Yanomama Clause Structure

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Yanomama Clause Structure

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Table of contents

Part II of II

7. Argument marking: word order, flagging and indexing

7.1. Introduction

This chapter describes how YMA indicates the grammatical relations of the arguments in basic independent clauses[1], i.e. how it makes clear, at the morphosyntactic level, who did what to whom. The language relies for this on three strategies: the order of the nominal arguments in the clause, a system of nominal case markers, and a system of coreferential person indexes on the verb. I will start in §7.3, deepening the discussion initiated in Chapter 3 about the order of the clause's constituents. I will detail the order patterns found in 2100 clauses and comment on the native speakers' opinion about the best position for each argument type. We will see that only the subject of intransitive and patient of transitive predicates have a rigid pre-verbal position in the predicate, while other argument types enjoy more freedom in this respect. I will then turn to the morphological devices that express these arguments relations, namely nominal flagging and verbal indexing. In Section §7.4, I will describe the relatively simple case marking system of YMA, comprising only four overtly marked cases and one case which is not morphologically coded. This system is quite consistent and does not have any splits. In Section §7.5 I will deal with the pronominal markers that occur in the verbal phrase. This system is significantly more complicated than the case system regarding the number of marked categories and rules that govern their occurrence. This system displays, for instance, an argument hierarchy in transitive predicates in which the main participants are speech act participants, which prevents agent markers from appearing there.

[1] The strategies found in dependent clauses and multiclausal constructions are quite the same, except for the switch reference marking mechanisms present in the latter.

Before we start the discussion of the marking devices themselves, I will present some analytical concepts in Section §7.2 that will be used throughout the chapter, such as argument, flagging, indexing and valency.

7.2. Some few basic concepts

7.2.1. Argument and flagging

At the clause level, a *nominal argument* or *argument* is any participant of the event that can be expressed by an NP. Some arguments may be morphologically marked in YMA when playing a particular role in the predicate. These morphological markers help in indicating the syntactic relations between the arguments themselves, and between the arguments and the verb in a particular predicate. The term *flagging* refers to this morphological marking of NPs and will be used as a more generic synonym for *case marking*. In YMA, the case markers are placed at the right-most end of the NP (in the last position) to which they refer. In the sentences in (1), the case markers are in bold.

(1) a. *Papiu thëri yamaki* ***hami*** *tëpë =Ø kiki*
Papiu thëri =yamaki ***=hami*** *tëpë =Ø kiki=*
Papiu inhabitant =1PL **=OBL** glass bead =Ø CLN:collective=
warokema yaro [...]
waro =ki =ma =yaro
arrive =PFV2 =PST =CNJ.EXPLV
'For the glass beads arrived among us from Papiu [...]'
(PDYP_MIC_B_10_01)

b. *yarori* ***përi*** *wakë =Ø a*
yarori =pë ***=ri*** *wakë =Ø a=*
ancestor animal =PL **=ERG** fire =Ø 3SG=
thomiremahe .
thomi =ri =ma =he
steal =PFV1 =PST =3PL

'The ancestor animals stole the fire.' (wtx_iwa)

Some arguments, nevertheless, are not flagged in YMA, i.e., do not receive any specific morphological marker that indicates their role in the predicate, such as *tëpë* 'glass bead' in (1a) and *wakë* 'fire' in (1b-c). This is *zero case argument*, which will be represented in this chapter with a capital =*Ø*, at the right-most end of the NP, just like an overt case marker enclitic. However, the capital =*Ø* should be understood as a mere indication of the lack of an overt case marker in that NP, comparing to other NPs in the clause. this symbol =*Ø* in the mentioned position is only used for explanatory purposes and should not be read as an actual morpheme of the language, as no morpho-phonological evidence for it has been observed so far.

7.2.2. Verb valency and indexing

Verb valency has been broadly defined as the number of inherent arguments required by the verb in a predicate to make it grammatical (Tesnière, 1959: 238; Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2000: 2). This requirement is lexically based and has both a semantic and a morphosyntactic aspect (Naess: 2007: 6). On the one hand, verb valency is closely related to the "sense of completeness" of the clause. One can say, for example, that *die* is monovalent in English and *kill* bivalent, because one argument is enough to make the sentence (2a) semantically acceptable. A native speaker will possibly accept (2b) but point out that something or someone is missing from it, only taking (2c) as a complete sentence. We could still add other arguments to both sentences, such as *in the village* in (2d) and *with a knife* and *in the forest* in (2e), but they are somewhat peripheral and dispensable to the core meaning of the predicate. They could be omitted in the clauses without harming their grammaticality or semantic completeness.

(2) a. *The elder died.*

b. *The enemy killed*

c. *The enemy killed the elder.*

d. *The elder died in the village.*

e. *The enemy killed the elder with a knife in the forest.*

Following the iconicity principle (Naess: 2007: 47), most languages tend to reflect these different semantic requirements in their morphosyntactic structure. Languages often treat verbs that require one argument differently from those that require two (or three) participants. That is, verbs are not only semantically but also morphosyntactically monovalent or bivalent. Furthermore, the arguments themselves may be treated differently, depending on whether they are optional or core to the meaning of the predicate. In English, peripheral arguments are always flagged with a preposition and can never control the verb, neither in its active or passive form.

This iconic correlation between semantic and morphosyntactic valencies is not as straightforward and unproblematic as it may appear at first glance. For instance, one may argue that the verbs 'to give' and 'to put' are semantically trivalent in English. Sure enough, a predicate with the verb 'to give' implies that someone gives something to someone else (3a), while a predicate with 'to put' suggests that someone puts something on something else or somewhere (3b).

(3) a. *John gave the book to Mary.*

b. *John put the book on the table.*

Nevertheless, at the morphosyntactic level, only *to give* is truly a trivalent verb and has three core arguments. The argument *on the table* in (3b) is peripheral. There are several ways to demonstrate it, but for the sake of conciseness, I will only mention that *the table* cannot be the subject of the passive version of the sentence (3b). Only the argument *the book* can play such a syntactic role in English (5b). The construction in (5b) is not grammatical. On the other hand, both *Mary* (4b) and *the book* (4a) can be the subject of the passive versions of (3a).

(4) a. *The book was given to Mary by John.*

b. *Mary was given a book by John.*

(5) a. *The book was put on the table by John.*

b. **The table was put the book by John.*

This shows that the sense of semantic completeness of the clause is not a clear-cut criterion for determining syntactic verbal valency and that one must find formal properties that corroborate or falsify any assumption about the argument structure of the clause based on the semantics of the verb alone. These syntactic features are always language specific. The access to the subject position of a passivized version of the clause is, for example, a test valid only for English. YMA has no passive voice.

In this study, I will adopt a working criterion for identifying the valency of a verb in YMA which will be based on the analysis of the morphological structure of the 'minimal grammatical clause,' i.e. the clause without all constituents that can be omitted. In YMA, there is no syntactic requirement for any NP, playing whichever thematic role, to appear in a clause as a full NP, even though its existence is semantically presupposed. As long as an adequate discursive context is provided, all NPs of (1), for example, could be omitted, and the sentences would still be grammatical and with a similar core meaning, as shown in (6). By contrast, none of the sub-constituents of the verbal phrase can be deleted without affecting the grammaticality or the core meaning of the predicate. The minimal clause in YMA is therefore composed of a verbal stem plus tense and aspect morphemes, and pronominal indexes (in bold).

(6) a. ***kiki*** *warokema* *yaro* [...]
kiki= *waro* *=ki* *=ma* *=yaro*
CLN:collective= arrive =PFV2 =PST =CNJ.EXPLV
'For they arrived [...]'

b. ***a*** *thomirema* ***he*** .
a= *thomi* *=ri* *=ma* ***=he***
3SG= steal =PFV1 =PST **=3PL**
'They stole it.'

I will take the obligatoriness of pronominal indexation on the verb as evidence for the syntactic obligatoriness of an argument with a specific verb. Hence valency

will be morphosyntactically defined in YMA as the number of simultaneous pronominal indexes that a particular verb requires when used in a grammatical predicate. Monovalent verbs need only one pronominal index to make the clause grammatical, while bivalents verbs may need two. In this sense, there is no trivalent verb in the language since only two person morphemes appear on the verb, as (7) shows.

(7) *kami yaha ai* ***wamathë*** *hipɨano*
kami =ya =ha ai ***wama= thë=*** *hipɨ =a =no*
1 =1SG =OBL other **2PL= CLN.GNR=** give =DISTR =RESULT
mai !
mai
NEG
'Don't give another one of that!' (m011_joan_tihi)

From this criterion, one can say that *wa* 'eat' in (8a) is a bivalent verb, while *ia* 'eat (have a meal)' in the sentence (8b) is monovalent at the clause level, although the lexical semantics of the two verbs are very similar.

(8) a. *kami yamakɨnɨ yuri* ***yamapë*** *warema* .
kami =yamakɨ =nɨ yuri ***yama= pë=*** *wa =ri =ma*
1 =1PL =ERG fish **1PL= 3PL=** eat =PFV1 =PST
'We ate fishes.'

b. *yuri pëha* ***yamakɨ*** *iarayoma* .
yuri =pë =ha ***yamakɨ=*** *ia =rayu =ma*
fish =PL =OBL **1PL=** eat =PFV1 =PST
'We ate fishes' / 'We have a meal of fishes.'

The same can be said about the bivalent verb *taaɨ* 'see' in (9a) and the syntactically monovalent verb *mamo xatio* 'pay attention at, stare at' in (9b).

(9) a. *ɨhã xinaru **ya** **uku** taarema .*
*ɨhã xinaru **ya=** **uku=** taa =ri =ma*
there cotton **1SG=** **CLN:porridge=** see =PFV1 =PST
'There I saw cotton [for the first time].' (PDYP_MIC_B_07_06)

b. *kami yanomama yamakɨ hamɨ Funai **wamakɨ** mamo pree*
*kami yanomama =yamakɨ =hamɨ Funai **wamakɨ=** mamo= pree*
1 yanomami =1PL =OBL Funai **2PL=** eye= also
xatio .
xati =o
stick =STV
'You people from Funai [should] also look at us Yanomama people.' (m002_cesa_gari)

However, this definition of syntactic valency is not entirely unproblematic in YMA. We will see in §7.5.3, that in clauses with bivalents verb in YMA, two arguments are indeed indexed on the verb, but not in all contexts. First, there is no agent marker on the verb for 3rd person singular. Clauses with this type of agent display only one person index, as in (10).

(10) *thuë anɨ wakë **a** horama .*
*thuë =a =nɨ wakë **a=** hora =ma*
woman =3SG =ERG fire **3SG=** blow =PST
'The woman was blowing the fire.' (s_chck_arok)

Furthermore, when both participants are speech-act participants (SAP), only one of pronominal indices appears on the verb (11). We will see later that this is due to a morphotactic restriction on the concurrence of both SAP indexes combined with an argument hierarchy that determines which argument will be indexed.

(11) *kami yanɨ **wa** pou tëhë [...]*
*kami =ya =nɨ **wa=** po =ɨ =tëhë*
1 =1SG =ERG **2SG=** hold =DYN =REL.PRS

‘When I was married to you [...]’ (lit. ‘When I had you’) (m006_arok_mari)

Thus, if we want to check the valency of the verb using the parameter of pronominal marking on the verb, we have to disregard the participant configurations described above. That is, we have to check the behavior of the verb only in the “mixed configuration,” which involves a SAP and a 3rd person as main participants, or the “external configuration,” which includes only 3rd persons. In both cases, the 3rd person participants must be non-singular (dual or plural).

7.2.3. Core and non-core arguments

The definition of core arguments comes as a consequence of the definition of syntactic valency. Core arguments in YMA are those arguments which may be indexed in the verb by a pronominal marker. The sole pronominal index that appears in a monovalent verb refers to the single core argument of that predicate. The core argument in (12) is *napë* ‘white man’ which is co-referenced by *arĩ=* on the verb.

(12)	*huu*	*tihi*	*pesiha*		*napë*	***arĩ***		*ithorayu*	
	huu	*tihi=*	*pesi*	*=ha*	*napë*	***a=***	***rĩ=***	*itho*	*=rayu*
	tree	CLN:tree=	woof	=OBL	white person	**3SG=**	**HON=**	alight	=PFV1

wei [...]

=wei

=NMLZ

‘The white man (+REV) descending on the ladder [...]’ (s_pear_cesa)

The two pronominal markers indexed in bivalent verbs are in co-reference with the two core arguments of the predicate, not mattering whether they are only implicit in the clause or visible by a nominal phrase. In the example in (13), the indexes *a=* and *=he* are in co-reference with the core arguments *pora* ‘ball’ and *napë pënɨ* ‘the white men,’ respectively.

(13) *napë* *pënë* *wawëwawë* *hamë* *pora* ***a***
napë *=pë* *=në* *wawëwawë* *=hamë* *pora* ***a=***
white person =PL =ERG glade =OBL ball **3SG=**
*maihama**he*** .
maiha *=ma* ***=he***
bounce =PST **=3PL**
'The white men were bouncing the ball on the open field.' (s_ball_mrio)

Arguments that are not indexed in the verb, such as *huu tihi pesiha* 'on the ladder' of (12) and *wawëwawë hamɨ* 'on the open field' in (13), are considered to be non-core or peripheral arguments. We will see in this chapter that oblique and instrumental arguments are always peripheral in YMA.

7.3. Word order

In Chapter 3 (§3.3), we discussed some basic features of constituent or word order in YMA. We saw that verbs tend to appear in the final position of the clause, while nouns are more likely to occur before the verb. I also pointed out that the majority of the 2100 clauses of our sample does not have a single full noun phrase in them. In this section, I will deepen this discussion showing the possible grammatical arrangements of the arguments in the clause and the role that word order plays in indicating their syntactic function. I will begin with intransitive predicates in §7.3.1 and then turn to transitive ones in §7.3.2.

7.3.1. Word order patterns in intransitive clauses

In our sample of 2100 clauses extracted from the corpus of narratives stimulated by video, there are 903 intransitive clauses (43%). In the majority of those clauses, the noun phrase that refers to the subject of the predicate is not overtly expressed, as Table 7.1 shows.

Table 7.1 – Frequency of explicit NPs in role of subject (S)

	Clauses	Frequency
S is explicit	334	37%
S is not explicit	569	63%
	903	100%

According to all native speaker surveyed, when the subject is overtly expressed in the clause with an NP, its canonical position is before the verb, as in (14). Intransitive clauses with the subject after the verb are always flagged as ungrammatical or at least stilted.

(14) a. *apiama a maproimi* .
apiama a= ma =pro =imi
airplane 3SG= not_exist =DRV =NEG
'The airplane does not disappear.' (i.e. it does not decay)
(PDYP_MIC_A_02_42)

b. *kami yanomama yamaki pihi*
kami yanomama yamaki= pihi=
1 yanomami 1PL= V.PTC:thought=
xuhuriprarioma .
xuhuri =pra =rio =ma
sadness =DRV =PFV1 =PST
'We Yanomama people got sad.' (m002_cesa_gari)

The analysis of the intransitive clauses in our sample confirms this native judgment, as the figures in Table 7.2 clearly indicate. There are only two cases in which the subject appeared after the verb and two where it occurs before and after the verb. I assumet hat these rare cases do not conform to the syntactic possibilities of the language, but to repair or clarification strategies.

Table 7.2 - Position of S in relation to V (when S is overtly expressed with NP)

Order	Clauses	Frequency
SV	330	98.8%
VS	2	0.6%
SVS	2	0.6%
	334	100%

When it comes to oblique arguments, native speakers also prefer to place them before the verb and, more specifically, before the subject, when this is present in the clause. In (15), I present two examples of intransitive clauses with this prototypical order of the oblique argument and the subject.

(15) a. *Xupari wakë **hami** kaho wamaki huu paxio*
*Xupari =wakë **=hami** kaho wamaki= hu =i paxi =o*
Satanas =CLN:fire **=OBL** 2 2PL= go =DYN be obvious =STV
'You two are going to hell.' (n006_masipe) (note: Xupari = Satanas)

b. *huu tihi nasiki**ha** reã si marixi*
*huu =tihi =nasiki **=ha** reã si= mãrixi*
tree =CLN:tree =root **=OBL** mouse CLN:small= sleepy
mioti tëhë [...]
mi =o =ti =tëhë
sleep =STV =DUR =REL.PRS
'When the mouse was sleeping [leaning] on the roots of the tree [...]' (s_ms10_arok)

Nevertheless, native speakers do not reject constructions where the oblique appears after the verb, as in the examples in (16). This order may sound stilted in elicited sentences or in single clauses detached from their context but is perfectly acceptable when sufficient discursive context is provided. The only restriction made by the speakers in the arrangement of the arguments in intransitive clauses is against

placing the oblique argument in between the verb and the subject, which yields ungrammatical sentences.

(16) a. *hapai naha kami ya pihi kuu kaho*
hapai =naha kami ya= pihi= ku =ɨ kaho
CAT =thereby 1 1SG= V.PTC:thought= say =DYN 2
*wae**hamɨ*** [...]
*=wa =e **=hamɨ***
=2SG =DIF.PART **=OBL**
'I think about you the following [...]' (m006_arok_mari)

b. *ĩhĩ tëhë [thuwë] a aa*
ĩhĩ =tëhë thuwë a= a =a
ANA =REL.PRS woman 3SG= go =PFV.VWL
*kõrahuruma yano a**ha** .*
*kõ =ra =huru =ma yano =a **=ha***
again =PFV1 =DIR.AND =PST house =SG **=OBL**
'Then the women went away again to the house.' (s_chck_marc)

Interestingly, the frequency of oblique arguments in the post-verbal position is very low in our sample. It happened only in twelve instances (1.4%), where we total all occurrences, both in clauses with and in those without a subject NP. I think that this relatively low frequency is due to the limited size of the sample or still possibly due to the type of text selected for the sample (only narratives stimulated by video).

In Table 7.3, I present the frequency of each type of argument order in the intransitive clauses of our sample. This table brings the same data presented in Table 7.2 but now also considering the position of the oblique argument, abbreviated as Obl. The table also indicates whether the arguments are being expressed by a noun or a pronoun. In the latter case, the argument S or Obl are in parentheses, as (S) and (Obl).

Table 7.3 – Word order of intransitive clauses that have a subject NP

Order	Clauses	Frequency over the intransitive clauses without an explicit subject NP	Frequency over the total of intransitive clauses
SV	210	62.9%	23.0%
(S)V	84	25.1%	9.2%
OblSV	15	4.5%	1.6%
(Obl)(S)V	8	2.4%	0.9%
(Obl)SV	8	2.4%	0.9%
Obl(S)V	1	0.3%	0.1%
SVObl	4	1.2%	0.5%
(S)VS	2	0.6%	0.2%
VS	2	0.6%	0.2%
	334	100%	37%

Oblique arguments also preferentially precede the verb in clauses where the subject is not an NP overtly expressed. Table 7.4 shows how frequently in this context each type of word order appeared in our sample.

Table 7.4 – Word order of intransitive clauses that do not have a subject NP

Order	Clauses	Frequency over the intransitive clauses without an explicit subject NP	Frequency over the total of intransitive clauses
V	515	90.5%	57%
(Obl)V	26	4.6%	2.9%
OblV	20	3.5%	2.2%
Vobl	6	1.1%	0.7%
(Obl)V(Obl)	1	0.2%	0.1%
OblVObl	1	0.2%	0.1%
	569	100%	63%

As a final note, instrumental/causal arguments did not show up in the sample of 2100 clauses. These arguments behave very similarly to oblique arguments as far as word order is concerned. I will discuss more on this type of argument in Section §7.4.3. I will turn now to the study of the order of the arguments in transitive predicates.

7.3.2. Word order patterns in transitive clauses

Similarly to what happens in the intransitive clauses, the vast majority of the transitive predicates do not have a single overt argument in one of the core syntactic positions of the clause; i.e. there are no full agent and patient arguments in the clause. The figures on Table 7.5 shows this prevalence of nounless clauses in our sample. Note also that the P argument is about four times more frequently expressed than the A argument.

Table 7.5 – Frequency of explicit NPs in role of patient (P) and agent (A)

	Clauses	Frequency over the total of transitive clauses
Neither P or A are explicit	710	59.3%
Only P is explicit	359	30.0%
Both P and A are explicit	72	6.0%
Only A is explicit	56	4.7%
	1197	100%

Native speakers agree among themselves that when the P argument is present, it always goes before the verb, as in the examples in (17). Constructions with the patient placed after the verb are considered ungrammatical.

(17) a. *mau u koama .*
mau u= koa =ma
water CLN:liquid= drink =PST
'[He] was drinking water.' (s_ball_alfr)

b. *matihi yama pë taaɨ pihioimi .*
matihi yama= pë= taa =ɨ pihi =o =imi
belongings 1PL= 3PL= see =DYN will =STV =NEG
'[We] don't want to see the goods/belongings.' (PDYP_MIC_B_06_08)

The numbers found in the clauses of our sample reflects this strict preference for the pre-verbal position of the P argument, as Table 7.6 shows. I attribute the two occurrences of the post-verbal patient to repair and clarification strategies.

Table 7.6 – Position of P in relation to V (when P is explicit in the clause as NP)

Order	Clauses	Frequency over the intransitive clauses without an explicit patient NP	Frequency over the total of transitive clauses
P before V	429	99.4%	36.0%
P after V	1	0.3%	> 0.1%
P before and after V	1	0.3%	> 0.1%
	431	100%	36.0%

Likewise, the agent argument also appears before the verb in most clauses, as Table 7.7 shows.

