu.

polbo	*tanimuka*	*penu*	*yauki*	*-npu*	*ya*	*-pu*
dust	ash	1PL.EX.F	make	-after	3SG.F	-INS
polvo	ceniza	1PL.EX.F	hacer	-después	3SG.F	-INS

later we make dust/ash with it
después hacemos ceniza/polvo, con eso (suelda-con-suelda)

04AGO03-RA-086

yapura ikanata ya.

ya	*-pura*	*ikana*	*-ta*	*ya*
3SG.F	-FOC	dry	-CAU	3SG.F
3SG.F	-FOC	secarse	-CAU	3SG.F

this one dries his (the shin)
él mismo le estaba secando su

04AGO03-RA-087

ya kaɨ kanuara ukuatsuri.

ya	*kaɨ*	*kanuara*	*ukua*	*-tsuri*
3SG.F	shin	bone	used.to	-PAS3
3SG.F	canilla	hueso	soler.ser	-PAS3

his shin used to be bone
su canilla estaba hueso

04AGO03-RA-088

yantsuika ***yachasu*** ***eratsuri***

yantsui	*-ka*	*ya*	*-chasu*	*era*	*-tsuri*
there	-LOC	3SG.F	-AFF	be.well	-PAS3
ahí.luego	-LOC	3SG.F	-AFF	estar.bien	-PAS3

aypuka ***aunkesea***

ay	*-puka*	*aunkesea*
already	-when	even.though
ya	-cuando	aunque.sea

aytsekapanan ***ya*** ***kaɨ***

aytse	*-ka*	*-pa*	*-nan*	*ya*	*kaɨ*
bad	-REI	-CPL	-only	3SG.F	shin
mal	-REI	-CPL	-solamente	3SG.F	canilla

kanuara ***michimichikuka*** ***yapura*** ***era.***

kanuara	*michiku*	-	*michiku*	*-ka*	*ya*	*-pura*	*era*
bone	rinckled	-	rinckled	-REI	3SG.F	-FOC	be.well
hueso	arrugado	-	arrugado	-REI	3SG.F	-FOC	estar.bien

there he get well, currently, although his shin is just weak, very wrinkled attached to the bon it gets cured

ahí/así él se sanó , ahora dañadito/mal nomás esta su canilla, arrugado arrugado pegado al hueso eso se sana

04AGO03-RA-089

peray.

pero	*-ray*
but	-SPE
pero	-SPE

but

pero

04AGO03-RA-090

tɨma ***kujua*** ***yaera.***

tɨma	*kujua*	*ya*	*-era*
NEG1	limp	SG.F	-MOD
NEG1	cojear	SG.F	-MOD

he does not limp (I was afraid)

no cojea pues (como yo estaba temiendo)

04AGO03-RA-091

aunkesea ***aytsekapan*** ***ya*** ***kaɨchasu.***

aunkesea	*aytse*	*-ka*	*-pan*	*ya*	*kaɨ*	*-chasu*
even.though	bad	-REI	-place.w/	3SG.F	shin	-AFF
aunque.sea	mal	-REI	-lugar.con	3SG.F	canilla	-AFF

although his poor shin is weak

aunque dañadito su piernita

04AGO03-RA-092

yaikuatsunka		***uti***
yikua	*-tsunka*	*uti*
because	-MOD	embarrassment
por.eso	-MOD	avergonzarse

yukuaera.

y-	*ukua*	*-era*
3SG.F-	HAB	-MOD
3SG.F-	HAB	-MOD

that's why he used to be embarrased (ashamed)
por eso pues andaba avergonzado (se escondía)

04AGO03-RA-093

trusamukinan			***ya***	***ukuatsen***	
trusa	*-muki*	*-nan*	*ya*	*ukua*	*-tsen*
underwear	-COM	-only	3SG.F	go.around	-PUR3
truza	-COM	-solamente	3SG.F	andar	-PROP3

yakaɨpura ***yutita.***

ya-	*kaɨ*	*-pura*	*ya-*	*uti*	*-ta*
3SG.F-	shin	-FOC	3SG.F-	embarrassment	-CAU
3SG.F-	canilla	-FOC	3SG.F-	avergonzarse	-CAU

to go around only with shorts, his shin embarrasses him
para que se vista sólo con truza su canilla le averguenza

04AGO03-RA-094

tutumachiru	***ipukunmukinan***				***yukua.***	
tutumachiru	*ipuku*	*-n*	*-muki*	*-nan*	*y-*	*ukua*
pants	long	-NZR	-COM	-only	3SG.F-	go.around
pantalón	largo	-NDR	-COM	-solamente	3SG.F-	andar

only with long pants he goes around
con pantalon largo nomás anda

04AGO03-RA-095

nan	***tsa***	***ɨmɨntsarara***		***tsa***
nan	*tsa*	*ɨmɨntsara*	*-ra*	*tsa*
like.this	1SG.F	story	-VZR	1SG.F
así	1SG.F	cuento	-VDR	1SG.F

mɨmɨrachasu.

mɨmɨra	*-chasu*
woman's.son	-AFF
hijo.de.mujer	-AFF

like this I narrate about my poor son
así cuento de mi hijo

04AGO03-RA-096

nanwa			***ukuan.***	
nan	*-*	*yawa*	*ukua*	*-n*
like.this	-	manner	go.around	-NZR
así	-	manera	andar	-NDR

the way he use to go around
que así andaba

04AGO03-RA-097

utsu	***yaepetsui***	***mui***	***karutatsui***		***watari***	***ya***
utsu	*yaepetsui*	*mui*	*karuta*	*-tsui*	*watari*	*ya*
go	then	snake	bite	-ABL	missing	3SG.F
ir	después	víbora	morder	-ABL	faltar	3SG.F

umanu.
umanu
die
morir
after that, from the bite of the snake he scaped death
de ahí, de lo que le ha mordido la víbora se escapó de morir/falto morir/ casi se muere

04AGO03-RA-098

aynan		***tsa***	***i-n-i-ntsaraka.***	
ay	*-nan*	*tsa*	*i-n-i-ntsara*	*-ka*
like.this	-only	1SG.F	story	-REI
asi	-solamente	1SG.F	cuento	-REI

that's all
eso nomás cuento.

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