Table 7.7 - Position of A in relation to V (when A is explicit in the clause as NP)

Order	Clauses	Frequency
A before V	117	91.4%
V before A	11	8.6%
	128	100%

Two examples are given in (18) of the canonical placement of the agent argument before the verb.

(18) a. *napë a**ni*** *[tëpë] kɨkɨ*
*napë =a **=ni** tëpë kɨkɨ=*
foreigner =SG **=ERG** glass bead CLN:collective=
hipɨanimi .
hipɨ =a =n =imi
give =DRV =PST =NEG
'The white person did not give us [the glass beads].' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18)

b. *kami yamaki**ni*** *wakë yamaa* *tanimi* .

kami *=yamaki* ***=ni*** *wakë* *yama=* *a=* *ta* *=n* *=imi*

1 =1PL **=ERG** fire 1PL= 3SG= know =PST =NEG

'We did not know the fire.' (n001_iwa)

However, as Table 7.7 also indicates, the post-verbal position of A is much more frequent than P in the same position. Indeed, according to native speakers' evaluation, it is not ungrammatical to place the agent after the verb, even though this is not its canonical position. The agent argument only cannot appear between the patient argument and the verb. In (19), I present two examples of A being placed after the verb.

(19) a. *hapai naha* *thë thama* *napë a**ni***

hapai *=naha* *thë=* *tha* *=ma* *napë* *=a* ***=ni***

CAT =thereby CLN.GNR= do; make =PST foreigner =SG **=ERG**

'The white person did the following.' (s_ball_arir)

b. *wamaki* *mëramaihe* *AIS* *pë**ni*** .

wamaki= *mëra* *=ma* *=i* *=he* *AIS* *=pë* ***=ni***

2PL= blunder =CAUS =DYN =3PL health agent =PL **=ERG**

'The Indigenous health agents (AIS) are deceiving you.'

(PDYP_MIC_A_13_13)

The position of non-core arguments, such as instrumental and oblique arguments, is relatively free in transitive clauses. The native speakers' first choice in elicitation sessions seems to be placing them after the A argument (when it is present) and before the P argument. The clauses in (20) illustrate this preference. In (20a), we have an oblique argument (*huitukana hami* 'in the garden') after the agent (*kami yamakini* 'we'), and in (20b) we have an instrumental argument (*hãyokoroma ani* 'with the axe) in between the agent (*napë ani* 'the white person') and the patient (*kõa ayõki* 'firewood').

A OBL [P]

(20) a. *kami yamakɨnɨ hutukana hamɨ [xinaru] yama*

kami =yamakɨ =nɨ hutukana =hamɨ xinaru yama=

1 =1PL =ERG garden =OBL cotton 1PL=

upë tuaɨ wei [...]

upë= tu =a =ɨ =wei

CLN:cotton= plant =DRV =DYN =NMLZ

'The cotton that we plant in the garden [...]' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18)

A INS P

b. *napë anɨ hãyokoroma anɨ kõa*

napë =a =nɨ hãyõkõrõma =a =nɨ kõa

foreigner =SG =ERG axe =SG =INS firewood

ayõkɨ pahikimama .

ayõ= kɨ= pahiki =ma =ma

CLN:firewood= 3PL= shattered =CAUS =PST

'The white man was chopping the firewood in pieces with the ax.' (s_chck_hoax).

I present one example below of an instrumental argument being placed after the verb (21a) (in bold), and another one with an oblique argument in the same position (21b) (in bold).

(21) a. *waa rõxia ha*

wa= a= rõxi =a ha=

2SG= 3SG= prune =PFV.VWL REL.PST=

parɨprarɨnɨ ***poo ani*** [...]

parɨ =pra =ri =nɨ ***poo =a =nɨ***

first =DRV =PFV1 =REL.PST **knife =SG =INS**

'You first scraping it with knife [...]' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_11)

b. *ĩhĩ tëhë ai napë anɨ ai oxe*

ĩhĩ =tëhë ai napë =a =nɨ ai oxe

ANA =REL.PRS other foreigner =SG =ERG other youngster

*thë xeeprakema , **pixata aha** .*

*thë= xee =pra =ki =ma **pixata** **=a** **=ha***

CLN.GNR= throw =DRV =PFV2 =PST **ground** **=SG** **=OBL**

'Then the other white person threw the child down on the floor.'

(s_ball_marc)

Finally, in (22) there are two more examples that show the greater mobility of non-core arguments in YMA in comparison with core ones. In these examples, the oblique argument appears before the A argument. This is not a very common position for the oblique argument when A is present in the clause. Nevertheless, as I explained before, this is not ungrammatical; the only position in which non-core arguments cannot appear is in between the P argument and the verb.

OBL A P

(22) a. *hapa wamotima thëkɨha napë anɨ huu*

hapa wamotima =thë =kɨ =ha napë =a =nɨ huu

before food =CLN.GNR =PL =OBL foreigner =SG =ERG tree

tihikɨ pesi ha rakɨmakɨnɨ [...]

tihi= kɨ= pesi ha= rakɨ =ma =kɨ =nɨ

CLN:tree= 3PL= woof REL.PST= lean =CAUS =PFV2 =REL.PST

'First the white person leaned the ladder on the food [i.e. on the tree that had fruit].' (note: huu tihi pesi = 'ladder')(s_pear_arir)

	OBL			A				P
b.	*tëpë*	*kɨkɨha*		*thuwë*	*thëpëni*			*pesima*
	tëpë	*=kɨkɨ*	*=ha*	*thuwë*	*=thë*	*=pë*	*=ni*	*pesima*
	glass bead	=PL	=OBL	woman	=CLN.GNR	=PL	=ERG	loincloth

kɨkɨ *raromarema* *yarohe* [...]

kɨkɨ= *raro* *=ma* *=ri* *=ma* *=yaro* *=he*

CLN:collective= thrive =CAUS =PFV1 =PST =CNJ.EXPLV =3PL

'For the women had multiplied the loin-cloths from/with the glass beads.' (PDYP_MIC_B_10_01)

I discussed the distribution of core and non-core arguments in the clause in this section, having the verb and the other arguments as parameters. We saw that that there is a strict word order SV and PV, and that no other argument may appear between S/P and V. Other argument types display more flexibility in this respect, even though there are an apparent tendency and conscious preference for also placing them before the verb.

In the next sections, I will describe how the syntactic roles are marked in the nominal phrases, through the case marking system, and on the verb, with person indexes that are in co-reference with the core arguments of the clause.

7.4. Case system

YMA has a small set of morphemes, consisting of only three enclitics, that appear in the last position of some NPs (slot 8 of Cluster A); these enclitics are case marking morphemes that make explicit some of the syntactic relations of the arguments in the predicate. In this section, I will deal with these enclitics, as in Table 7.8.

Table 7.8 - YMA case markers

Marker	Meaning
=nɨ	Ergative, instrumental, causal
=xo	Additive
=ha/=hamɨ	Oblique

For all persons and in all syntactic configurations, these markers display ergative-absolutive alignment, or more precisely, ergative alignment since there is not an absolutive case marker in the paradigm. Indeed, if the nominal argument plays an absolutive role in the clause, i.e. is either the subject (S) of intransitive clause or patient (P) of a transitive one, it does not receive any case marker. The absolutive case is null in the language. Only in this chapter, I will use *=Ø* (a capitalized zero) to indicate the non-marked argument of the clause. This is for illustrative purposes only and does mean that I am postulating an actual enclitic *=ø* (a lowercase zero) to that position. I am not aware of any evidence that would support this analysis. In (23), I offer an example where we can see that sole argument of an intransitive clause do not receive any marker *(=Ø*). In section 7.4.1, I will discuss the zero-code case of the language some more.

(23) *hiima* ***=Ø*** *a* *hapa* *huimama*
hiima ***=Ø*** *a=* *hapa* *hu* *=ima* *=ma*
dog ***=Ø*** 3SG= before go =DIR.VEN =PST
'First, the dog came.' (s_ms01_alfr_from_xxxx)

It is worth noting that, as a nominal enclitic, the morpheme *=nɨ* may be glossed in three different ways: as a marker of the ergative case (24a), the instrumental case (24b) and the causal case (24c). We will see in section 7.4.3 that arguments playing the roles of instrument and cause are identical in the sense that they display the same morphosyntactic properties, such as not controlling the person indexes on the verb.

Among the arguments marked with *=nɨ*[2], only the ergative ones can exercise such control over these markers, as I will explain in §7.4.2. In that section, I will also investigate, from a semantic perspective, the various types of ergative arguments found in the YMA texts.

ERGATIVE

(24) a. *kami* ***yanɨ*** *napë* *=Ø* *ya* *pë* *taimi*
kami *=ya* ***=nɨ*** *napë* *=Ø* *ya=* *pë=* *ta* *=imi*
1 =1SG **=ERG** white person =Ø 1SG= 3PL= know =NEG
makii [...]
ma= *ki* *=i*
FOC.CONC= COP =REL
'Even though I do not know the white people [...]' (m011_joan_tihi)

INSTRUMENTAL

b. *hãyõkoroma* ***anë*** *hoxo* *wãriãmahe*
hãyõkoroma *=a* ***=në*** *hoxo=* *wãri* *=ã* *=ma* *=he*
axe =SG **=ERG** CLN:airstrip= spoil =DISTR =PST =3PL
'They cleaned the airstrip [area] with axes.' (to spoil = to clear or to cut down the forest) (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18)

CAUSAL

c. *xawara* ***pënɨ*** *yamakɨ* *yei*
xawara *=pë* ***=nɨ*** *yamakɨ=* *yei*
epidemic =PL **=CAUSE** 1PL= true
maprarioma .
ma *=pra* *=rio* *=ma*
not_exist =DRV =PFV1 =PST
'We really [almost] disappeared due to epidemics.' (PDYP_MIC_A_14_02)

[2] Or the variant *=në*.

Cases where the ergative case marker appears simultaneously with the causal or instrumental are discussed in 7.4.3.

As I will show in Section §7.4.4, the additive case marker *=xo* specifies that several arguments have the same role in the predicate, also marked with the additive marker. We will see that YMA allows the use of *=xo* to indicate multiple subjects, patients and agents, and even multiple instruments. Only multiple oblique arguments cannot be specified with the additive *=xo*. In (25), I present an example of multiple subjects being marked with additive *=xo*.

(25) *Usitepã* ***axo*** , *Miyuti* ***axo*** *moto* *hamɨ* *kɨpë*
Usitepã *=a* ***=xo*** *Miyuti* *=a* ***=xo*** *moto* *=hamɨ* *kɨpë=*
Estevão =SG **=ADD** Milton =SG **=ADD** motor =OBL 3DU=
warokema
waro *=ki* *=ma*
arrive =PFV2 =PST
'Estevão and Milton, they two arrived by motor boat.'
(PDYP_MIC_B_10_02)

Finally, YMA has two oblique markers *=ha* and *=hamɨ*[3] that are used to mark a variety of non-core arguments of the clauses, ranging from location and direction/goal to means-of-transportation, beneficiaries, and recipients. The oblique markers can also specify some theme- stimulus- or even experiencer-like arguments, which are syntactically not coded as core arguments. We will see in §7.4.5 that some of these types of oblique arguments are preferentially flagged with one of the two morphemes, even though these are used interchangeably in some other contexts, as the examples from our corpus show. In (26) I offer two examples of these markers in use. In (26a) the morpheme *=ha* specifies a locative argument, while in (26b) the alternative form *=hamɨ* indicates means-of-transportation.

[3] Or *=hamë*.

(26) a. *mõri yano* ***ha*** *kɨpërĩ* *pirɨa* .
mori yano ***=ha*** *kɨpë=* *rĩ=* *pirɨ* *=a*
one house **=OBL** 3DU= HON= lie =POST
'They two (+REV) live in a single house.' (s_chck_cesa)

b. *apiama* ***ahamɨ*** *thëpë* *huu* .
apiama *=a* ***=hamɨ*** *thë=* *pë=* *hu* *=ɨ*
airplane =SG **=OBL** CLN.GNR= 3PL= go =DYN
'They are going by plane.' (m002_cesa_gari)

I will begin in the next section discussing the argument that is not morphologically flagged in YMA.

7.4.1. Absolutive: zero case =Ø

At the clause level, the majority of the predicates in YMA have one explicit – or understood – nominal phrase with no particular morpheme specifying its syntactic role. This NP is the zero case argument, which has a fixed position immediately before the verb, and no other argument can intervene between them. The zero-case argument may be explicit in the clause, as in the examples (27), but is more frequently omitted, as we saw in §7.3.

(27) a. *sipo* *hamɨ* *karaka* ***=Ø*** *a praa* *tëhë* [...]
sipo *=hamɨ* *karaka* ***=Ø*** *a=* *pra* *=a* *=tëhë*
outside =OBL chicken **=Ø** 3SG= lie =POST =REL.PRS
'When the chicken was lying on the floor outside [the house] [...]'
(s_chck_batm)

b. *hehamɨ kami yamakinɨ kariperu* ***=Ø*** *yama pë yai*
hehamɨ kami =yamakɨ =nɨ kariperu ***=Ø*** *yama= pë= yai*
here 1 =1PL =ERG miner ***=Ø*** 1PL= 3PL= true
piximaimi .
pixima =imi
want =NEG
'We really do not want miners here.' (m004_paya_gari)

We do not find zero-case arguments only in impersonal predicates that convey some states and processes related to the weather or natural events (28).

(28) *thë titi mahipruu tëhë* [...]
thë= titi mahi =pru =ɨ =tëhë
CLN.GNR= night much =DRV =DYN =REL.PRS
'When it was getting really dark [...]' (n028_naikiki)

Except for the impersonal predicates, all clauses in YMA have one zero case argument that does not receive any extra morpheme indicating its role in the clause. In fact, and quite in contrary to receiving additional morphology, the zero case argument in YMA loses some of its 'regular' morphological material to the verbal phrase. For instance, if we compare it to the form used for labeling or quoting the same referent (29), we will see that the zero case argument lacks all the enclitics from Cluster A, including the number morphemes (30a) and the noun classifiers (30b). Hence the zero argument itself is always transnumeral, i.e. not marked for number. This morphological transfer from the nominal phrase to the predicate gave rise to the re-grammaticalization of the number morphemes and the classifiers as person indexes on the verb. I will present the pieces of evidence that this process has happened in Section §7.5.2.

(29) a. *sihẽsihẽ* ***pë***
sihẽsihẽ ***=pë***
twigs ***=PL***
'the residues', 'the leftovers'

b. *huu* ***tihiki***
huu ***=tihi*** ***=ki***
tree =CLN:tree =PL
'trees'

(30) a. *sihẽsihẽ* *=Ø* *yama* ***pë*** *hoyaprama* *wii*
sihẽsihẽ *=Ø* *yama=* ***pë=*** *hoya* *=pra* *=ma* *wii*
twigs =Ø 1PL= **3PL=** throw away =DRV =PST basket
pëhami .
=pë *=hami*
=3PL =OBL
'We also threw away in the baskets the residues (twigs, leaves...).'
(PDYP_MIC_B_03_18)

b. *huu* *=Ø* *wama* ***tihiki*** *matha* *hoyprai*
huu *=Ø* *wama=* ***tihi=*** ***ki=*** *matha=* *hoya* *=pra* *=i*
tree =Ø 2PL= **CLN:tree=** **PL=** leg= throw away =DRV =DYN
'You throw away the pieces of the trees.' (PDYP_MIC_B_03_18)

Syntactically, the zero case display an absolutive alignment, i.e. it is the sole argument (S) of intransitive predicates (31a) and the patient argument (P) of transitive ones (31b).

(31) a. *ai* *napë* *=Ø* *a* *pairionimi* .
ai *napë* *=Ø* *a=* *pairi* *=o* *=n* *=imi*
other white person =Ø 3SG= take part in =STV =PST =NEG
'There was no other white person.' (PDYP_MIC_B_10_02)

b. *mareã* *=Ø* *wama* *sipë* *toai* .
mareã *=Ø* *wama=* *si=* *pë=* *toa* *=i*
money =Ø 2PL= CLN:large_surface= PL= take =DYN
'You take money.' (i.e. 'You have a salary') (PDYP_MIC_B_10_02)

However, there is no particular semantics associated with the zero case argument. This is particularly true for predicates with monovalent verbs, since all monovalent verbs in YMA, no matter their semantics, select one zero case argument as their syntactic subject. For this reason, this argument can refer to highly volitional subjects of unergative verbs, as in (32a), or much less volitional participants (experiencers) of unaccusative predicates, as in (32b).

(32) a. *napë oxe =Ø ai **rërë**imama* .
*napë oxe =Ø a= i= **rërë** =ima =ma*
white person youngster =Ø 3SG= DIM= **run** =DIR.VEN =PST
'The white child came running.' (s_pear_marc)

b. *ĩhĩ tëhë wãrõkõxi =Ø una **ke**rayoma* .
*ĩhĩ =tëhë wãrõkõxi =Ø una= **ke** =rayu =ma*
ANA =REL.PRS sp._of_fruit =Ø CLN:???= **fall** PFV1 =PST
'Then the sugar-apple (*Duguetia sp.*) fell.' (s_ms10_arir)

Furthermore, the sole argument of monovalent verbs that convey either position and posture, as in (33a), or an attribute, as in (33b), also receives zero marking.

(33) a. *reã =Ø si marixi **raki**oti tëhë* [...]
*reã =Ø si= mãrixi **raki** =o =ti =tëhë*
mouse =Ø CLN:small= sleepy **lean** =STV =DUR =REL.PRS
'When the mouse was leaning asleep [...]' (s_ms10_arok)

b. *mau =Ø uku **uxixi*** .
*mau =Ø u= ku= **uxixi***
water =Ø CLN:liquid= PL= **muddy**
'The rivers are muddy.' (m004_paya_gari)

Similar to what is observed in predicates with monovalent verbs, the thematic roles played by zero case arguments may vary considerably with bivalent verbs, depending on the lexical semantics of the latter. A zero case argument can be

associated with a participant that is affected by the predicate by a change in its state (a patient-like participant), as in (34a), or with a participant that undergoes the predicate but is not physically modified by it (a theme-like participant), as in (34b).

(34) a. *ropeni̵ urihi =Ø a waremahe .*
ropeni̵ urihi =Ø a= wa =ri =ma =he
quickly forest =Ø 3SG= eat =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'They quickly devastated the forest.' (lit. 'They quickly ate the forest')
(m002_cesa_gari)

b. *tëpë =Ø yama pë yapra̵i .*
tëpë =Ø yama= pë= yapra =i̵
glass bead =Ø 1PL= 3PL= choose =DYN
'We are selecting the glass beads.' (i.e. choosing the good ones)
(PDYP_MIC_A_06_08)

In predicates encoding transfer, the zero case argument may be associated either with the entity being transferred (theme) – while the recipient or beneficiary is regarded (and flagged) as an oblique argument – or with the recipient/beneficiary – where the theme is treated as the oblique argument. The same occurs with communication verbs. The choice for one or other argument structure type is lexically determined. I will discuss this alternation more in §7.4.5 when describing oblique arguments. Please refer to the examples (67)-(70).

Despite this apparent unspecialized semantics associated with zero case arguments, one feature can be pointed out at least in predicates with bivalent verbs: the relative low volition of the participant in the predicate. Comparing to the participant expressed by the other argument indexed in the verb (the argument expressed by the NP with case marker *=ni̵*), the zero case argument always refers to a participant with a less pro-active role in the event. It is never the participant who triggers, initiates or even performs the predicated action, but rather the one who is a passive, involuntary or counter-voluntary target of this predication and/or undergoes the possible changes involved. For this reason, it is correct to state that zero case

arguments have a more specialized semantics with bivalent verbs than with monovalent verbs. With bivalents verbs, it is exclusively a patient-, theme- or beneficiary-like argument (and never an agent-like), while in monovalent verbs it can be either an agent-like argument (with unergative verbs) or a patient- or experiencer-like argument (with unaccusative verbs). Agent-like arguments of bivalent verbs will always be associated with the ergative case marker *=nɨ*, as discussed in the next section (§7.4.2).

Before we move on, it is worth mentioning that no variation is observed in the marking of the zero case argument when the predicate varies for aspect or tense. Also in this respect, no special treatment is given to 1 and 2 person pronouns or proper names when they occupy the absolutive position in the clause. In (35), I present an example of the latter.

(35) *Rezende =Ø wamaa taɨ hikio .*
Rezende =Ø wama= a= ta =ɨ hiki =o
Rezende =Ø 2PL= 3SG= know =DYN already =STV
'You already know Rezende.' (PDYP_MIC_B_07_06)

7.4.2. Ergative *=nɨ*

Every predicate with bivalent verbs selects one zero-case argument and one argument flagged with the ergative case marker *=nɨ*. The participant marked with *=nɨ* has always a higher degree of volition, proactivity, and initiative in participating in the specific event than the zero case argument. For instance, the agent-like participant of "prototypical transitive predicates" (Comrie, 1989: 111; Taylor 1995: 206-207; Haspelmath, 2011: 546), such as *këɨ* 'brake' (36a) and *xëpraɨ* 'kill' (36b), is always flagged with *=nɨ* (in bold), while the other participant (the more patient-like one) of these events remains unmarked.

(36) a. *napë thuwë arĩ**ni** kõa =Ø*
*napë thuwë =a =rĩ **=ni** kõa =Ø*
white person woman =SG =HON **=ERG** firewood =Ø
ahasiki hapa kërarema .
ahasi= ki= hapa kë =ra =ri =ma
CLN:kindling wood= 3PL= before break =DISTR =PFV1 =PST
'The white women (+REV) first broke the firewood in pieces.' (s_chck_arok)

b. *wayahomari pë**ni** pei =Ø a pata*
*wayahomari =pë **=ni** pei =Ø a= pata*
ancestor potoo **=**PL **=ERG** INDEF =Ø 3SG= elder
xëpraremahe .
xë =pra =ri =ma =he
beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'The spirits of the potoos (bird) killed that ancestor.' (n052_thomi)

Predicates with other types of bivalent verbs – such as *wai* 'to eat'(37a) and *tiyëi* 'to weave' (37b) – also imply an agent-like participant, which is flagged with the ergative marker as well.

(37) a. *kaho wa**ni** pesima =Ø wa kiki*
*kaho =wa **=ni** pesima =Ø wa= kiki=*
2 =2SG **=ERG** loincloth =Ø 2SG= CLN:collective=
tiyëprai tëhë [...]
tiyë =pra =i =tëhë
weave =DRV =DYN =REL.PRS
'When you are weaving the loin-cloth [...]' (PDYP_MIC_B_01_17)

b. *Iwa a**ni** a ripi wari wei [...]*
*iwa =a **=ni** a= ripi wa =ri =wei*
caiman =SG **=ERG** 3SG= cooked eat =PFV1 =NMLZ
'The caiman eating it cooked [...]' (wtx_iwa)

In predicates that convey transfer, like *hɨpɨ* 'give,' *ximi* 'to send' or *tipɨ* 'to present,' the marker case *=nɨ* is always associated with the argument that refers to the giver (38a) or sender (38b).

(38) a. *kami yaɨni ipa tëpë =Ø ya kɨkɨ*
kami =ya =ɨni ipa tëpë =Ø ya= kɨkɨ=
1 =1SG **=ERG** 1POS glass bead =Ø 1SG= CLN:collective=
hɨpɨki tëhë [...]
hɨpɨ =ki =tëhë
give =PFV2 =REL.PRS
'If I give away my glass beads [...]' (PDYP_MIC_A_06_08)

b. *patere pëɨni yamakɨ topɨmahe* .
patere =pë =ɨni yamakɨ= topɨ =ma =he
priest =PL **=ERG** 1PL= present =PST =3PL
'The priests presented us [with glass beads].' (PDYP_MIC_B_02_01)

In predicates with verbs that express request, such as *wãri* 'ask/question' or *naka* 'ask/call' the ergative argument will be identified with the requestor, as the example in (39).

(39) *Tẽrẽma aɨni pei hẽaropë =Ø e nakaa*
Tẽrẽma =a =ɨni pei hẽaropë =Ø e= naka =a
Tẽrẽma =SG **=ERG** INDEF husband =Ø DIF.PART= call; ask =PFV.VWL
xoakema .
xoa =ki =ma
afterwards =PFV2 =PST
'Tẽrema then called her husband.' (wtx_terema)

In causative constructions, the *causer* is the argument flagged by the marker *=nɨ*, as we can see in the examples in (40). A full account on causatives and their argument structure is given in Chapter 9 (§9.5.2).

(40) a. *MDM pë**ni** tëpë =Ø kɨkɨ wãroho*
*MDM =pë **=ni** tëpë =Ø kɨkɨ= wãroho*
MDM =PL **=ERG** glass bead =Ø CLN:collective= a lot
pëpramaremahe .
pë =pra =ma =ri =ma =he
appear =DRV =CAUS =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'The people from MDM (Médecins du Monde) made appear (i.e. brought) a lot of glass beads.' (PDYP_MIC_B_08_01)

b. *mokaxaiu thëri pë**në** thë*
*mokaxaiu thëri =pë **=në** thë=*
Mucajai inhabitant =PL **=ERG** CLN.GNR=
taamaremahe .
taa =ma =ri =ma =he
see =CAUS =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'The people from the Mucajaí River showed it [to them]'
(PDYP_MIC_A_03_18)

However, agentivity is not a necessary feature for an argument to be marked with the ergative *=nɨ*. For instance, some transitive verbs of perception – as *taa* 'see' (41a) or *hĩrĩ* 'hear (41b) – projects an experiencer type of participant, which is still the syntactic agent of the clause and thus marked with *=nɨ*.

(41) a. *sũrũrũma usiri**ni** wakë taarema* .
*sũrũrũma =usi =ri **=ni** wakë= taa =ri =ma*
woodpecker =CLN:??? =HON **=ERG** CLN:fire= see =PFV1 =PST
'The woodpecker saw the fire.' (n_oly05)

b. *napë pë**ni*** *[ipa] =Ø thãã̃*
napë *=pë* ***=ni*** *ipa* *=Ø* *thë=* *ã̃=*
white person =3PL **=ERG** 1POS =Ø CLN.GNR= sound=
hiriihe .
hiri *=ɨ* *=he*
hear =DYN =3PL
'The white people listen to [my] words.' (PDYP_MIC_A_13_07)

The same happens with some cognition verbs – as *taɨ* 'know' (42a) and *pihipuu* 'remember'(42b) – whose experiencer participant may be regarded as with even less agency than the those of perceptual verbs. In these cases, the 'knower' or 'rememberer' is flagged with the ergative case marker, while the theme remains unmarked.

(42) a. *kami ya**ni*** *ai* *=Ø* *ya* *thãa*
kami *=ya* ***=ni*** *ai* *=Ø* *ya=* *thã=* *ã̃=*
1 =1SG **=ERG** other =Ø 1SG= CLN.GNR= sound=
pihipuu *wei* [...]
pihi *=pu* *=ɨ* *=wei*
think =CSVT =DYN =NMLZ
'Other stories that I know [...]' (n024_howari)

b. *ya* *thãa* *pree* *taɨ* *kami ya**ni*** .
ya= *thã=* *ã̃=* *pree* *ta* *=ɨ* *kami* *=ya* ***=ni***
1SG= CLN.GNR= sound= also know =DYN 1 =1SG **=ERG**
'I also know it.' (PDYP_MIC_B_07_06)

Nevertheless, there is a limit on how "low" the agentivity of the ergative case argument can go. Arguments that are flagged with the ergative case can never refer to a semantically patient participant of the predicate. In YMA there is no syntactic passive voice and, more interestingly, I have not registered yet any bivalent verb with an inherent passive semantics, such as *receive* in English or *apanhar* 'be beaten' in Portuguese.

Moreover, there is a strong tendency in the language not to let inanimate entities be the ergative argument of a predicate. In YMA, only animate entities (humans, animals, and spirits, basically) can actually *do* things from a syntactic perspective. That is, only NPs that refer to these kinds of entities can be marked with *=nɨ* and simultaneously be co-referenced in the verb by a pronominal index. NPs that refer to inanimate entities can also be marked with *=nɨ,* but they are never co-referenced in the verb. In those cases, the NP marked with *=nɨ* is interpreted as an instrumental/causal argument. English sentences such as "Malaria made us scrawny" are often translated in YMA as intransitive clauses, like in (43). In the next subsection (§7.4.3), I will discuss the instrumental/causal arguments in more detail.

(43) *yamakɨ rõmihipëama xawara a wainë .*
yamakɨ= rõmihipë ama xawara =a =wai =në
1PL= scrawny brother-in-law epidemic =SG =DEPRC =CAUSE
'We were scrawny due to epidemics.' (PDYP_MIC_B_08_01)

Similarly to what happens with zero case arguments, there is no alternation in the marking of the ergative argument when the predicate varies for aspect or tense. Moreover, no variation has been observed regarding the use of the ergative marker *=nɨ* with 1st and 2nd person pronouns, proper names or human nouns.

As a final note, it is worth underlining that the examples presented in the section are representative of a minority type of clause in YMA. As I explained in §7.3, the nominal arguments are not explicit on the clause in most cases. More specifically, only in 10.7% of the transitive clauses of our sample had the ergative argument realized, either by a full noun or a pronoun. That is, in about 90% of the time, the speaker cannot count on the ergative marker to identify the syntactic agent of the clause but instead has to rely on person indexes on the verb and, in a lesser degree, word order.

7.4.3. Instrumental/causal =*ni*

The markers for ergative and instrumental/causal cases have the same form. The types of argument which they refer to are considerably different, nevertheless, and that is the reason for assigning two glosses for the same form (ERG and INST/CAUSE). The differences between these two types of argument are not only related to the thematic roles they play in the predicate but, most importantly, to their syntactic properties. The most important difference is that instrumental/causal arguments do not control the verb, in the sense that none of the pronominal indexes that appear in the verb refers to that type of argument. In (44), we have an example of clauses with an instrumental/causal argument on them. In (44a), there are two person indexes on the verb *ya*= '1SG' and *hi*= 'CLN: tree' and neither of them is co-referent with the instrumental argument *ãama ani* 'with the chainsaw.' In (44b), there is only one index on the verb *a*= '3SG', which refers to the absolutive argument of the clause (*hiima* 'dog') not to causal argument *huu tihini* 'because of the tree.' In contrast, ergative arguments are co-referenced on the verb[4].

(44) a. *kami yani ãama **ani** raperima =Ø*
*kami =ya =ni ãama =a **=ni** raperima =Ø*
1 =1SG =ERG chainsaw =SG **=INS** esp. tree =Ø
yahi tiyërema .
ya= hi= tiyë =ri =ma
1SG= CLN:tree= cut_down =PFV1 =PST
'I cut the raperima tree with the chainsaw.'

b. *huu tihi**ni** hiima =Ø a nomarayoma .*
*huu =tihi **=ni** hiima =Ø a= noma =rayu =ma*
tree =CLN:tree **=CAUSE** dog =Ø 3SG= die =PFV1 =PST

[4] Except in the local construction and when the ergative argument is 3rd person singular, as we will discuss in §7.5.3.

'The dog died because of a (falling) tree.'

Instrumental/causal case arguments are not, therefore, core arguments of the verb. That is the reason why the occurrence of an instrumental/causal case argument is not determined by the valency of the verb. Ergative case arguments can appear only in predicates with bivalent verbs, while the instrumental/causal arguments do not have this restriction. In (45a) we have an example of the transitive clause with an instrumental argument on it, and in (45b), an intransitive clause with a causal argument. Note that both instrumental and causal arguments are not indispensable either for the grammaticality of the clause or the complete meaning of the proposition.

(45) a. *kami yanɨ mokaa a**ni** xama =Ø yapë*
*kami =ya =nɨ mokaa =a **=ni** xama =Ø ya= pë=*
1 =1SG =ERG rifle =SG **=INS** tapir =Ø 1SG= 3PL=
xëprarema .
xë =pra =ri =ma
beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 =PST
'I killed the tapirs with a rifle.'

b. *maa a**ni** wa thokomorayoma* .
*maa =a **=ni** wa= thokomo =rayu =ma*
rain =SG **=CAUSE** 2SG= cough =PFV1 =PST
'You started coughing because of the rain.'

Instrumental/causal and ergative arguments also differ in their basic semantic features. Instrumental/causal arguments are associated with participants with low or no animacy feature while ergative arguments are always related to highly animate participants, often a human being or a mammal. Indeed, there is a restriction for inanimate entities to be selected as an ergative argument of a predicate and control the verb by a pronominal index. In YMA, sentences such as (46a) sounds "funny" to native ears and predicates with a monovalent verb (46b) are usually preferred instead.

(46) a. * *mararia* ***anɨ*** *a xëprarema* .
mararia *=a* ***=nɨ*** *a=* *xë* *=pra* *=ri* *=ma*
malaria =SG **=ERG** SG= beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 =PST
'Malaria killed her.'

b. *mararia* ***anɨ*** *a* *yai* *nomaproma* .
mararia *=a* ***=nɨ*** *a=* *yai* *noma* *=pro* *=ma*
malaria =SG **=CAUSE** 3SG= true die =DRV =PST
'[She] died of malaria.' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_12)

In general terms, we can say that when an NP that displays the marker *=nɨ* also displays the feature [-animate], the case marker *=nɨ* is considered to be instrumental/causal because this argument cannot be indexed in the verb. Only in NPs that have the semantic feature [+animate] the marker *=nɨ* can be considered ergative. In these cases, as we showed, the NP may be co-referenced on the verb by an ergative pronominal clitic if it does not refer to a 3rd person singular or if the transitive clause does not involve only SAPs, i.e. if it is not a local construction. If two arguments display the marker *=nɨ*, one of them (the less agentive) must necessarily be interpreted as an instrumental argument, as in (47).

(47) *warõ* ***anɨ*** *hãyõkoroma* ***anɨ*** *kõa* *=Ø*
warõ *=a* ***=nɨ*** *hãyõkoroma* *=a* ***=nɨ*** *kõa* *=Ø*
man =SG **=ERG** axe =SG **=INS** firewood =Ø
ayõkɨ *pahikimama* .
ayõ= *kɨ=* *pahiki* *=ma* *=ma*
CLN:firewood= 3PL= shattered =CAUS =PST
'The man was cutting the firewood in pieces with an ax.' (s_chck_hoax)

In YMA, the difference between the instrumental and causal arguments (both marked with *=nɨ*) seems to be simply semantic, i.e. they display the same morphosyntactic properties. Nevertheless, there is a tendency (probably due to semantics as well) for instrumental arguments to appear in transitive clauses, as in (48a) while causal arguments are more likely to occur in intransitive clauses (48b-c).

(48) a. *ipa pata arĩ**ni** mokaa a**ni** pë*

*ipa pata =a =rĩ **=ni** mokaa =a **=ni** pë=*

1POS elder =SG =HON **=ERG** rifle =SG **=INS** 3PL=

*xënimi , xarakaki**ni** pë niãnimi ,*

*xë =n =imi xaraka =ki **=ni** pë= niã =n =imi*

beat; kill =PST =NEG arrow =PFV2 **=INS** 3PL= shoot =PST =NEG

*huu tihi**ni** pë xurukurema .*

*huu =tihi **=ni** pë= xuruku =ri =ma*

tree =CLN:tree **=INS** 3PL= kill =PFV1 =PST

'My old relative did not kill them with a rifle, he did not shoot them with arrows, he killed them with a wood stick/spear.' (PDYP_B_07_06)

b. *yamaki rõmihipëama xawara a wai**në** .*

*yamaki= rõmihipë =o =ma xawara =a =wai **=në***

1PL= scrawny =STV =PST epidemic =SG =DEPRC **=CAUSE**

'We were scrawny due to epidemics.' (PDYP_MIC_B_08_01)

c. *hai kiki xuu**ni** kama =Ø e*

*hai =kiki =xuu **=ni** kama =Ø e=*

fruit =CLN:collective =CLN:sap, juice **=CAUSE** 3 =Ø DIF.PART=

imiki pree wakë naha ruoma yaro [...]

imiki= pree wakë naha= ru =o =ma =yaro

hand= also red V.PTC= fluster =STV =PST =CNJ.EXPLV

'For her fingers were confusingly red also due to the juice of the hai fruit [...]' (wtx_tërëma)

This is certainly true in most of the cases, but we can still find instrumental arguments in intransitive clauses, such as (49). On the other hand, we were not able to elicit or to find in the corpus any example of a causal argument in a transitive clause.

(49) *pore nahasi**ni** ya iarayoma .*

*pore =nahasi **=ni** ya= ia =rayu =ma*

ghost =nail **=INS** 1SG= eat =PFV1 =PST

'I ate (intrs.) with a fork.' (elicited) (note: ghost's nail = fork)

As a final comment, note from the examples (45a), (44a), (47) and (48a) that the position of instrumental argument in the transitive clause is prototypically between the ergative and the absolutive argument. However, this position is not as strict as the pre-verbal position of the absolutive argument since we do find examples of the instrumental argument being placed, for instance, after the verb, as the example in (50) shows.

(50) *waa tikiri poo a**ni** !*
*wa= a= tiki =ri poo =a **=ni***
2SG= 3SG= prick =PFV1 knife =SG **=INS**
'Stab it, with the knife!' (PDYP_MIC_A_06_07)

7.4.4. Additive =*xo*

The comitative case marker =*xo* can appear in predicates with all types of verbs. It identifies two or more arguments that are co-participants in that predicate. In predicates with monovalent verbs, additive arguments can refer to co-subjects (51), or co-instruments/causes of the predicate (52), even though the latter is rare.

(51) a. *xinaru uku**xo** , tëpë ki̵ki̵**xo***
*xinaru =uku **=xo** tëpë =ki̵ki̵ **=xo***
cotton =CLN:cotton **=ADD** glass bead =CLN:collective **=ADD**
ĩhĩ =Ø thëpë xirõ totihi
ĩhĩ =Ø thë= pë= xirõ totihi
ANA =Ø CLN.GNR= 3PL= single; alone good; nice
'[loin-cloths made of] cotton and glass beads, only this is good [not skirts].' (PDYP_MIC_A_13_07)

b. *pei* *uhurupë* ***exo*** *pë* *aa*
pei *uhurupë=* *=e* ***=xo*** *pë=* *a* *=a*
INDEF son= =DIF.PART **=ADD** 3PL= go =PFV.VWL
xoarayohuruma .
xoa *=rayu* *=huru* *=ma*
afterwards =PFV1 =DIR.AND =PST
'With her son, they then went away.' (wtx_tẽrẽma)

(52) *hura* *pë**xo*** *thoko* *pë**xo*** *yamakɨ*
hura *=pë* ***=xo*** *thoko* *=pë* ***=xo*** *yamakɨ=*
malaria =PL **=ADD** coughing =PL **=ADD** 1PL=
nomaproma .
noma *=pro* *=ma*
die =DRV =PST
'We died due to malaria and coughing.'

In transitive predicates, the additive *=xo* can flag either co-agents (53a) or co-patients (53b) of transitive predicates. Note in (53b) that anaphoric pronoun *ĩhĩ* is the actual absolutive NP of the clause. The same happens in (51a) and also in (60). Despite its high productivity, the pronoun is not obligatory.

(53) a. *Mukaxaiu* *thëripëxo* *hõxo*
mukaxaiu *thëri* *=pë* ***=xo*** *hõxo=*
Mucajai inhabitant =PL **=ADD** CLN:airstrip=
thamahe .
tha *=ma* *=he*
do; make =PST =3PL
'They made the airstrip with the people from the River Mucajai.'

b. *tẽrẽma nahasi* ***xo*** *hayokoroma* ***axo*** *ĩhĩ =Ø ya*
tẽrẽma =nahasi ***=xo*** *hãyõkõroma =a* ***=xo*** *ĩhĩ =Ø ya=*
Tẽrẽma =nail **=ADD** axe =SG **=ADD** ANA =Ø 1SG=
thëpë xirõ toama .
thë= pë= xirõ toa =ma
CLN.GNR= 3PL= single; alone take =PST

'A digger and an ax, I just took those things.' (PDYP_MIC_A_13_13) (note: Tẽrema's nail = digger)

Multiple instrumental arguments can also be flagged with the additive *=xo*, as in the elicited example in (54).

(54) *tẽrẽma nahasi pë**xo** hayokoroma pë**xo** ĩhĩ*
tẽrẽma =nahasi =pë ***=xo*** *hãyõkõroma =pë* ***=xo*** *ĩhĩ*
Tẽrẽma =nail =PL **=ADD** axe =PL **=ADD** ANA
thëpëni hõxo thamahe .
=thë =pë =ni hõxo= tha =ma =he
=CLN.GNR =PL =ERG CLN:airstrip= do; make =PST =3PL

'They made the airstrip with diggers and axes.'

Even though *=xo* marks co-participants, in several examples in our corpus, there is only one explicit argument being marked *=xo*, as in (53a) or (55). This would not suggest that *=xo* is also a comitative case marker, in the sense that it would identify only the *accompanee* of a predicate controlled by the *companion*. This may be true at the semantic and even pragmatic levels (i.e. the 'Hare Krishnas' could be regarded as the accompanee, while 'they' as the companion), but that is not what happens from a syntactic perspective. The 3rd person plural index *pë=* refers not only the *companion* 'they' but to the combination of *companion* 'they'+ *accompanee* 'Hare Krishnas.' In (55), there is one argument marked with *=xo* that is not explicit but is understood. Both arguments have the same syntactic status in the clause, and none of them control alone the indexes on the verb. Consequently, these indexes are always non-singular.

(55) a. *Hare Krishna pë**xo** pë huama .*
*Hare Krishna =pë **=xo** pë= hua =ma*
Hare Krishna =PL **=ADD** 3PL= wander =PST
'They wandered with Hare Krishnas.' (PDYP_MIC_B_10_02)

b. *Funai a**xo** pë huma .*
*Funai =a **=xo** pë= hu =ma*
Funai =SG **=ADD** 3PL= go =PST
'They went with the [people from] FUNAI.' (PDYP_MIC_B_10_02)

In (56), I present an example in which it is clearer that one co-argument is being omitted. Note that the verb is indexed with the 1st person dual marker, which refers to the combination of 3rd person 'he' (overtly expressed by the nominal phrase *kama axo*) and 1st person 'I' (whose noun phrase is omitted in the example below).

(56) *kama a**xo** yahaki̵ poyuu kutayoni̵*
*kama =a **=xo** yahaki̵= po =yu =i̵ =kutayo =ni̵*
3 =SG **=ADD** 1DU= hold =RECP =DYN =REAS =REAS
[...]
'She and I, for we are married [...]' (to hold/possess = to be married to)
(PDYP_MIC_B_09_02)

The additive *=xo* is frequently found in constructions with the reciprocal morpheme *=yu*. As we will see in §9.6.4 and as its name suggests, this morpheme indicates that two independent participants are reciprocal agents and patients of a predicate. These reciprocal participants are marked with *=xo*, as in the examples in (57).

(57) a. *Mateus a**xo** yamaki̵ hirama**yo**ma .*
*mateus =a **=xo** yamaki̵= hirama **=yu** =ma*
Mateus =SG **=ADD** 1PL= teach **=RECP** =PST
'With Mateus, we two taught each other.' (PDYP_MIC_B_07_06)

b. *xiriana* *pë**xo*** *yutuha* *wamaki*
xiriana *=pë* ***=xo*** *yutuha* *wamaki=*
Xiriana person =PL **=ADD** a_long_time_ago 2PL=
*praiama**yo**ma* *tha?*
praia *=ma* ***=yu*** *=ma* *=tha*
present_onself_dancing =CAUS **=RECP** =PST =PTC.INT
'With the Xiriana people, you invited each other to funerary festivals.'
(PDYP_MIC_A_03_18) (to make somebody dance presenting herself = to invite)

The derivation with the reciprocal *=yu* is one of the few contexts where we can observe ditransitive verbs behaving differently from monotransitive verbs. With ditransitive verbs derived with *=yu*, there are two participants that are simultaneously the agent and the recipient (not the theme) of the predicate. This difference is important because syntactically the recipients of those verbs are coded as oblique arguments, while the theme is a core argument (absolutive). In the derived predicate, the reciprocal agent-recipient arguments are flagged with *=xo*, as in the example in (58).

(58) *tihi* *a**xo*** *opo* *a**xo*** *kipë* *naki* *ka*
tihi *=a* ***=xo*** *opo* *=a* ***=xo*** *kipë=* *na=* *ki=* *ka=*
jaguar =SG **=ADD** armadillo =SG **=ADD** 3DU= tooth= PL= FOC=
*hipi**yo**ni* [...]
hipi ***=yu*** *=ni*
give **=RECP** =HOD.NON.WIT
'The jaguar and the armadillo, the two exchanged with each other their teeth.'
(n026_opotihi)

The only type of multiple arguments that the additive *=xo* cannot mark is the oblique. When there are several arguments in the oblique position, all of them have to take the oblique marker, as in (59). The use of the additive *=xo* in this context results in ungrammatical constructions.

(59) *Boa Vistaha , Manausha , São Pauloha ĩhĩ*
Boa Vista =ha Manaus =ha São Paulo =ha ĩhĩ
Boa Vista =OBL Manaus =OBL São Paulo =OBL ANA
thëpë urihipë hamɨ ya huu
thë= pë= urihi =pë =hamɨ ya= hu =ɨ
CLN.GNR= 3PL= forest =VBLZ =OBL 1SG= go =DYN
hikioma .
hiki =o =ma
already =STV =PST
'I have already been in Boa Vista, Manaus, and São Paulo.'

This restriction does not apply to goal- or location-like arguments of the example in (59). This is a syntactic and not a semantic restriction, as the examples in (60) show. In (60a), we have multiple theme arguments marked with *=xo* that are the syntactic patients of the transitive predicate *hɨpɨɨ* 'to give.' In (60b), we have the same multiple theme arguments, but now they are syntactically the oblique argument of the transitive predicate *topɨɨ* 'to present,' which project a beneficiary-like argument as a syntactic patient of the clause. The use of *=xo* to mark various oblique theme arguments is ungrammatical (60c).

(60) a. *xinaru upë**xo** , tëpë kɨkɨ**xo***
*xinaru =u =pë **=xo** tëpë =kɨkɨ **=xo***
cotton =CLN:cotton =PL **=ADD** glass bead =CLN:collective **=ADD**
ĩhĩ =Ø thëpë hɨpɨkemahe kami yamakɨha
ĩhĩ =Ø thë= pë= hɨpɨ =ki =ma =he kami =yamakɨ =ha
ANA =Ø CLN.GNR= 3PL= give =PFV2 =PST =3PL 1 =1PL =OBL
'Cotton, glass beads, they gave those things to us.'

b. *xinaru upë**ha** , tëpë kiki**ha** ĩhĩ*

*xinaru =u =pë **=ha** tëpë =kiki **=ha** ĩhĩ*

cotton =CLN:cotton =PL **=OBL** glass bead =PL **=OBL** ANA

*thëpë**ha** yamaki topiremahe .*

*thë =pë **=ha** yamaki= topi =ri =ma =he*

CLN.GNR =PL **=OBL** 1PL= present =PFV1 =PST =3PL

'Cotton, glass beads, they presented us with those things.'

c. * *xinaru upë**xo** , tëpë*

*xinaru =u =pë **=xo** tëpë*

cotton =CLN:cotton =PL **=ADD** glass bead

*kiki**xo** ĩhĩ thëpëha yamaki*

*=kiki **=xo** ĩhĩ thë =pë =ha yamaki=*

=CLN:collective **=ADD** ANA CLN.GNR =PL =OBL 1PL=

topiremahe .

topi =ri =ma =he

present =PFV1 =PST =3PL

'Cotton, glass beads, they presented us with those things.'

As a final note, there does not seem to be a limitation on the number of arguments that can be marked with *=xo* in a single clause, as the example in (61) suggests.

(61) *Ivalnildo a**xo** , Davi a**xo** , kami ya**xo** , ai*

*Ivalnildo =a **=xo** Davi =a **=xo** kami =ya **=xo** ai*

Ivanildo =SG **=ADD** Davi =SG **=ADD** 1 =1SG **=ADD** other

*yanomama yamaki**xo** yamaki hutaai tëhë* [...]

*yanomama =yamaki **=xo** yamaki= hu =ta =i =tëhë*

yanomami =1PL **=ADD** 1PL= go =CEL =DYN =REL.PRS

'When we were going, we Ivanildo, Davi, I, other Yanomama people.'

(PDYP_MIC_B_10_02)

7.4.5. Obliques =*ha* and =*hamɨ*

The arguments flagged with the oblique case marker are never co-referenced in the verb by a pronominal index. All oblique arguments are, in this sense, non-core arguments. Oblique arguments can play a wide range of thematic roles in the predicate depending on the lexical semantics of the verb. One recurrent role that they can play in virtually any verbal predicate is the location where the event takes place, as in (62).

(62) a. *urihi**ha*** *wakërɨ̃* *thaɨ*
urihi ***=ha*** *wakë=* *rɨ̃=* *tha* *=ɨ*
forest **=OBL** CLN:fire= HON= do; make =DYN
xoama .
xoa *=o* *=ma*
continue =STV =PST
'[He +REV] was then lighting the fire in the forest.' (s_chck_cesa)

b. *kihamɨ* *ai* *thë* *urihi* ***hamɨ*** *ya* *ha*
kihamɨ *ai* *=thë* *=urihi* ***=hamɨ*** *ya=* *ha=*
there other =CLN.GNR =forest **=OBL** 1SG= REL.PST=
nomaprarɨnɨ [...]
noma *=pra* *=ri* *=nɨ*
die =DRV =PFV1 =REL.PST
'When I get drunk in other land/forest.' (m006_arok_mari) (note: to die = to get drunk)

With motion verbs, oblique arguments also frequently indicate the direction towards which the event is heading or its end point or goal. I present in (63) some examples of this usage.

(63) a. *thuwë* ***eha*** *a* *waithëri* *rërëkema*
thuwë *=e* ***=ha*** *a=* *waithëri* *rërë* *=ki* *=ma*
woman =DIF.PART **=OBL** 3SG= fierce run =PFV2 =PST
makii [...]
ma= *ku* *=i*
FOC.CONC= COP =REL
'[He] ran angrily after his wife [...]' (s_chck_marc)

b. *ĩhĩ tëhë* *a* *aa*
ĩhĩ *=tëhë* *a=* *a* *=a*
ANA =REL.PRS 3SG= go =PFV.VWL
kõraahuruma *yano* *a**ha*** .
kõ *=raa* *=huru* *=ma* *yano* *=a* ***=ha***
again =PFV1 =DIR.AND =PST house =SG **=OBL**
'Then [she] went away towards the house.' (s_chck_marc)

c. *kihami* *Boa Vista* ***hami*** *ya* *huu* *kõo* *pihio*
kihami *Boa Vista* ***=hami*** *ya=* *hu* *=i* *kõ* *=o* *pihi* *=o*
there Boa Vista **=OBL** 1SG= go =DYN again =STV want =STV
'I want to go again to Boa Vista.' (m002_cesa_gari)

Predicates with motionless verbs that are marked for associated motion can also have an oblique argument which indicates the direction or goal of the action, as the example in (64) shows.

(64) *ai* *yano* ***hami*** *ipa* *xaraka* *=Ø* *a* *tëruhuru*
ai *yano* ***=hami*** *ipa* *xaraka* *=Ø* *a=* *të* *=ru* *=huru*
other house **=OBL** 1POS arrow =Ø 3SG= take =PFV1 =DIR.AND
kure .
ku *=re*
COP =PRE.HOD
'He took my arrow to another house.' (PDYP_MIC_A_06_08)

Oblique arguments of predicates with motion verbs can also refer to the means-of-transportation used to carry out the action, as in (65).

(65) a. *apiama* ***ahamɨ*** *rope* *kɨpë*
apiama *=a* ***=hamɨ*** *rope* *kɨpë=*
airplane =SG **=OBL** quick 3DU=
kopohuruma .
ko *=pi* *=huru* *=ma*
go_home =PFV3 =DIR.AND =PST
'They two quickly went away by plane.' (PDYP_MIC_B_08_01)

b. *piskreta* ***aha*** *a* *pree* *rërëimaɨwei* [...]
piskreta *=a* ***=ha*** *a=* *pree* *rërë* *=ima* *=ɨ* *=wei*
bicycle =SG **=OBL** 3SG= also run =DIR.VEN =DYN =NMLZ
'The one that also comes by bike [...]' (s_pear_cesa)

c. *ĩhĩ* *tëhë* *pei* *mahu* ***hamɨ*** *pë* *huu* *tëhë* [...]
ĩhĩ *=tëhë* *pei* *=mahu* ***=hamɨ*** *pë=* *hu* *=ɨ* *=tëhë*
ANA =REL.PRS INDEF =toe **=OBL** 3PL= go =DYN =REL.PRS
'When they go on feet [...]' (m003_manu_gari)

It is worth noting that the oblique arguments in (65) could not have been marked with the instrumental case *=nɨ*. That is, means-of-transportation is always an oblique argument in YMA not instrumental. The same applies to the means-of-communication used to perform the action, which is also marked as an oblique argument. In (66), I offer examples of this type of oblique argument.

(66) a. *ɨhã* *kuranɨ* *radio* ***aha*** *pëã*
ɨhã *ku* *=ra* *=nɨ* *radio* *=a* ***=ha*** *pë=* *ã=*
there exist =LOC:nearby =REL.PST radio =SG **=OBL** 3PL= sound=
haa *haxoarɨnɨ* [...]
ha *=a* *ha=* *xoa* *=ri* *=nɨ*
speak =PFV.VWL REL.PST= continue =PFV1 =REL.PST

‘Then after they had spoken on the radio [...]’ (m002_cesa_gari)

b. *utupë taamotima **aha** ya thë*
*utupë taa =mu =tima =a **=ha** ya= thë=*
image see =INTRZ =NMLZ =SG **=OBL** 1SG= CLN.GNR=
taariwei [...]
taa =ri =wei
see =PFV1 =NMLZ
‘What I saw in the television [...]’ (s_ball_kami)

The recipient-like arguments of several verbs that convey material or unmaterial transfers are also coded as oblique arguments. This applies to recipients of the verbs *hipɨɨ* ‘to give’ (67b) and *xɨmaɨ* ‘to send’ (67b).

(67) a. *Maneyasi **eha** yũu =Ø ya thuku*
*Maneyasi =e **=ha** yũu =Ø ya= thuku=*
Maneyasi =DIF.PART **=OBL** cotton hammock =Ø 1SG= CLN:hammock=
hipɨkema .
hipɨ =ki =ma
give =PFV2 =PST
‘I gave a hammock to Maneyasi.’ (m006_arok_mari)

b. *kaho wa **ehami** ipa =Ø yathãa*
*kaho =wa =e **=hamɨ** ipa =Ø ya thë ã*
2 =2SG =DIF.PART **=OBL** 1POS =Ø 1SG CLN.GNR sound
xɨmaɨ
xɨma =ɨ
send =DYN
‘I am sending you my words.’ (m006_arok_mari)

Some verbs of communication also specify the recipient with the oblique marker, such as *wã haɨ* ‘to speak’ (68a) and *thãa wëaɨ* ‘to explain, to expound’ (68b).

(68) a. *Davi Kopenawa* ***eha*** *wamakiã*

Davi Kopenawa *=e* ***=ha*** *wamaki=* *ã=*

Davi Kopenawa =DIF.PART **=OBL** 2PL= sound=

hai *tëhë* [...]

ha *=i* *=tëhë*

pass_through =DYN =REL.PRS

'When/if you speak to Davi Kopenawa [...]' (m003_manu_gari)

b. *kama Tixopona* ***eha*** *ya* *thãa*

kama Tixopona *=e* ***=ha*** *ya=* *thã=* *ã=*

3 Tixopona =DIF.PART **=OBL** 1SG= CLN.GNR= sound=

wëai .

wë *=a* *=i*

explain =DRV =DYN

'I am expounding to Tixopona.' (m003_manu_gari)

Nevertheless, the semantics of some particular verbs that imply a transfer may impose different argument structures on the clause, in which the theme is treated as an oblique and the recipient or beneficiary is coded as an absolutive argument (core argument). This is the case of predicates with verbs *topɨi* 'to present' in (69a) and *pairipraɨ* 'to help out, to help with' (69b).

(69) a. *Parimiu thëriyoma* *pëni* *yamaki*

Parimiu thëriyoma *=pë* *=ni* *yamaki=*

Parimiu female inhabitant =PL =ERG 1PL=

topɨai *kuperahe* *saya* *pë* ***ha*** .

topi *=a* *=i* *=kupere* *=he* *saya* *=pë* ***=ha***

present =DISTR =DYN =PRE.HOD =3PL skirt =PL **=OBL**

'The women from Parimiu presented us with skirts.' (PDYP_MIC_B_01_17)

b. *thuwë =Ø yama thëpë pairiprai tëpë*
thuwë =Ø yama= thë= pë= pairi =pra =i tëpë
woman =Ø 1PL= CLN.GNR= 3PL= help =DRV =DYN glass bead
kikiha
=kiki ***=ha***
=PL **=OBL**
'We help the women [out] with glass beads.' (PDYP_MIC_B`12_05)

The theme-like argument of several intransitive verbs that express mental states or processes is flagged with the oblique marker as well, as in the examples in (70).

(70) a. *kaho wahami ya pihi oxea*
kaho =wa ***=hami*** *ya= pihi= oxe =a*
2 =2SG **=OBL** 1SG= V.PTC:thought= youngster =PFV.VWL
hikirayoma .
hiki =rayu =ma
already =PFV1 =PST
'My thoughts about you already got small.' (i.e. 'I have already forgotten you') (m006_arok_mari)

b. *uhuru ehami ya yamaka taa*
uhuru =e ***=hami*** *ya= yamaka= ta =a*
child =DIF.PART **=OBL** 1SG= ear= wait =POST
xoa .
xoa =a
continue =POST
'I am still waiting for any news [lit. 'with my ears in place'] about the child.' (m006_arok_mari)

c. *kama xapuri aha wa pihi xatia* .
kama xapuri =a ***=ha*** *wa= pihi= xati =a*
3 shaman =SG **=OBL** 2SG= V.PTC:thought= stick =POST

'You have your mind focused on the shaman/shamanic spirit.'
(PDYP_A_MIC_07_19)

The argument playing the role of the stimulus of an intransitive experiential verb is also syntactically treated as an oblique, receiving the marker *=ha* or *=hamɨ*, as in (71).

(71) a. *marãria* ***aha*** *yamakɨ* *ha*
marãria *=a* ***=ha*** *yamakɨ=* *ha=*
malaria =SG **=OBL** 1PL= REL.PST=
kirirariniɨ [...]
kiri *=ra* *=ri* *=niɨ*
be_scared =DISTR =PFV1 =REL.PST
'After we got scared with malaria [...]' (PDYP_MIC_A_18_02)

b. *ɨhã* *Funai* ***aha*** *yamakɨ* *pihi* *yei*
ɨhã *Funai* *=a* ***=ha*** *yamakɨ=* *pihi=* *yei*
there Funai =SG **=OBL** 1PL= V.PTC:thought= true
toaɨ *kõoma* .
toa *=ɨ* *kõ* *=o* *=ma*
be happy =DYN again =STV =PST
'Then we were again happy with Funai.' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18)

As we will see in §9.5.2, when a transitive predicate undergoes a causative derivation, the oblique marker indicates the *causee* argument, i.e. the original ergative argument of the non-derived construction. In (72b), I present a causative construction extracted from a traditional narrative, and in (72a) the correspondent non-derived construction. Note that in (72a) the ergative argument is *iwari aniɨ* 'the ancestor caiman' is moved to an oblique position when the predicate is derived in (72b). I will present more examples of this derivation in Chapter 9.

(72) a. *iwari* ***ani*** *wakë =Ø a hoprarema* .
Iwari *=a* ***=ni*** *wakë =Ø a= hopra =ri =ma*
ancestor caiman =SG **=ERG** fire =Ø 3SG= expel =PFV1 =PST
'The ancestor caiman expelled the fire [out of his mouth].' (elicited)

b. *iwari* ***eha*** *wakë =Ø*
Iwari *=e* ***=ha*** *wakë =Ø*
ancestor caiman =DIF.PART **=OBL** fire =Ø
a hopramaremahe .
a= hopra =ma =ri =ma =he
3SG= expel =CAUS =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'They made the ancient caiman expel the fire.' (n_oly_06)

Note in the examples (72b), (70b) (68a-b) and (67a-b) the oblique marker appears in combination with the different participant marker *=e*. This extra-morpheme indicates in this context that the argument refers to a highly animate entity (prototypically a human). The "different participant" sense comes from the contrast with other highly animate participants whose arguments are in a core position in the clause. In the example (72b), this other participant is 'they.' Since the different participant marker also appears in the verbal domain to express switch-reference (see §7.5.5), I do not consider it to be a case marker itself in YMA. However, it does seem to have been fused with the oblique marker in Yãnomami (Ramirez: 1994, 200) to create the oblique[5] case marker *=iha/=ihami*, used exclusively with humans.

Interestingly, the oblique case marker is not used for expressing the origin of a motion predicate. Moreover, there is no case marker that can do it alone. To indicate this type of peripheral argument, the speaker has to combine an oblique argument with a grammaticalized type of relative clause with the copular element *ku* 'to exist' plus the location and tense morphemes of the relative construction. In the example in (73) this relative clause is *kurani*. This construction has partially undergone

[5] Ramirez call it *référentiel*.

grammaticalization which already led to the loss of the person indexes in the predicate[6] and its meaning can be roughly translated as “being in X...”, where X is the oblique argument that immediately precedes the relative clause.

(73) *Pista Moral ha* ***ha*** ***kurani***
Pista Moral =ha ***ha=*** ***ku*** ***=ra*** ***=ni***
Pista Moral =OBL **REL.PST=** **COP** **=LOC:near_by** **=REL.PST**
mahuku *hamɨ* *thëpë* *huu* *parɨowei* [...]
=mahu *=ku* *=hamɨ* *thë=* *pë=* *hu* *=ɨ* *parɨ* *=o* *=wei*
=foot =PL =OBL CLN.GNR= 3PL= go =DYN first =STV =NMLZ
‘Being in Pista Moral (an airstrip made by the miners), they went first on foot [to another place] [...]’ (m005_wawa_gari)

The difference between the two oblique markers *=ha* and *=hamɨ* is not clear for me. I know from elicitation and discussions with native speakers that the two forms are not interchangeable in several contexts, but it has been quite difficult to formulate a rule. While we identify some preference patterns in the use of one or the other form, counter-examples prevents us from making a categorical generalization. The form *=hamɨ*, for instance, is much more frequent with arguments performing a goal or direction role in predicates that imply a displacement, such as (62b), (64) and (67b). On the other hand, there are examples such as (64a), where the goal argument is being marked with *=ha*. The comparison between (64a) and (63) could suggest that definiteness may be playing a role in the choice of the markers. In (64a) we have a relatively definite entity being marked with *=ha*, while in (63) the oblique argument marked with *=hamɨ* is indefinite. This could also explain why in (65a) a speaker chose *=hamɨ* while in (65b) another speaker chose *=ha*, both specifying a very similar argument (means-of-transportation in this case). However, examples like (67b) and (70a), where we have highly definite referents (2nd person), seems to contradict this

[6] This is found in other domains of the grammar, such as the expression of evidentiality. For more on this construction, please refer to the explanation on the *k*-words in §11.3.1.1.

analysis as well. Our honest conclusion is that more investigation is needed before we can confidently generalize on the usage of these two forms.

As a final note, the oblique markers *=ha* and *=hamɨ* can be attached to clauses derived with deverbalizing morpheme *=pë* indicating that the whole nominalized clause is an oblique argument of the main or next clause. In these cases, this oblique argument only express location or goal, as the example in (74) shows.

(74) *ĩhĩ tëhë kõa ayokɨ **prapëhamɨ***
*ĩhĩ =tëhë kõa ãyo= kɨ= pra **=pë** **=hamɨ***
ANA =REL.PRS firewood CLN:firewood= PL= lie **=NMLZ** **=OBL**
a aa xoarayuwei [...]
a= a =a xoa =rio =wei
3SG= go =PFV.VWL afterwards =PFV1 =NMLZ

'[She] then went towards the place where the firewood was laying [on the floor] [...]' (s_chck_arir)

In order to be able to perform the other roles that are associated with the oblique argument, a clause has to be derived with a different morpheme, such as the nominalizer *=wei*. In (75), I offer an example of this construction.

(75) *urihi =Ø a wãriaɨ **wei** thë**ha***
*urihi =Ø a= wãri =a =ɨ **=wei** =thë **=ha***
forest =Ø 3SG= spoil =DISTR =DYN **=NMLZ** =CLN.GNR **=OBL**
yamakɨ hixio .
yamakɨ= hixi =o
1PL= angry =STV

'We are angry with him destroying the forest.' (PDYP_MIC_A_14_02).

However, I will not deal with these oblique nominalized arguments in this study, neither with the predicates with relational verbs which do not need to undergo any derivation to have access to the oblique marker and become a locative arguments of another clause. These verbs are formally positional or attributive stems and usually, denote a relative position or distance. In (76), I offer two examples of clauses with

these verbs in the oblique position. We will, unfortunately, have to leave the description of these verbs for a future study when dealing with multiclausal constructions.

(76) a. *Iwa arĩ pëhëthë* ***ha*** *a praa*
iwa a= rĩ= pëhëthë ***=ha*** *a= pra =a*
caiman 3SG= HON= below **=OBL** 3SG= lie =POST
kupënɨ koko !
ku =pë =nɨ koko
exist =IMPFV =HOD EXPL
'It was laying [on the floor] below the ancestor caiman.' (wtx_iwa)

b. *pora pë kasi****ha*** *pi thëpë*
pora pë= kasi ***=ha*** *pi= thë= pë=*
ball 3PL= fringe **=OBL** FOC.INT= CLN.GNR= 3PL=
kerayoma .
ke =rayu =ma
fall PFV1 =PST
'They fell on the side of the waterfalls.' (n043_ware)

In the next section, we will turn to the study of the other morphological mechanism that specifies the grammatical relations of a predicate: the verb indexing system.

7.5. Verb Indexing

As I showed in §7.3, most of the YMA clauses of our sample are nounless, i.e. they do not display a single nominal argument. The fact that the speakers can so often prescind the nouns and the nominal morphology from most of the clauses is probably explained by the richness of verbal morphology of YMA. We saw in Chapter 6 that the language has an extense set of bound morphemes that specifies several tense, aspectual and spatial categories on the predicate. In this section, I will deal with the morphology that expresses on the verb the syntactic relations of the arguments. The

language has two sets of morphemes that express such relations. The first set (Set 1) appears obligatorily in every clause, regardless the valency of its verb, while the second set (Set 2) co-occurs with Set 1 exclusively in predicates with transitive verbs. The alignment of the two sets follows the ergative-absolutive pattern for most of the persons and configurations, i.e. while the first set specifies either the subject (S) of intransitive clauses or the patient (P) of transitive ones, the second set only indicates the agent (A) of transitive predicates. There are several exceptions to this general characterization, though, which will be discussed later in this section. First, let's take a look at the markers of each set, beginning in 7.5.1 with markers that are used to index absolutive arguments, i.e. subject of intransitive predicates and patients of transitive ones.

7.5.1. Set 1 – Subject (S) and Patient (P) markers

In Table 7.9, I present the person indexes that refer to the subject of intransitive predicates or the patient of the transitive one. Throughout this study, I will refer to the absolutive set of markers on the verb as Set 1, and occasionally, the markers of the subject or the patient.

Table 7.9 – Set 1 of Pronominal Indexes (S and P)

	singular	dual	plural
1	*ya=*	*yaha=kɨ=*	*yama=kɨ=*
2	*wa=*	*waha=kɨ=*	*wama=kɨ=*
3	*a=*	*kɨpë=*	*pë=*
3CLN	CLN=	CLN=*kɨpë=*	CLN=*pë=* /CLN=*kɨ=*

Note that the non-singular markers for 1st and 2nd persons are not monomorphemic but composed of an enclitic that expresses person and number followed by the non-singular marker *=kɨ*. In Section §4.3.4, I showed that the same combination of morphemes is present in the personal pronouns. And similarly to what

happens there, in some few contexts, other enclitics may appear in between these morphemes, such as the different participant marker, which indicates then a shift in the discursive prominence of the participants, as a new non-topicalized one is introduced. I offer an instance of this usage in (77). The example was extracted from an interview in which the speaker is explaining the traditional procedures that should be carried out after a death in the community. She then starts enumerating several tasks and tells how the community organized itself to complete them. The sentence in (77) is part of that to-do list and was uttered just after a sentence in which she explains how the community (always referred by the speaker as "we") should correctly cremate the dead body. After the cremation of the body, other people of the community (also "we") may ask about the preparation of the funeral parties, and that is what the sentence in (77) is about.

(77) *" asa ei utinaha wa thëkɨ*
asa ei uti =naha wa= thë= kɨ=
brother this INT.PRO =thereby 2SG= CLN.GNR= PL=
thaamaɨ wei thëkɨ tha "
tha =a =ma =ɨ =wei thë= kɨ= =tha
do; make =DISTR =CAUS =DYN =NMLZ CLN.GNR= PL= =PTC.INT
yamaekɨ *kurayu .*
yama= e kɨ= *ku =rayu*
1PL= **DIF.PART** **NOT_SG=** say =PFV1

'"Brother, what are the things you will make [them] do?" other ones among us then say.' (PDYP_MIC_A_06_08)

However, since these contexts are indeed rare, and for the sake of economy of space in the glossing lines, I will consider the morpheme combinations *yaha=kɨ=*, *yama=kɨ=*, *waha=kɨ=* and *wama=kɨ=* as single morphemes (*yahakɨ=*, *yamakɨ=*, *wahakɨ=* and *wamakɨ=*) and gloss them accordingly, as the examples in (78) illustrate.

(78) a. ***wahakɨ*** *kõimaɨ !*
wahakɨ= *kõ =ima =ɨ*
2DU= again =DIR.VEN =DYN

‘You two come here!’ (n027_haya)

b. *kami* ***yamaki*** *huu* .
kami ***yamaki=*** *hu* *=i̵*
1 **1PL=** go =DYN
‘We are going.’ (m007_geni_kona)

It is also worth noting that the markers of a 3rd person may vary according to the type of noun that they refer to. While nouns of Type 1 are indexed by the number morphemes alone (79a), nouns of Type 3 are additionally co-referenced on the verb by the noun classifier (79b). This only applies, nevertheless, to classified nouns in plural, since the noun classifier is not compatible with the singular morpheme *=a* (79c).

(79) a. *kariperu yama* ***pë*** *piximaimi* .
kariperu yama= ***pë=*** *pixima* *=imi*
miner 1PL= **3PL=** want =NEG
‘We do not want the miners.’ (m002_gari_cesa)

b. *huu yama* ***tihipë*** *tëprani̵* [...]
huu yama= ***tihi*** ***pë=*** *të* *=pra* *=ni̵*
tree 1PL= **CLN:tree** **3PL=** take =DRV =REL.PST
‘Having taken the wood sticks.’ (PDYP_MIC_B_02_1)

c. *kihi huu wa* ***tihi*** *pihio* *pari̵o* .
kihi huu wa= ***tihi=*** *pihi* *=o* *pari̵* *=o*
that tree 2SG= **CLN:tree=** give =STV first =STV
‘Give me first that piece of wood.’ (PDYP_MIC_A_04_01)

One of the indexes of the set 1 is present in every clause in YMA, disregarding the valency of the verb. The markers of this set always refer to the zero case argument of the clause, i.e. to the absolutive argument. Hence in predicates with monovalent verbs, Set 1 indicates the syntactic subject of the predicate, whether this predicate is

unaccusative (80a), unergative (80b) or a state (80c). There is no split in this marking pattern.

(80) a. *ĩhĩ wãrõkõxi **una** kerayoma .*
*ĩhĩ wãrõkõxi **una=** ke =rayu =ma*
ANA sp._of_fruit **CLN:???=** fall PFV1 =PST
'The fruit warokoxi una (Duguetia eximia) fell.' (s_ms10_arok)

b. *oxe **thëkipë** rërëɨ hëimama .*
*oxe **thë=** **kipë=** rërë =ɨ hë =ima =ma*
youngster **CLN.GNR=** **DU=** run =DYN remain =DIR.VEN =PST
'Two children came running.' (s_chck_marc)

c. *ĩhĩ ai mori **a** temi kutayonɨ [...]*
*ĩhĩ ai mõri **a=** temi =kutayo =nɨ*
ANA other one **3SG=** healthy =REAS =REAS
'For one [of those] is [still] alive [...]' (PDYP_MIC_A_06_07)

As we saw in §7.4.1, only some impersonal intransitive predicates do not have an explicit or recoverable NP as their subjects. This is the single context where a person index from Set 1 is not in co-reference with an argument outside the predicate. In this cases, the person index is invariably the generic classifier *thë=*, as in the example in (81).

(81) *thë haruimatayuu .*
thë= haru =imatayu =ɨ
CLN.GNR= dawn =PRG =DYN
'It is dawning.' (n021_yaaremape)

Set 1 markers are also obligatorily present on every bivalent verb and always refer to the non-marked argument of the clause, i.e. its syntactic patient. Even though the subjects of intransitive and patients of transitive predicates are indexed with the same forms, the two types of argument differ for the patient of transitive never refer

to a participant with high agentivity or volition in carrying out the event, as subjects of intransitive unergative predicates may do, as we saw in 7.4.1. Semantically, the syntactic patient can only be either a patient (82a), theme (82b), or the beneficiary/recipient (82c).

(82) a. *yaro ya **pë** niama .*
*yaro ya= **pë=** nia =ma*
animal 1SG= **3PL=** shoot =PST
'I shot [used to shoot] animals.' (m004_paya_gari)

b. *kaho wanɨ wa **mosi** xĩro taari [...]*
*kaho =wa =nɨ wa= **mosi=** xĩro taa =ri*
2 =2SG =ERG 2SG= **CLN:sky=** single; alone see =PFV1
'You [can] only see the sky.' (PDYP_MIC_A_16_01)

c. *ai thëpënɨ pei heãropë*
ai =thë =pë =nɨ pei heãropë
other =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG INDEF husband
***ethëpë** pairiprai*
***e=** **thë=** **pë=** pairi =pra =ɨ*
DIF.PART= **CLN.GNR=** **3PL=** help =DRV =DYN
makihi [...]
ma= ki =he =i
FOC.CONC= COP =3PL =REL
'Even though others helped their husbands [...]' (PDYP_MIC_B_09_12)

As a final comment, the tense and aspect markers have no influence on the use of Set 1 markers. Likewise, the markers do not vary in the dependent clauses or in different participant configurations, as the Set 2 markers do. The markers of the Set 1 are obligatory in all those contexts.

In the next section, I will show that all indexes of Set 1 have a clear and synchronically recoverable origin.

7.5.2. Origins of Set 1: procliticization of the enclitics of the absolutive argument

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the whole Set 1 markers (Table 7.9) have their enclitic counterpart on the nominal Cluster A (see Tables 3.6 and 3.8). Indeed, the markers for 1st and 2nd persons match exactly with the enclitics that appear with personal pronouns while the markers for a 3rd person are simply the number markers or the noun classifiers that regularly occur with the nouns of Types 1 and 3. According to my analysis, this is not a coincidence: the entire enclitic Cluster A changes its binding directionality, becoming proclitics of the Cluster B when the noun that would otherwise host them is the absolutive argument of a predicate. In (83a), for instance, the singular marker *=a* becomes the index of 3rd person singular, and in (83b), the pronominal enclitic *=yamakɨ* turns to the marker for 1st person plural on the verb.

(83) a. *rẽa sinɨ koraha =Ø **a** hatetepoma .*
*rẽa =si =nɨ koraha =Ø **a=** hatetepo =ma*
mouse =CLN:small =ERG banana =Ø **3SG=** keep in the pocket =PST
'The mouse had a banana in the pocket.' (m_ms09_suka)

b. *kami =Ø **yamakɨ** kiri .*
*kami =Ø **yamakɨ=** kiri*
1 =Ø **1PL=** be_scared
'We are scared.' (m002_cesa_gari)

At this point, one could question the validity of this interpretation and argue that the examples would be better glossed as in (84), i.e. considering the singular marker *=a* and the bound pronoun *=yamakɨ* as part of the nominal phrase. Hence the verb would not be marked for person.

(84) a. *rẽa sinɨ koraha **a** hatetepoma .*
*rẽa =si =nɨ koraha **=a** hatetepo =ma*
mouse =CLN:small =ERG banana **=SG** keep in the pocket =PST
'The mouse had a banana in the pocket.' (m_ms09_suka)

b. *kami* ***yamaki*** *kiri* .
kami ***=yamaki*** *kiri*
1 **=1PL** be_scared
'We are scared.' (m002_cesa_gari)

In this section, I will present three pieces of evidence that support the first analysis. Let's take obligatoriness as a first parameter. While the markers of the Set 1 are obligatory in every predicate, even in the minimal clause (see §4.2.6), the nouns (the free words) can be omitted without turning the clause ungrammatical. That is, the free morphemes *koraha* and *kami* can be omitted in (83) or (84). If we admitted that the morpheme separation in (84) is the correct one, we would have a representational problem in the minimal clause for the morphemes *=a* and *=yamaki* would be bound to nothing/nowhere. I do not believe, nonetheless, that this is a property of the clitics in YMA, considering the behavior of those morphemes in all the remaining contexts, where they clearly have to be hosted by a free word.

The second piece of evidence comes from the behavior of the 3rd person markers of the Set 1 when coexisting with the SAP Set 2 markers in transitive verbs. In these contexts, the markers of the Set 2 are placed in between the free morpheme and its clitic, as shown in the examples (85). If we assume that the clitic is still bound to its original noun, we would have to postulate that YMA displays in this context not only discontinuous noun phrases but discontinuous verbal phrases as well, since the Set 2 markers are assumedly bound to the verb (or where would they otherwise be bound to?). I believe this analysis is not only wrong but awfully uneconomic for the description of the language.

(85) a. *xinaru* ***wama*** *upë* *yãamai* *!*
xinaru ***wama=*** *u=* *pë=* *yã* *=a* *=ma* *=i*
cotton **2PL=** CLN:cotton= PL= be tied =DRV =CAUS =DYN
'Tie the cotton strands!' (PDYP_MIC_A_01_27)

b. *napë* ***yama*** *pë* *taarema* .
napë ***yama=*** *pë=* *taa* *=ri* *=ma*
white person **1PL=** 3PL= see =PFV1 =PST
'We saw the white people.' (n006_masipe)

The third piece of evidence is that the Cluster B morphemes interact phonologically with clearly verbal markers, such as the volitional *riã=* and the verbal particles of compound verbs, like *nɨ=* or *pihi=*. The reverential *=rĩ/rĩ=* and the diminutive *=i/i=*, for instance, appear after those verbal morphemes, as we can see by the examples in (86). Note in (86b) that the verbal particle *pihi=* assimilates the nasality of the reverential, and in (86c), the diminutive provokes the vowel of the verbal particle *nɨ=* to change to ë, i.e. [ə]. This shows these morphemes are in the same cluster. Since the verbal particles are being hosted by the verbs, we have to conclude that the person clitics are being hosted by verbs too.

(86) a. *a* ***riã*** *rĩ* *wanɨ* [...]
a= ***riã=*** *=rĩ* *wa* *=nɨ*
3SG= **VOL=** =HON eat =REL.PST
'Wanting [he+REV] to eat it. [...]' (s_chck_ces)

b. *ĩhĩ tëhë* *a* ***pĩhĩrĩ***
ĩhĩ *=tëhë* *a=* ***pĩhĩ=*** *rĩ=*
ANA =REL.PRS 3SG= **V.PTC:thought=** HON=
xuhuritarioma .
xuhuri *=ta* *=rio* *=ma*
sadness =CEL =PFV1 =PST
'Then he [+REV] soon got annoyed.' (s_pear_cesa)

c. *ɨha* ***enë****i* *aipërayoma* .
ɨha *e=* ***ni=*** *i=* *aipë* *=rayu* *=ma*
there DIF.PART= **V.PTC=** DIM= be different =PFV1 =PST
'There the little one got transformed/metamorphosed.' (n032_omamayesie)

In the next section, we will turn to the description of the markers of the Set 2, used to index agents on the verb.

7.5.3. Set 2 – Agent (A) markers

The indexes of Set 2 – presented in Table 7.10 – are used only with bivalent verbs and they are always co-referential with an NP marked with the ergative=*nɨ* in the clause.There is a strong consistency in this correlation, with no exceptions.

Table 7.10 – Set 2 of Pronominal Indexes (A)

	singular	dual	plural
1	*ya=*	*yaha=*	*yama=*
2	*wa=*	*waha=*	*wama=*
3	---	*=pɨ*	*=he*

This set of markers has the particularity of being made of both proclitics and enclitics. While the markers for agent SAPs are proclitics from Cluster B, the markers for agent 3rd persons are enclitics from Cluster C. In this sense, we could say that there are two systems, one for SAP and another for 3rd persons. For I do not find this division useful for the description of the language (since there are not clear contexts where these two systems behave differently), I will treat both sets of markers as part of the same paradigm.

Another particularity of Set 2 is the absence of an overt marker for 3rd person singular agent. But it not to say that it is not an ergative argument. The verb is still bivalent. There is no restriction to an animate 3rd person to be the ergative argument of the clause. This restriction exists only for the inanimate 3rd person, which can only play the instrumental or causal roles in a bivalent clause, never the role of the agent. Animate 3rd person singular does occupy the ergative position of the clause, as the example in (87) clearly shows (note the ergative case marker *=nɨ* in both sentences).

(87) a. *aho thuwë anë pisima kɨkɨ rapuu*
aho thuwë =a =në pisima kɨkɨ= rapu =ɨ
2POS woman =SG =ERG loin-cloth CLN:collective= wear =DYN
tha?
=tha
=PTC.INT
'Does your wife wear loin-cloths?' (PDYP_MIC_B_10_01)

b. *hapai naha warõ anɨ hapa*
hapai =naha warõ =a =nɨ hapa
CAT =thereby man =SG =ERG before
thë thama [...]
thë= tha =ma
CLN.GNR= do; make =PST
'First, the man did the following [...]' (s_chck_anto)

Even though the Set 2 markers for 3rd person dual and plural are both enclitics, they do not display the same position in the Cluster C. While the 3rd person plural marker *=he* follows all tense, aspectual and derivational morphemes, the 3rd person dual marker only follows the derivational morpheme (sub-Cluster CA) and precedes all tense-aspect markers (sub-Cluster CB). In (88), we have two examples that illustrate the different positions of these markers in the predicate. Note that in (88a), the index *=pu* appears before the perfective *=ri* and the past *=ma*, while in (88b) the index *=he* goes after these same morphemes.

(88) a. *ĩhĩ tëhë pora a tëpirema* .
*ĩhĩ =tëhë pora a= të **=pi** =ri =ma*
ANA =REL.PRS ball 3SG= take **=3DU** =PFV1 =PST
'Then they two took the ball.' (s_ball_kami)

b. *ĩhĩ pënɨ a pairipraremahe* .
*ĩhĩ =pë =nɨ a= pairi =pra =ri =ma **=he***
ANA =PL =ERG 3SG= help =DRV =PFV1 =PST **=3PL**

'Those ones helped him.' (s_pear_arok)

The marker for 3rd person plural agent *=he* does not occur in the last position of the clause only with the conjunction/connectives *=tëhë* or *=kutayo=nɨ*. In these cases, the index goes before *=tëhë* (89a), and in between the two clitics that form the reason conjunction *=kutayo=nɨ* (89b).

(89) a. *ya xëɨ maa **he** tëhë* [...]
*ya= xë =ɨ ma =o **=he** =tëhë*
1SG= beat; kill =DYN not_exist =STV **=3PL** =REL.PRS
'If they don't kill me [...]' (m005_wawa_gari)

b. *mercurio pë kãyo huu kutayo**he**nɨ* [...]
*mercurio pë= kãyo= hu =ɨ =kutayo **=he** =nɨ*
mercury PL= APPL= go =DYN =REAS **=3PL** =REAS
'For they go [bringing with them] mercury [...]' (note: mercury is used for gold mining) (m002_cesa_gari)

Except for these two conjunctions, the marker *=he* goes after all remaining clitics, including other conjunctions, such as *=yaro* (90a), and the nominalizer *=wei* (90b). Note that the vowel of *=he* harmonizes with the last vowel of *=wei*, which is elided in this context.

(90) a. *napë pënɨ thãa hiraɨ*
napë =pë =nɨ thã= ã= hira =ɨ
white person =3PL =ERG CLN.GNR= sound= transport =DYN
*we**hi*** [...]
*=wei **=he***
=NMLZ **=3PL**
'The things the white people teach [...]' (m007_geni_kona)

b. *kama thëpëni̵ thë tai̵ xoa*
kama =thë =pë =ni̵ thë= ta =i̵ xoa
3 =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG CLN.GNR= know =DYN continue
*yaro**he*** [...]
=yaro ***=he***
=CNJ.EXPLV **=3PL**
'For they still know it [...]' (m011_joan_tihi)

There is no restriction on the use of the markers for 3rd person agent regarding the participant configuration of the predicate, occurring both in the external and mixed constructions. That is, it does not matter whether the patient of the clause is also a 3rd person (external construction) (91b), or a SAP (mixed construction) (91b). The markers for SAP agent display a different behavior in this respect.

(91) a. *ĩhĩ pëni̵ **a** yaxurema**he*** .
*ĩhĩ =pë =ni̵ **a=** yaxu =ri =ma **=he***
ANA =PL =ERG **3SG=** repel =PFV1 =PST **=3PL**
'Those ones expelled him.' (PDYP_MIC_B_03_18)

b. *ipa uhuru kipëni̵ **ya** wasu**pi̵i̵***
*ipa uhuru =kipë =ni̵ **ya=** wasu **=pi̵** =i̵*
1POS child =DU =ERG **1SG=** forbid **=3DU** =DYN
makii [...]
ma= ki =i
FOC.CONC= COP =REL
'Even though my two children discourage me [...]' (PDYP_MIC_A_02_11)

While the marker for 3rd person plural lies at the extreme right end of the verbal phrase, the Set 2 markers for SAP appear in the very beginning of it. These markers have a fixed position in the first slot of the verbal phrase, preceding all proclitics from Cluster B.

(92) a. *rope* ***yama*** *pë* *riã* *patamaɨ* *yaro* [...]
rope ***yama=*** *pë=* *riã=* *pata* *=ma* *=ɨ* *=yaro*
quick **1PL=** 3PL= VOL= big =CAUS =DYN =CNJ.EXPLV
'For we want to make them grow quickly [...]' (PDYP_A_01_26)

b. *ei* *asima* ***wa****a* *kãyõi*
ei *asima* ***wa=*** *a=* *kãyõ=* *i=*
this son **2SG=** 3SG= APPL= DIM=
kõtapuhuru .
kõ *=ta* *=pu* *=huru*
again =CEL =CSVT =DIR.AND
'You go [back home] with my child.' (wtx_terema)

However, differently from the 3rd person markers, there is a restriction of occurrence for the SAP indexes on the verb based on the participant configuration of the predicate. These markers only appear in mixed configurations, i.e. when SAP is the agent and a 3rd person is the syntactic patient, or vice-versa. In local constructions, where only SAP are involved, the Set 2 markers never occur, as the examples in (93) indicate. Note in these examples that the indexes on the verb are from Set 1 and exclusively refer to to the absolutive argument, i.e. these forms are not *portmanteaus*.

(93) a. *kami yamakɨnɨ* ***wamakɨ*** *nakanimi* .
kami *=yamakɨ* *=nɨ* ***wamakɨ=*** *naka* *=n* *=imi*
1 =1PL =ERG **2PL=** call; ask =PST =NEG
'We did not call you.' (PDYP_MIC_A_14_02)

b. *Funai* *wamakɨnɨ* *kami* *yanomama* ***yamakɨ***
Funai *=wamakɨ* *=nɨ* *kami* *yanomama* ***yamakɨ=***
Funai =2PL =ERG 1 yanomami **1PL=**
pairipraɨ *maa* *tëhë* [...]
pairi *=pra* *=ɨ* *ma* *=o* *=tëhë*
help =DRV =DYN not_exist =STV =REL.PRS

'If you people from Funai do not help us Yanomama people [...]'
(m002_cesa_gari)

As I discussed before, there is no marker for 3rd person singular agent. The lack of a verb index for this person is not explained by the same reasoning that explains the lack of verb indexes in the local construction. They are two distinct phenomena. As shown in Table 7.10, Set 2 has no index for 3rd person singular in its paradigm. Ergative arguments that refer to 3rd person singular entities are never indexed in the verb in any participant configuration. In contrast, 1st and 2nd ergative arguments are indexed on the verb when the other participant is a 3rd person. Only when the absolutive argument is also a SAP is that the SAP Set 2 markers do not appear in the predicate. Our analysis is that there is an argumental hierarchy in the local construction, according to which the absolutive argument always outranks the ergative argument in the verb indexation.

As a final comment, I have not identified yet the origins of the markers for 3rd person dual and 3rd person plural. The source for the markers for SAP is again the clitic part of the personal pronouns. But differently from the Set 1 markers, which correspond perfectly to the clitic part of the pronoun, the markers of non-singular SAP of Set 2 do not display the non-singular morpheme *=ki* at their end. Even though we can identify the source of these markers, we still do not understand, nevertheless, how they acquired the property of indexing ergative arguments on the verb. Since we do not have synchronic clues, I believe that only a comparative study of the person indexes among the languages of the family could yield an explanation of this process.

7.5.4. Morphosyntactic alignment of Sets 1 and 2

The person indexing markers on the verbs, presented again in Table 7.11 below, display an ergative-absolutive alignment for most persons and configurations. This was expected since Set 1 is used to co-reference subjects and patients while Set 2 indexes agents. Some exceptions are discussed now.

Table 7.11 – Pronominal indexes – Sets 1 and 2

	Set 1	Set 2
1SG	*ya=*	*ya=*
1DL	*yahaki=*	*yaha=*
1PL	*yamaki=*	*yama=*
2SG	*wa=*	*wa=*
2DL	*wahaki=*	*waha=*
2PL	*wamaki=*	*wama=*
3SG	*a=*, CLN=	Ø
3DL	*kipë=*, CLN=*kipë=*	*=pi*
3PL	*së=*, CLN=*së=*, CLN=*ki=*	*=he*

First, as we saw in §7.5.3, there is no marker for 3rd person singular in the Set 2. Therefore, the alignment of the indexes of this person is absolutive, not ergative-absolutive, in the sense that the absolutive arguments are indexed while the ergative argument remains unmarked on the verb.

Furthermore, we saw in 7.5.3 that the Set 2 markers do not appear in the local construction. That is, only the absolutive argument is co-referenced on the verb. In this context, the person indexes display an absolutive alignment for all SAP.

Finally, the markers of 1st and 2nd person singular of Set 1 are the same as Set 2. For SAP singular, we thus have a neutral alignment of the verbal indexes, that is, the same marker (*ya=* for 1st person and *wa=* for 2nd) is used to co-reference either the subject (S), the patient (P) or the agent (A). On the other hand, if we consider that in the local construction the markers for A are not realized, then the alignment of the verbal indexes for SAP singular in this context becomes absolutive (i.e. with a non-marked ergative). Hence the alignment of the markers for 1st and 2nd person singular

is neutral in mixed configurations (SAP → 3 or 3 → SAP) and absolutive in the local ones (SAP → SAP).

In Table 7.12 I present a summary of these analysis indicating the alignment of the verbal markers of each person in the three configurations.

Table 7.12 – Alignment of the person indexes on the verb in different configurations

Person	external (3→ 3)	mixed (SAP → 3 or 3 → SAP)	local (SAP → SAP)
1SG	---	neutral	absolutive
2SG	---	neutral	absolutive
3SG	absolutive	absolutive	---
1DU	---	ergative-absolutive	absolutive
2DU	---	ergative-absolutive	absolutive
3DU	ergative-absolutive	ergative-absolutive	---
1PL	---	ergative-absolutive	absolutive
2PL	---	ergative-absolutive	absolutive
3PL	ergative-absolutive	ergative-absolutive	---

7.5.5. The different participant marker *e*=

The different participant marker =*e*/*e*= has multiple functions. We already saw in Chapter 4 (§4.2.4) that it is used in possessive constructions in which the possessor is a 3rd person singular. Also, I mentioned in §7.4.5 that the enclitic version of this morpheme flags oblique arguments that refer to highly animate entities. As a proclitic of Cluster B, this morpheme can still be used as a type of switch-reference marker, indicating the introduction of a new (highly animate) participant at the absolutive position of a predicate (either the subject or the patient). It is not required that the

participant is absolutely unmentioned before in the conversation, but only that she is not a participant of the preceding predicate. Differently from its use in possessive construction, as a switch-reference marker, the enclitic *e*= can be used either with singular (94a) or non-singular arguments (94b). It can even be used with a 1st or 2nd person, as shown in example (77). Note in (94a) that the singular marker *a*= does not appear when the different participant is present.

(94) a. *pei heãropë **e** kiaɨ*
*pei heãropë **e**= kia =ɨ*
INDEF husband **DIF.PART=** work =DYN
*paatipëha **e***
*pa =o =ti =pë =ha **e**=*
after_meeting =STV =DUR =NMLZ =OBL **DIF.PART=**
warokema .
waro =ki =ma
arrive =PFV2 =PST
'[She] arrived where her husband was working.' (s_pear_marc)

b. *a yãnikɨotayu tëhë ai*
a= yãnikɨ =o =tayu =tëhë ai
3SG= slow =STV =LOC:a_bit_faraway =REL.PRS other
***e**kipë rërëɨ hëimaɨ wei* [...]
***e**= kipë= rërë =ɨ hë =ima =ɨ =wei*
DIF.PART= DU= run =DYN remain =DIR.VEN =DYN =NMLZ
'When he was settling down over there, two others came running afterwards [...]' (s_ball_niki)

Since most of the clauses do not have explicit noun phrases, like (94b), this marker seems to play a major role in clarifying the information structure at the discursive level. This importance is illustrated in the example in (95) where the morpheme is clearly the sole responsible for specifying that different subjects performed the two predicates.

(95) *ĩhĩ tëhë* *mamo* *yapaa*
ĩhĩ *=tëhë* *mamo* *yapa* *=a*
ANA =REL.PRS eye be_back =PFV.VWL
kõtarioma *, ĩhĩ tëhë* ***e*** *rërërayu*
kõ *=ta* *=rio* *=ma* *ĩhĩ* *=tëhë* ***e=*** *rërë* *=rayu*
again =CEL =PFV1 =PST ANA =REL.PRS **DIF.PART=** run =PFV1
wei [...]
=wei
=NMLZ

'Then he looked back again and then the other ran away [...]' (s_ball_tome)

There is much more to be said about this morpheme on this matter, but I will leave the full account of its discursive uses to future study, where I will describe multi-clausal constructions and discuss the discursive patterns of YMA.

7.6. Concluding remarks

We saw in this chapter that YMA is a double-marking language at the clause level. On the one hand, it has a small case marking system that leaves the absolutive arguments unmarked and flags the remaining constituents with one of the four last-position enclitics of the paradigm. Considering how the core participants are marked, the system displays an ergative alignment for all persons and configurations.

On the other hand, the language also marks the verb with morphemes that indicate the grammatical person of the main participants of the predicate. Compared to the case system, the person indexing system is much more diverse regarding the types of bound morpheme that comprise it: most of the markers are proclitics that appear in the first position in the verbal phrase, but there are two enclitics as well. Moreover, the markers of this system do not display only one single alignment pattern in all contexts but vary according to the person and the participant configuration of the predicate. The markers for 1st and 2nd person singular, for instance, are neutrally aligned, if we consider only the mixed settings, while they display an absolutive alignment if we analyze them in the local construction instead. We also saw that the

person indexing system is somehow more “important” than the other argument marking devices, as most of the clauses of the language only have verbs (see §7.3). That is, the speaker cannot use the word order and the case system to make sense of the grammatical relations of the clause, having to rely exclusively on the pronominal indexes on the verb for that matter.

In this chapter, I was solely concerned with verbal predicates and did not touch upon how the language treats the arguments of the non-verbal predicates, i.e. nominal predicates that dispense with any verbal lexeme to occur. These types of predicate will be the subject of the next chapter.

8. Non-verbal predication

8.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed the formal properties of basic predicates with transitive and intransitive verbs, namely the morphosyntactic strategies that mark the argument structure of the YMA clauses. I described the nominal case and person indexing systems there, and the word order patterns of the language. I skipped the description of some types of predication, however, that lack a prototypical verb. The aim of this chapter is precisely the characterization of these verb-less constructions. I will investigate how YMA structures some of the predication types that the typological literature on the subject (Payne 1997; Vallejos 2010) indicate as most likely to be purely nominal clauses, such as proper inclusion (*This is a bow* or *X is a teacher*), equative (*The teacher is X,* or *X is my father*), existential (*There are Xs [in Y]*), locative (*X is in Y*), and attributive (*X is hungry*) predications. We will see that very few of those predication types are expressed by nominal constructions in YMA. Moreover these constructions are properly verbless in present and affirmative contexts only (a copular verb is required in all other contexts).

The chapter begins in section 8.2 with the description of the equative and proper inclusion constructions, which seem to be indistinguishable in the language. In Section §8.2.3, I will focus on a particular type of equative predicates, which has a possessive NP as one of the parts of the equation, as in 'this is my X.' We will see that only these two types of predicates – proper inclusion and equative– are truly verbless constructions in the language, and only in the present tense and with positive polarity. As already mentioned, in non-present and negative contexts a copular element will always be required. In Section §8.3, I will deal with locative predication, which may also be expressed by constructions with the copular element *ku*, but more often make use of lexically richer verbs, mainly positional verbs. In section 8.4, we will see that the construction with the copular element *ku* 'to exist' is also the most frequently used to express an existential predication, but disregarding the tense and polarity of the clause, in contrast with the previous types of predications. In Section

§8.5, I will point out some aspects of attributive predicates. I will do so very briefly since most of the important features of this construction were already described in detail in the chapter on verb stems (§5.4.1; see also §4.3.6).

8.2. Proper inclusion and equative predicates

8.2.1. Proper inclusion

Proper inclusion predicates make an assertion stating that a particular entity is identified with the "class of items specified in the nominal predicate" (Payne 1997: 114). 'Ararima is a Yanomami person' or 'Kunathoi is a teacher' are examples of such constructions in English, which makes use of the copular/existential verb *to be* in all tensed contexts. In YMA, such examples are translated dispensing, in the present, with the utilization of any verb or copular element, as the examples in (1) show.

(1) a. *Ararima yanomama a* .
Ararima yanomama =a
Ararima yanomami =3SG
'Ararima is a Yanomami person.'

b. *Kunathoi hiramatima a* .
kunathoi hirama -tima =a
Kunathoi teach -NMLZ =3SG
'Kunathoi is a teacher.'

The morphosyntactic strategy used in YMA, in this case, is the left dislocation of the noun referring to the particular entity followed by the noun that refers to the class of items, which then hosts the clitics from Cluster A.

Schema 8.1 – Proper inclusion construction (present and affirmative contexts)

$$NP_{entity}\ NP_{class}\ =\text{Cluster A}$$

The NP that refers to the particular entity (NP_{entity}) is prototypically an anthroponym, like in (1), or a hyponym, i.e. a specific term that can be subsumed under a general or superordinate term, as in (2).

(2) a. *xama yaro a* .
xama yaro =a
tapir animal =3SG
'Tapir is game meat.'

b. *mamori yuri a* .
mamori yuri =a
catfish sp. fish =3SG
'The catfish *mamori* is a fish.'

Another canonical arrangement of this predicate is to have a pronoun, either personal (4) or demonstrative (3), as the NP_{entity}.

(3) a. *kihi xaraka a* .
kihi xaraka =a
that arrow =3SG
'That is an arrow.'

b. *hei hiramatima pë* .
hei hirama -tima =pë
this teach -NMLZ =3PL
'Those are teachers.'

(4) a. *kama wãro a* .
kama wãro =a
3 man =3SG
'He is a man.'

b. *kami yanomama yamakɨ* .
kami yanomama =yamakɨ
1 yanomami =1PL
'We are Yanomami people.'

c. *kaho napë wahakɨ* .
kaho napë =wahakɨ
2 white person =2DU
'You two are white-people.'

The first NP (NP_{entity}) can always be omitted in the sentence when it is sufficiently clear from the discourse context e.g. when it was overtly expressed in the previous sentence. The answers to the questions 'What is this?', 'Who are them?' or 'What is a *mamori*?', for instance, do not need to recover the demonstrative or personal pronoun, or the noun about which is the question (such as the word *mamori* in the third question). These questions can be answered well as in (5). See Chapter 12 (§12.3) for an account on how questions are formulated in YMA.

(5) a. *xaraka a* .
xaraka =a
arrow =3SG
'[It is] an arrow.'

b. *hiramatima pë* .
hirama -tima =pë
teach -NMLZ =3PL
'[They are] teachers.'

c. *yuri a* .
yuri =a
fish =3SG
'[It is] a fish.'

In non-present contexts, proper inclusion constructions require the copular element *ku* ‘to exist’ to host the tense morpheme (6a). The noun that refers to the entity keeps being dislocated to the left and followed by the noun that indicates the class. However, in this case, the clitics are not hosted by the noun on the right (the “class of items”) anymore but by the copular element *ku*, since they become proclitics from Cluster B, according to our analysis (see §4.2.5 and §7.5.2 for more on this incorporation of the clitic cluster by the verb). The construction still accepts aspectual morphemes, such as perfective *=rio*, but often requires for that a previous derivation of the copular element with the deriving morpheme *=pra* (6b).

(6) a. *Kunathoi hiramatima a **ku**oma .*
*kunathoi hirama -tima a= **ku** =o =ma*
Kunathoi teach -NMLZ 3SG= **exist** =STV =PST
‘Kunathoi was a teacher.’

b. *Ararima napë a **ku**prariopë .*
*Ararima napë a= **ku** =pra =rio =pë*
Ararima white person 3SG= **exist** =DRV =PFV1 =FUT
‘Ararima will become a white-person.’

The copular element is also required when the proper inclusion predicate has negative polarity, like in the examples (7a-c).

(7) a. *Kunathoi napë a **ku**imi .*
*kunathoi napë a= **ku** =imi*
Kunathoi white person 3SG= **exist** =NEG
‘Kunathoi is not a white-person.’

b. *hee yaro a **ku**imi .*
*hee yaro a= **ku** =imi*
bat animal 3SG= **exist** =NEG
‘Bat is not game meat.’

c. *Ararima hiramatima a **ku**onimi .*
*Ararima hirama -tima a= **ku** =o =n =imi*
Ararima teach -NMLZ 3SG= **exist** =STV =PST =NEG
'Ararima was not a teacher.'

In present contexts, there is yet an alternative construction that makes use of the attributive stem *mii* 'not to be/exist'[1], as in (8a-b). Interestingly, this stem does not cooccur with tense and aspect morphemes. The construction in (8c) is not grammatical.

(8) a. *Kunathoi napë a **mii** .*
*kunathoi napë a= **mii***
Kunathoi white person 3SG= **not_be/exist**
'Kunathoi is not a white-person.'

b. *hee yaro a **mii** .*
*hee yaro a= **mii***
bat animal 3SG= **not_be/exist**
'Bat is not game meat.'

c. **Ararima hiramatima a **mii**ioma .*
*Ararima hirama -tima a= **mii** =o =ma*
Ararima teach -NMLZ 3SG= **not_be/exist** =STV =PST
'Ararima was not a teacher.'

The Schema 8.2 below represents the proper inclusion construction with the copular element *ku* 'to exist', used in non-present and negative contexts. As the comparison between Schema 8.1 and Schema 8.2 tells us, the Cluster A has disappeared from the clause, as its enclitics became proclitics of Cluster B and are

[1] There is also the positional version of this root *maa* 'not to exist'.

hosted by the copular element. This element also hosts the enclitics of Cluster C, which are responsible for marking tense, aspect and polarity categories, among others.

Schema 8.2 – Proper inclusion construction (non-present and negative contexts)

NP_{entity} NP_{class} Cluster B= COP =Cluster C

It is worth mentioning that, according to some native speakers, the use of the copular verb *ku* in present affirmative context results in ungrammaticality, but other speakers give a different opinion. All of them agree, nevertheless, that such constructions have an artificial and stilted flavor. To make the same statement using a verb stem, the speakers often rely on the irregular verb *paxio* 'to be evident, obvious', as in the examples in (9). This construction is slightly more emphatic than the verbless construction.

(9) a. *kami hiramatima yamaki* ***paxio*** .
*kami hirama -tima yamaki= **paxi** **=o***
1 teach -NMLZ 1PL= **be obvious** **=STV**
'We are evidently/obviously teachers.'

b. *Ararima warõ a* ***paxio*** .
*Ararima warõ a= **paxi** **=o***
Ararima man 3SG= **be obvious** **=STV**
'Ararima is evidently/obviously a man.'

Another, also emphatic alternative is to focus the NP_{entity} with a *k*-word, as in (10). As we will see in Chapter 11 (§11.3.1.1), this is formally a relative construction with the copular element *ku* 'to exist.' This construction is marked for evidentiality, tense, and space. In (10a), the relative clause that focalizes the NP is marked as an eye-witnessed, present and nearby event. In (10b), the relative clause is marked as a non-eye-witnessed event that occurred upriver in the past.

(10) a. *hei thëka* ***kii*** *warõ a* .
hei thë= ka= ***ku*** *=i warõ =a*
this CLN.GNR= FOC= **COP** =REL man =SG
'This one who is here is a man.'

b. *hei thë ka*
hei thë= ka=
this CLN.GNR= FOC=
ku*oharayonii* , *Ararima a*
ku *=o =harayu =ni =i Ararima a=*
COP =STV =LOC:upriver =HOD.NON.WIT =REL Ararima 3SG=
kuoma .
ku =o =ma
exist =STV =PST
'That one, who was up there (non-witnessed), was Ararima.'

8.2.2. Equative

Equative predicates are those in which an entity is entirely identified with "the entity specified in the predicate nominal, e.g. *He is my father*" (Payne 1997: 114). In this context, an $NP_{entity1}$ is equated, not to a general class term, but to a very specific or unique member of this group (*mine,* not someone else's father), which we will call the $NP_{entity2}$. The examples in (11) illustrate this construction.

(11) a. *Kunathoi ipa hepara a* .
Kunathoi ipa hepara =a
Kunathoi 1POS brother =3SG
'Kunathoi is my brother.'

b. *kihi aho rakama thuku* .
kihi aho rakama =thuku
that 2POS hammock =CLN:hammock
'That is your hammock.'

c. *hei Ararima a* .
hei Ararima =a
this Ararima =SG
'This is Ararima.'

d. *kami Kunathoi ya* .
kami Kunathoi =ya
1 Kunathoi =1SG
'I am Kunathoi.'

YMA does not distinguish equative predicates from proper inclusion ones. That is, the equative function is also expressed in present contexts by verbless clauses which have one NP dislocated to the left followed by another NP that hosts the morphemes from Cluster A.

Schema 8.3 – Equative construction (non-present and negative contexts)

$NP_{entity1}$ $NP_{entity2}$=Cluster A

As the examples in (11) suggest, $NP_{entity1}$ is prototypically an anthroponym, as in (11a), a demonstrative pronoun, as in (11b-c), or a personal pronoun, as in (11d). Similarly to proper inclusion constructions, this NP ($NP_{entity1}$) can also be omitted, given the adequate discursive context. The answers to the questions "Who is Kunathoi?", "Whose hammock is that?", "Who is he?" and "Who are you?" can be well formulated omitting the $NP_{entity1}$ mentioned in the question, as in (12). Compare this construction with those in (11).

(12) a. *ipa hepara a* .
ipa hepara =a
1POS brother =3SG
'[He] is my brother.'

b. *aho rakama thuku* .
aho rakama =thuku
2POS hammock =CLN:hammock
'[That is] your hammock.'

c. *Ararima a* .
Ararima =a
Ararima =SG
'[This is] Ararima.'

d. *Kunathoi ya* .
Kunathoi =ya
Kunathoi =1SG
'[I am] Kunathoi.'

On the other hand, the $NP_{entity2}$ may also be an anthroponym, as in (11c-d), but is quite frequently a possessed noun, such as (11a-b). This makes the $NP_{entity2}$ potentially very diverse since the possessive constructions themselves are diverse in YMA, varying significantly in their morphosyntax according to the grammatical profile of the possessor (whether singular or plural, or 1st, 2nd or 3rd person) and the possessed entity (whether alienable or not). In the next section, I will show how these various types of possessive constructions behave in equative predicates.

8.2.3. Equative predicates with possessive constructions

As we saw in Chapter 4 (§4.2.4), the first type of possessive construction makes use of the possessive pronouns (POS.PRO) *ipa* 'my' or *aho* 'your', which precede the possessed entity ($NP_{possessed}$). In this construction, the possessed entity cannot be a meronym (noun of Type II), such as *he* 'head' or *imi* 'finger', but only an alienable noun, that is, a noun of Type I or Type III. The possessive constructions in the examples (11a-b) are of this type. Schema 8.4 represents this construction.

Schema 8.4 – Equative predicates with possessive NPs (Type I)

$$\underbrace{NP_{entity1}\ POS.PRO\ NP_{possessed}}_{NP_{entity2}}=Cluster\ A$$

If the possessed entity is focalized, its NP takes the demonstrative pronoun as the determiner and the possessive pronoun (*ipa* 'my', in the example below) becomes the sole nominal element of the $NP_{entity2}$.

(13) a. *hei xaraka a kii* ***ipa*** *a* .
hei xaraka a= ku =i ***ipa*** *=a*
this arrow 3SG= COP =REL **1POS** =3SG
'This arrow here is mine.'

The possession with possessive nouns is, nevertheless, available only when the possessor is 1st or 2nd person singular. There is no other possessive pronoun in the language. If the possessor is a 3rd person singular, the morphosyntactic mechanism used is the juxtaposition of the $NP_{possessor}$ and $NP_{possessed}$, in this order, alongside the different participant marker *=e*, a proclitic from Cluster A. In the equative predicate, the $NP_{entity1}$ is equated to this complex $NP_{entity2.}$ Schema 8.5 represents the morphosyntactic structure of this construction.

Schema 8.5 – Equative predicates with possessive NPs (Type II)

$$\underbrace{NP_{entity1}\ NP_{possessor}\ NP_{possessed}}_{NP_{entity2}}=DIF.PART=Cluster\ A$$

In (14) we have examples of an $NP_{entity2}$ that express a possessive relation where the possessor is a 3rd person singular. In (14a), the $NP_{entity1}$ is a demonstrative pronoun while in (14b) is an anthroponym. Note that the different participant marker *=e* does not cooccur with the singular marker *=a* (14b), but only with non-singular ones, such as the plural marker *=pë*, (14a).

(14) a. *hei Ararima xaraka **e**pë* .
*hei Ararima xaraka **=e** =pë*
this Ararima arrow **=DIF.PART** =PL
'These are Ararima's arrows.'

b. *Ararima Kunathoi hepara **e*** .
*Ararima Kunathoi hepara **=e***
Ararima Kunathoi brother **=DIF.PART**
'Ararima is Kunathoi's brother.'

c. *hei Tixopona rakama **e**thuku* .
*hei tixopona rakama **=e** =thuku*
this Tixopona hammock **=DIF.PART** =CLN:hammock
'It's Tixopona's hammock.'

The possessed entity of this construction can also be focalized with a *k*-word, as in (15).

(15) *hei xaraka a ka kii Ararima **e*** .
*hei xaraka a= ka= ku =i Ararima **=e***
this arrow 3SG FOC= COP =REL Ararima **=DIF.PART**
'This arrow is Ararima's.'

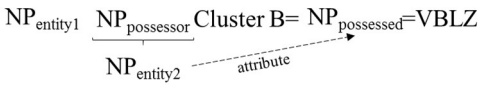
When possessors are multiple entities, i.e. plural, there is only one morphosyntatic mechanism to express this relation, which is the derivation of the possessed NP in an attributive stem by the verbalizing morpheme *=pë*. In this construction the possessed entity becomes an attribute of the possessor, which in turn becomes the subject of this attributive predicate. From a morphosyntactic perspective, this construction is not a possessive construction *stricto sensu*, but an attributive predication which gets a possessive reading. In the equative predicate, therefore, the $NP_{entity1}$ is equated to the possessor, as the literal translations of the examples in (16) indicate.

(16) a. *hei kami yamaki urihi**pë*** .
*hei kami yamaki= urihi **=pë***
this 1 1PL= forest **=VBLZ**
'This is our land/forest.' (lit: 'This is us "forested"')

b. *hei kami wamaki kõputato**pë*** .
*hei kami wamaki= kõputato **=pë***
this 1 2PL= computer **=VBLZ**
'This is your computer.' (lit: 'This is you "computered"')

In Schema 8.6 below, we have diagram of the morphosyntactic structure of equative predicate with this type of possessive construction.

Schema 8.6 – Equative predicates with possessive NPs (Type III)



Even though this is the only procedure available for plural possessors, it is not exclusive to them, as it can be used with all types of possessors as well, i.e. first, second or third persons and singular or plural.

(17) *hei kami ya kõputato**pë*** .
*hei kami ya= kõputato **=pë***
this 1 1SG= computer **=VBLZ**
'This is my computer.' (lit: 'This is me "computered"').

We will see in §8.4.2 that a similar construction, also with the possessed entity derived in an attributive stem, can also acquire an existential reading.

In the examples above, the possessed entities were always alienable. They were either a noun of Type I or Type III. The last type of possessive constructions involves unalienable nouns or nouns of type II. Those nouns are clitics in the language (from Cluster A) and they attach to the noun that refers to the whole entity to which they belong, as represented in the diagram of Schema 8.7.

Schema 8.7 – Equative predicates with possessive NPs (Type IV)

$$NP_{entity1}\ \underbrace{NP_{whole}\ =NP_{part}}_{NP_{entity2}}=Cluster\ A$$

In (18) we have examples of this type of possesive construction in equative predicates.

(18) a. *mihi warë kɨkɨ mãyo* .
mihi warë =kɨkɨ =mãyo
that peccary =CLN:collective =trace
'Those are traces of peccaries.'

b. *hei tɨhɨ wãa* .
hei tɨhɨ =wãa
this jaguar =sound
'This is the voice of a jaguar.'

If the whole entity is 1st or 2nd person, the part term is attached to the personal pronoun, like in the example (19).

(19) *hei kami ya kanasi* .
hei kami =ya =kanasi
this 1 =1SG =garbage
'This is my piece of work.' (lit: 'this is my garbage.')

8.3. Locative predicates

As its name suggests, a locative predication is a statement identifying the location of a particular entity (Payne 1997: 112). It is the "basic locative construction" (Levinson and Wilkins 2006:15), that is, the answer to the question "Where is X?". In YMA, this function is expressed by an intransitive clause which has the NP that indicates the location ($NP_{location}$) as its oblique argument while the NP that refers to the entity (NP_{entity}) is treated as its syntactic subject, i.e. the non-marked absolutive argument.

Prototypically, the intransitive verb used in this construction is a positional verb. Schema 8.8 represents this construction.

Schema 8.8 – Morphosyntactic structure of locative predications

$NP_{location}$=OBL NP_{entity} Cluster B= $V_{positional}$ =Cluster C

The copular verb *ku* 'to exist' is morphosyntactically a positional verb, so it can also be used in this construction, as in (20).

(20) *hutukana hamɨ Ararima a*
hutukana =hamɨ Ararima a=
garden =OBL Ararima 3SG=
***ku**atayaa* .
***ku** =a =taya =a*
exist =POST =LOC:a_bit_faraway =POST
'Ararima is in the garden.'

Nevertheless, in locative predicates the speakers of YMA often prefer a positional verb with more lexical content than the copula *ku*, such as *roa* 'to squat'/ 'to be visiting' or *upraa* 'to stand up', as in the examples in (21).

(21) a. *Sikamapiu ha Kunathoi a **ro**a* .
*Sikamapiu =ha Kunathoi a= **ro** =a*
Sikamapiu =OBL Kunathoi SG= **squat** =POST
'Kunathoi is visiting Sikamapiu.' (lit. 'Kunathoi is squatting at Sikamapiu'.)

b. *hutukana hamɨ Ararima a **upra**a* .
*hutukana =hamɨ Ararima a= **upra** =a*
garden =OBL Ararima 3SG= **stand_up** =POST
'Ararima is standing up in the garden.'

Semantically specified positional verbs are particularly required in predicates with non-animate entities.

(22) a. *xĩkã hamɨ ipa xaraka a **rakëa** .*
*xĩkã =hamɨ ipa xaraka a= **rakë** =a*
inner corner =OBL 1POS arrow 3SG= **lean** =POST
'My arrows are leaning on the wall.'

b. *kiha aho wana a **pirɨa** .*
*kiha aho wana a= **pirɨ** =a*
there 2POS case 3SG= **lie** =POST
'Your case (of arrow-points) is lying there (on the hammock).'

The NP that refers to the location marked as an oblique argument of the clause can be replaced by one of the locational adverbs of the language, such as *heamɨ* 'here', *mihamɨ* 'there' (near the hearer)' and *kihamɨ* 'there (far from hearer and speaker)'.

(23) ***kihamɨ** Ararima a kuatayaa .*
***there** Ararima a= kua =taya =a*
there Ararima 3SG= exist =LOC:a_bit_faraway =POST
'Ararima is there.'

Following the tendency of ommiting all nominal arguments of clauses (see §7.3), the NP referring to the entity (NP_{entity}) is also frequently deleted in natural conversation when the referent is sufficiently clear. In any event, this NP is always recoverable by the number and personal proclitic of Cluster B, which is still obligatory even when the NP is deleted. In the example (24) the clitic *a=*, in bold, refers to 3rd person singular, whose NP was not realized in that clause.

(24) *heamɨ **a** kua .*
*heamɨ **a=** ku =a*
here **3SG=** exist =POST
'He/she is here.'

It is worth mentioning that, even though the prototypical locative verbs are positional, the question "Where is X?" may be well answered in YMA with a dynamic

predicate as well, describing the activity that the entity is performing in that location. The example in (25) illustrates this possibility.

(25) *hutukana hamɨ Ararima a **kiãtayuu** .*
*hutukana =hamɨ Ararima a= **kiã** =tayu =ɨ*
garden =OBL Ararima 3SG= **work** =LOC:a_bit_faraway =DYN
'Ararima is working in the garden.'

This type of predicate is often marked for evidentiality, as in (26a), marked as an eye-witnessed event with the use of a *k*-word, or in (26b), marked as an event that was heard happening.

(26) a. *kihamɨ a kua rë **kuratunɨ** .*
*there a= ku =a rë= **ku** **=ratu** **=ni***
there 3SG= exist =POST FOC= **COP** **=not_faraway** **=HOD**
'He/she is there (+witnessed).'

b. *hutukana hamɨ Ararima **wãa** kuatayaa*
*hutukana =hamɨ Ararima **wãa=** kua =taya =a*
garden =OBL Ararima ***sound*=** exist =LOC:a_bit_faraway =POST
'Ararima is in the garden (+auditory source).'

8.4. Existential predicates

8.4.1. First strategy

Existential predicates make an assertion about the existence of a particular entity or a group of them, frequently in a specific location. In YMA, there are two types of existential predicates. The first type is basically a locative construction, frequently with the copular verb *kua* 'to exist', as in (27a), even though positional verbs can also occupy the head position of this type of existential predicates, as in (27b).

(27) a. *yokoto ahate hamɨ warë kɨkɨ* ***kua*** .
yokoto ahate =hamɨ warë kɨkɨ= ***ku =a***
swamp near =OBL peccary CLN:collective= **exist =POST**
'There are peccaries near the pond.'

b. *kihi hehu hamɨ momo hipë*
kihi hehu =hamɨ momo hi= pë=
that mountain =OBL *momo* fruit CLN:tree= PL=
thouhua .
thouhu =a
be_abundant =POST
'In that mountain trees of *momo* fruit are abundant.'

In YMA, the difference between this construction and a locative construction is purely semantic and depends on the definiteness of the predicated entity. While in locative predicates the NP_{entity} refers to a particular and more definite entity, the NP_{entity} of existential predicates tends to be indefinite and to have a generic meaning. Schema 8.9 below is a representation of the morphosyntactic structure of this type of existential predicate.

Schema 8.9 – Morphosyntactic structure of existential predications (Type I)

$$[NP_{location}=OBL]\ NP_{entity}\ Cluster\ B=\ V_{positional}=Cluster\ C$$

Existential predicates are often marked for evidentiality and location with a *k-* word, as in (28).

(28) *yokoto ahate hamɨ warë kɨkɨ kua rë*
yokoto ahate =hamɨ warë kɨkɨ= ku =a rë=
swamp near =OBL peccary CLN:collective= exist =POST FOC=
kuratuni .
ku =ratu =ni
COP =LOC:a bit faraway =HOD

'There are peccaries near the pond over there (+witnessed).' (i.e. 'I have seen peccaries in the pond.')

I would like to mention that several clauses which seem to play a purely existential function in the discourse do not have a positional but a dynamic verb as their head, generally a verb that indicates the typical manner of motion of the entity involved in the predication. In (29) we have an example with the verb *huaɨ* 'to wander' of a dynamic predicate being used as an existential predicate.

(29) *yokoto ahate hamɨ warë kɨkɨ*
yokoto ahate =hamɨ warë kɨkɨ=
swamp near =OBL peccary CLN:collective=
huaɨ *rë kuratunɨ* .
hu =a =ɨ *rë= ku =ratu =nɨ*
go =NON_PUNCT =DYN FOC= COP =LOC:a bit faraway =HOD

'The peccaries wander near the pound over there (+witnessed).' (i.e. 'I often see peccaries wandering near that pound.')

8.4.2. Second strategy

The second type of existential predicates is formally an attributive predication in which the noun that refers to the entity whose existence is being predicated is derived in a complex attributive stem with the enclitic *=pë* and the proclitic *=nɨ*, while the NP that refers to the place where that entity exists becomes the absolutive argument of the intransitive clause. The formal difference between this construction and the possessive construction exemplified in (16) resides in the fact that the resulting attributive stem of this derivation is morphologically more complex, since it makes use not only of verbalizer *=pë*, but also the verbal particle *nɨ=*, a proclitic of Cluster B that frequently appears in other complex stems (see Chapter 5, §5.5.2). In (30) we have two examples of this type of attributive predicate with existential reading.

(30) a. *hei pata u* ***ni*** *yuri**pë*** .
hei pata u= ***ni=*** *yuri* ***=pë***
this big CLN:liquid= **V.PTC=** fish **=VBLZ**
'There are fishes in this river.' (lit 'This river is "fished".')

b. *kihi urihi* ***ni*** *yaro**pë*** .
kihi urihi= ***ni=*** *yaro* ***=pë***
that CLN:forest= **V.PTC=** animal **=VBLZ**
'There are animals in that forest.' (lit 'That forest is "animaled".')

Schema 8.10 represents this construction.

Schema 8.10 – Morphosyntactic structure of existential predications (Type II)

$NP_{location}$ Cluster B= *ni*= NP_{entity}=VBLZ

As the literal translations of the examples in (30) suggest, the entity is presented in this construction as an attribute of the location. One bit of strong evidence in support of this analysis is that the noun derived with *=pë* can be replaced by a native attributive stem, such as *temi* 'to be healthy' in the example (31) below.

(31) *hei urihi* ***ni*** *temi* .
hei urihi= ***ni=*** *temi*
this CLN:forest= **V.PTC=** healthy
'This forest is healthy.'

8.5. Attributive predicates

As we saw in Chapter 5, the words that express attributes in YMA share a lot of formal properties with verbs and are essentially a type of verb in the language. Unsurprisingly, the attributive function is expressed in YMA by lexically rich verbal clauses, dispensing with any help from a copular element. In (32), I present an example of an attributive predicate.

(32) *aho hutukana a wãrapata* .
aho hutukana a= wãrapata
2POS garden 3SG= aged
'Your garden is old.' (i.e. 'not productive')

One of the properties shared between attributive words and other types of verbs is their position in simple predicates. While nouns, in their non-derived version, always occupy the position before the first clitic cluster of the clause (i.e. before Cluster A), verbs have their canonical position after Cluster B and before Cluster C. Moreover, in attributive predicates, and differently from nominal clauses in YMA, there is no left dislocation of the predicated entity, which becomes, in the attributive predicate, the sole absolutive argument of an intransitive clause, and is not marked, therefore, with any case morpheme. In purely nominal clauses of YMA (proper inclusion and equative predicates in present affirmative, see §8.2) , and even in those where a copular element (i.e. a verbal element) is required, there is always dislocation to the left of a NP. Schema 8.11 represents a typical attributive predicate. Note that the attibutive word ($V_{attributive}$) occupies the exact same position of the copular element or a positional verb of the Schema 8.3, Schema 8.8 and Schema 8.9.

Schema 8.11 – Morphosyntactic structure of attributive predicates

NP_{entity} Cluster B= $V_{attributive}$=Cluster C

Attributive words are true verbs in the language and do not need any extra morpheme or copular verb to express tense, aspect and polarity categories, as they can host the morphemes that mark such categories themselves, as in (33). On the other hand, nouns have to rely on verbal elements (lexical or copular) to express them, as a comparison with examples in (6) and (7) shows.

(33) a. *aho hutukana a wãrapata**rayoma*** .
aho hutukana a= wãrapata ***=rayu*** ***=ma***
2POS garden 3SG= old **=PFV** **=PST**
'Your garden got old.'

b. *aho hutukana a wãrapata**oma*** .
*aho hutukana a= wãrapata **=o** **=ma***
2POS garden 3SG= old **=STV** **=PST**
'Your garden was old.'

c. *aho hutukana a wãrapata**imi*** .
*aho hutukana a= wãrapata **=imi***
2POS garden 3SG= old **=NEG**
'Your garden is not old.'

8.6. Final remarks

In this chapter, we investigated some types of predicates that are the most frequently expressed in the languages of the world by purely nominal clauses. Nevertheless, we saw that very few of those predicate types allow a strictly nominal construction in YMA, namely proper inclusion and equative predicates, and only in present tense and with positive polarity. In other grammatical contexts, these predicates types also require a verbal element – *ku* 'to exist' – to host the tense, aspectual and polarity morphemes of the clause. Moreover, and excepting existential predicates, which canonically also make use of the copular verb, all other predicate types are preferably constructed with semantically richer verbs. Positional verb stems are particularly frequent in locative predicates. This chapter showed that attributive words behave very differently from nouns in predication, once more setting them far apart from each other in the word class spectrum of the language.

In the next chapter, we will turn to the description of the morphosyntactic mechanisms available in YMA to alter the basic argument structure projected by the verbs.

9. Valency and Voice changing mechanisms

9.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the morphosyntactic mechanisms available for the speakers of YMA to alter the valency of a predicate or to reorganize its argument structure. YMA has a relatively rich morphology that can produce this type of alternations. There are four morphemes that (by themselves or combined) increase the number of core arguments of a predicate and two that decrease it. We will see that all these valency-changing mechanisms also entail the argument restructuring of the predicate by the introduction of new arguments and the demotion or conflation of others. On the other hand, we will see that there is one type of voice changing mechanism that does not alter the valency of the predicate, but only reorganizes its argument structure. In this construction, a content-like argument is promoted to a core position, which was being occupied in the non-derived construction by a container-like argument, now demoted to an oblique argument. This type of change in the predicate diathesis is of particular interest, as it seems to be very rare in the languages of the world. Indeed, I have not found a mention of a similar morphological phenomenon in the literature about voice changing mechanisms yet (see Haspelmath & Mueller-Bardy, 2004; Kulikov, 2010; Peterson, 2007; Jeong, 2006). This chapter also includes a description of the denominalization of possessed nouns, which is a quite productive device in the language and also produces a shift in the argument structure of the predicate by promoting the possessor argument to a core position and "demoting" (actually *deriving*) the possessed noun to the predicate's head.

The chapter will begin with the analysis of the few existing cases of lexical causative alternations (§9.2), and labile causative alternations (§9.3). The first type of alternation is somewhat rare in the language, and only a couple of examples could be provided. The second type is a little bit more productive although also restricted to some positional stems in perfective contexts and a few other examples.

Section §9.5.1 describes the properties of the causative morpheme *=ma* and its semantic functions. The types of *causer* arguments introduced with causative *=ma* are

very diverse and include direct, indirect, directive, intentional and accidental causer, among others. The following section (§9.5.2), describes how the introduction of a new causer argument affects the diathesis of both transitive and intransitive predicates. This description will be contrasted with the *case paradigm* proposed by Comrie (1976; 1985) and developed by others later on (Palmer, 1994, Shibatani, 2009).

Section §9.5.3 shows why the transitivizer *=pra* should not be considered a causative morpheme even though it may create transitive verbs from intransitive ones.

Section §9.5.4 is dedicated to two types of applicative derivations and one voice changing mechanism. Section §9.5.4.1 describes the associative applicative morpheme *kãyo=*, and Section §9.5.4.2 the goal-promoter applicative *napë= kãyo=*.. Section §9.5.4.3 discusses the typologically unusual construction with *pihi=kãyõ=* that promotes a content-like argument to core argument. I include this construction morpheme in the applicative derivation section because one of the morphemes that take part in it is *kãyõ=*, a form that also appears in the two other real applicative derivations, by which there is indeed an increase of the valency of the predicate, and not only a change in the voice.

Section §9.6 describes the properties of the intransitivizer morpheme *=mu*, which appears in a broad range of syntactic contexts, including antipassive, reflexive, reflexive-causative and middle voice constructions. Section §9.6.3 pays particular attention to reflexive-causative constructions in, which combine the causative and reflexive markers. The resulting reorganization of the argument structure of this doubly derived construction resembles a passive construction superficially, and should be distinguished from an actual passive. Section §9.6.4 deals with the other valency-decreasing morpheme of YMA, reciprocal *=yu*, and Section §9.7 with the denominalization of possessed nouns.

Section §9.8 summarizes the valency- and voice-changing mechanisms and presents final remarks.

9.2. Lexical causatives

YMA relies on morphological rather than lexical means to create causative constructions. The language does not provide any pair of non-derived verb stems

which could be regarded as perfect anticausative and causative counterparts. Even the pair presented in (1) is not an undisputable example, as the causative verb *xëpraɨ* 'to kill' (which also means 'to hit, to beat') has a more restricted meaning than its anticausative counterpart, only referring to deaths produced by punching, hitting or shooting a weapon. It cannot be used, for instance, to describe the killing off of plants or pathogenic agents (louse, worms) by poison or medicine. In this situation, the morphological derivation with causative =*ma* is required, as in (1c).

(1) a. *nomaɨ* to die'

b. *xëpraɨ* to kill'

c. *nomamaɨ* to kill, to let or to make die'

There are yet other lexical pairs of intransitive and transitive stems with closely related meanings which, nevertheless, do not produce an inchoative/causative or anticausative/causative alternation, but rather an antipassive/active alternation, like the ones in (2) and (3).

(2) a. *iaɨ* to eat' (intr)

b. *waɨ* to eat' (trans)

(3) a. *ãrihimuu* to drink' [beer] (intr)

b. *koaɨ* to drink' (trans)

9.3. Labile causative allternation

A true labile causative is a verb stem that can be used either intransitively or transitively in all syntactic contexts, with the exact same form or without the need of an extra morpheme to indicate its valency status. A real labile causative verb also conveys the same essential meaning in both transitive and intransitive versions; differing only in the number of arguments that each of them projects in the clause. The intransitive version projects one participant and corresponds to the inchoative,

self-caused version (‘the bananas ripened’) or to the anticausative version (‘the glass shattered’) of the event, while the transitive version refers to a causative situation, an externally caused or non-self-caused event (‘I ripen the bananas’ or ‘the boy shattered the glass’). There is no example in the corpus of a verb stem of this type, although some candidates can be pointed out. The first one is the verb *niaɨ*, which can be used in intransitive predicates with the meaning of ‘to spring’, and in transitive predicates, meaning ‘to shoot’. Although the meanings of these two versions resemble each other, there are some differences that prevent us from analyzing them as a labile causative pair. The main difference is related to the animacy restriction that the intransitive verb displays. Inanimate entities cannot occupy the subject position of this intransitive version (4c), which is restricted to animate ones (4b).

(4) a. *xaraka ya a niãrema*
xaraka ya a= niã =ri =ma
arrow 1SG 3SG= shoot =PFV1 =PST
‘I shot an arrow.’

b. *ya niãrayoma* .
ya= niã =rayu =ma
1SG= shoot =PFV1 =PST
‘I sprang.’

c.* *xaraka a niãrayoma* .
xaraka a= niã =rayu =ma
arrow 3SG= shoot =PFV1 =PST
‘The arrow sprang out.’

There are other similar false labile causative pairs of this type in the language, such as *xoa*. This verb has two non-derived intransitive versions – one positional (5a-b) and another dynamic (5c) – and one non-derived transitive version (5d). Note that the transitive version is not the causative version of any of the possible intransitive meanings, which is only possible by an overt derivation with causative *=ma* (5e).

(5) a. *kama yano ehamɨ a xoaa* .
kama yano ehamɨ a= xoa =a
3 house here 3SG= continue =POST
'He stays/remains at home.'

b. *kama yano ehamɨ a xoakema* .
kama yano ehamɨ a= xoa =ki =ma
3 house here 3SG= continue =PFV2 =PST
'He stayed at home.'

c. *kama yano ehamɨ a xoarayoma* .
kama yano ehamɨ a= xoa =rayu =ma
3 house here 3SG= pass out PFV1 =PST
'He passed out at home.'

d. *kama yano ehamɨ ya xoarema*
kama yano ehamɨ ya= xoa =ri =ma
3 house here 1SG= invite =PFV1 =PST
'He invited me to his house.'

e. *kama yano ehamɨ ya a xoa**ma**rema* .
*kama yano ehamɨ ya a= xoa **=ma** =ri =ma*
3 house here 1SG 3SG= continue **=CAUS** =PFV1 =PST
'He made me stay at his house.'

Another type of false labile causative alternation is exemplified by the verb *xëɨ*, which means 'to hit', in both transitive and intransitive versions. Although the intransitive version of the pair does convey an anticausative meaning (6a), the transitive version does not express an external causation of the same event. Example (6b) is ungrammatical. To add an external causer to the event of (6a), the intransitive stem *xëɨ* must be derived with the causative marker *=ma* (*xëmaɨ*), as in (6c) (see §9.5.1 for more on this morpheme). The meaning of the non-derived transitive version of the pair (*xëɨ*) is also 'to hit', (6d) but it implies an agent with much more volition in bringing off the causative event. The example in (6e) shows a derivation of this

transitive version with the morpheme *=pra*, which changes the meaning of the verb from ‘to hit’ to ‘to kill’.

(6) a. *huu tihiha raa sihi xërayoma*
huu =tihi =ha raa sihi= xë =rayu =ma
tree =CLN:tree =OBL bow CLN:bow= beat; kill =PFV1 =PST
yaro , ya sẽramorayoma .
=yaro ya= sẽra =mu =rayu =ma
=CNJ.EXPLV 1SG= bad_hunter =INTRZ =PFV1 =PST

‘I missed the shot because the bow hit in the tree (when I was shooting the arrow).’

b. * *huu tihiha raa ya sihi*
huu =tihi =ha raa ya= sihi=
tree =CLN:tree =OBL bow 1SG= CLN:bow=
xërema yaro , ya
xë =ri =ma =yaro ya=
beat; kill =PFV1 =PST =CNJ.EXPLV 1SG=
sẽramorayoma .
sẽra =mu =rayu =ma
bad_hunter =INTRZ =PFV1 =PST

‘I missed the shot because I hit the bow in the tree (when I was shooting the arrow).’

c. *huutihiha raa yasihi*
huu =tihi =ha raa ya= sihi=
tree =CLN:tree =OBL bow 1SG= CLN:bow=
*xë**ma**rema yaro , ya*
*xë **=ma** =ri =ma =yaro ya=*
beat; kill **=CAUS** =PFV1 =PST =CNJ.EXPLV 1SG=
sẽramorayoma .
sẽra =mu =rayu =ma
bad_hunter =INTRZ =PFV1 =PST

‘I missed the shot because I hit the bow in the tree (when I was shooting the arrow).’

d. *raa sihinɨ hiima ya a xërema .*
raa =sihi =nɨ hiima ya a= xë =ri =ma
bow =CLN:bow =INS dog 1SG 3SG= beat; kill =PFV1 =PST
'I hit the dog with the bow.'

e. *raa sihinɨ hiima ya a*
raa =sihi =nɨ hiima ya a=
bow =CLN:bow =INS dog 1SG 3SG=
*xë**pra**rema .*
*xë **=pra** =ri =ma*
beat; kill **=DRV** =PFV1 =PST
I killed the dog with the bow (hitting it with the bow).'

The last candidate pairs for labile causative alternation are some verb stems that end in *pra*. One example of this type of stem is *këpraɨ/kepruu* 'to break', which may have an anticausative (and, therefore, intransitive) reading (7a), and a causative (transitive) one (7b), apparently with the same form.

(7) a. *ipa xaraka a kë**pra**rioma*
*ipa xaraka a= kë **=pra** =rio =ma*
1POS arrow 3SG= break **=DRV** =PFV1 =PST
'My arrow broke.'

b. *Ararima anɨ ipa xaraka a kë**pra**rema*
*Ararima =a =nɨ ipa xaraka a= kë **=pra** =ri =ma*
Ararima =SG =ERG 1POS arrow 3SG= break **=DRV** =PFV1 =PST
'Ararima broke my arrow.'

The examples in (8) show, nevertheless, that the transitive and intransitive forms of the stem, although identical in some contexts (particularly in perfective predicates), constitute different complex morphological structures. The transitive version is decomposable into the root *kë* plus the transitive enclitic *=pra*, while the intransitive version can be segmented as the same root *kë* and the intransitive enclitic *=pr[o,a,u]*. This intransitive morpheme, in contrast with its transitive counterpart, is susceptible to phonological processes of vowel harmonization, as with the dynamic *=ɨ* in example

(8b). The meaning of the root *kë* without doubt is 'to break', but it cannot occur alone as a verb stem.

(8) a. *ipa xaraka a kë**pruu** pihio*
*ipa xaraka a= kë **=pru** =u pihi =o*
1POS arrow 3SG= break =DRV =DYN will =STV
'My arrow will break.' (lit: 'It wants to break')

b. *Ararima ani ipa xaraka a kë**prai***
*Ararima =a =ni ipa xaraka a= kë **=pra** =i*
Ararima =SG =ERG 1POS arrow 3SG= break =DRV =DYN
pihio
pihi =o
will =STV
'Ararima wants to break my arrow.'

In Table 9.1, I present several other pairs of transitive/intransitive stems that display a similar contrast between the transitive derivational morpheme=*pra* and the intransitive one *=pr[a,o,u]*. In all these examples, there is also an anticausative/causative semantic alternation, implying that the intransitive version of the pair is an unaccusative type of verb, that is, with a subject with a low level of agentivity or, as I showed in Chapter 7 (see §7.4.2), a low level of animacy. The intransitive stems of the pairs (g) and (h) should not, therefore, be read as a reflexive derivation, in which a certain degree of agentivity is assumed. The prototypical subjects of these intransitive verbs are inanimate entities. To get an actual reflexive reading for these roots, derivation with the intransitivizer morpheme *=mu*: *aumuu* 'to clean oneself' and *heremuu* 'to wet oneself' is required.

Table 9.1 - Anticausative and causative versions of roots derived with *=pr[a,o,u]* and *=pra*

	Anticausative	Causative	Meaning
a.	*homopruu*	*homopraɨ*	to explode
b.	*thãihipruu*	*thãihipraɨ*	to stretch
c.	*karopruu*	*karopraɨ*	to open
d.	*hehupruu*	*hehupraɨ*	to close
e.	*he ĩhopruu*	*he ĩhopraɨ*	to submerge
f.	*rëpruu*	*rëpraɨ*	to spill out, to pour
g.	*aupruu*	*auprai*	to clean, to whiten
h.	*herepruu*	*hereprai*	to wet
i.	*hẽtehepruu*	*hẽtehepraɨ*	to lighten (weight)
j.	*hãthohopruu*	*hãthohopraɨ*	to ease, to slacken

Table 9.2 - Stative version of the verbal roots of Table 9.1

	Stative or non-dynamic	Verb stem type	Meaning
a.	*homoa*	positional	to be exploded
b.	*thãihia*	positional	to be stretched
c.	*karoa*	positional	to be opened
d.	*hehua*	positional	to be closed
e.	*hi ĩhoa*	positional	to be submerged
f.	*rëa*	positional	to be spilled out
g.	*au*	adjective	to be clean/cleaned/white
h.	*here*	adjective	to be wet
i.	*hẽtehe*	adjective	to be light (weight)
j.	*hãthoho*	adjective	to be ease, to be mild

9.4. Restricted labile alternation among positional stems

Positional stems are the only type of verbs that can consistently take part in labile causative alternation but only in a very restricted context. This feature arises only in perfective contexts. The pair of examples in (9) illustrates this.

(9) a. *oxe thë pirikema* .
*oxe thë= piri **=ki** =ma*
youngster CLN.GNR= lie **=PFV2** =PST
'The child lied down on the floor.'

b. *oxe yathë pirikema* .
*oxe ya= thë= piri **=ki** =ma*
youngster 1SG= CLN.GNR= lie **=PFV2** =PST
'I laid down the child on the floor.'

These verbs, nevertheless, lose their labile ability in imperfective contexts and the valency status of the verb (intransitive or transitive) must be overtly indicated by a morpheme, the intransitivizer *=mu* in the inchoative/middle voice version (10a), and the transitivizer *=ma* in the causative version (10b).

(10) a. *ya piri**mu**u tëhë , hãhã ya a*
*ya= piri **=mu** =u =tëhë hãhã ya a=*
1SG= lie **=INTRZ** =DYN =REL.PRS spider 1SG 3SG=
piria taarema .
piri =a taa =ri =ma
lie =POST see =PFV1 =PST

'While I was in the process of lying down in the hammock, I saw a spider lying on the hammock.'

b. *uhuru ya a piri**ma**i tëhë hãhã ya a*
*uhuru ya a= piri **=ma** =i =tëhë hãhã ya a=*
child 1SG 3SG= lie **=CAUS** =DYN =REL.PRS spider 1SG 3SG=
piria taarema .
piri =a taa =ri =ma
lie =POST see =PFV1 =PST

'When I was laying the child in the hammock, I saw a spider lying on the hammock.'

9.5. Valency-increasing mechanisms

9.5.1. Causative marker *=ma*

The derivation with causative marker *=ma* is the most productive grammatical mechanism for expressing causation in YMA. Virtually all types of verbs can be derived with this morpheme: positional (11a), adjective (11b), intransitive dynamic (11c), and transitive dynamic verbs (11d).

(11) a. *eha ya u **tëkë**mai pario !*
*eha ya= u= **tëkë** =ma =i pari =o*
here 1SG= CLN:cotton= **sit** =CAUS =DYN first =STV

‘Here I will first sit (i.e. put) one thread of cotton!’ (PDYP_MIC_A_04_20).’

b. *wapë pihikɨ **wakë**maɨ !*
*wa= pë= pihikɨ **wakë** =ma =ɨ*
2SG= PL= face **red** =CAUS =DYN
‘Paint their faces [make their faces red]!’ (PDYP_MIC_A_01_26).

c. *ipa uhuru ya pë **iya**maɨ kõo yaro*
*ipa uhuru ya= pë= **iya** =ma =ɨ kõ =o =yaro*
1POS child 1SG= 3PL= **eat** =CAUS =DYN again =STV =CNJ.EXPLV [...]
‘Because I’m feeding my children again [make them eat] [...]’ (PDYP_MIC_A_01_43).

d. *yama kɨkɨ **hare**maɨ pihio*
*yama= kɨkɨ= **hare** =a =ma =ɨ pihi =o*
1PL= CLN:serpentiform= **hang** =DRV =CAUS =DYN will =STV *tëhë* [...]
=tëhë
=REL.PRS
‘When we want to make [them] use it [necklace with magical seeds] [...]’ (PDYP_MIC_A_01_25).

Semantically, this derived construction covers a wide range of causation situations (Shibatani and Pardeshi, 2002), including direct or manipulative causation (12), assistive causation (to help someone do something) (13), supervised causation (to ensure that someone does something) (14), and directive causation (to ask someone to do something) (15). It is worth mentioning that the causative marker *=ma* does not express prototypical situations of associative causation, like joint-action associative causation.

MANIPULATIVE CAUSATION

(12) a. *hutukana a ixiãmaɨ wei* [...]
hutukana a= ixi =ã =ma =ɨ =wei
garden 3SG= burn =DISTR =CAUS =DYN =NMLZ

‘Burning [he] the garden [...]’ (PDYP_MIC_A_01_24).

b. *apiama wama hoxosi utitimaɨ*
apiama wama= hoxo= si= utiti =ma =ɨ
airplane 2PL= CLN:airstrip= V.PTC= be weak =CAUS =DYN
tëhë [...]
=tëhë
=REL.PRS

‘When you were flattening [lit: ‘making it weak’] the airstrip [...]’ (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18).

c. *mori ya u riã prahamaɨ ha*
mõri ya= u= riã= praha =ma =ɨ ha=
one 1SG= CLN:cotton= VOL= far =CAUS =DYN REL.PST=
xoanë [...]
xoa =në
continue =REL.PST

‘I want to put apart one of cotton thread [...]’ (PDYP_MIC_A_04_03).

ASSISTIVE CAUSATION

(13) *rope yama pë riã patamaɨ yaro [...]*
rope yama= pë= riã= pata =ma =ɨ =yaro
quick 1PL= 3PL= VOL= big =CAUS =DYN =CNJ.EXPLV

‘Because we want to make them grow quickly [...]’ (referring to the children that are using magical necklaces) (PDYP_MIC_A_01_25).

SUPERVISED CAUSATION

(14) *wapë mokomaɨ huo !*
wa= pë= moko =ma =ɨ hu =o
2SG= PL= girl =CAUS =DYN alone =STV

‘That you make them girls [after I had left]!’ (i.e ‘You raise them after my death’) (PDYP_MIC_A_01_26).

DIRECTIVE CAUSATION

(15) a. *yamakɨ teosimomaɨ nɨ õhõtaama .*
yamakɨ= teosimo =ma =ɨ nɨ= õhõtaa =ma
1PL= pray =CAUS =DYN V.PTC= suffer =PST
'[He] made us pray in a suffering manner.' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18).

b. *[Ararima eha] ipa hutu ya kana*
Ararima =e =ha ipa hutu ya= kana=
Ararima =DIF.PART =OBL 1POS garden 1SG= CLN:garden=
iximamarema .
ixi =ma =ma =ri =ma
burn =CAUS =CAUS =PFV1 =PST
'I made Ararima/asked Ararima to burn my garden.'

The new argument introduced in the derivation (the *causer*) can display different levels of intentionality, even with the same basic lexical root, spanning from unintentional or accidental causers (16), to clearly intentional ones (17).

ACCIDENTAL CAUSERS

(16) a. *ĩhĩ tëhë piskreta a ha*
ĩhĩ =tëhë piskreta a= ha=
ANA =REL.PRS bicycle 3SG= REL.PST=
kemarɨnë , ĩhĩ tëhë ahõi kɨkɨ
ke =ma =ri =në ĩhĩ =tëhë ahõi kɨkɨ=
fall =CAUS =PFV1 =REL.PST ANA =REL.PRS avocado CLN:collective=
rëprarioma .
rë =pra =rio =ma
spill out =DRV =PFV1 =PST
'Then, after he had made the bicycle fall, then the avocados spilled out.' (s_pear_cesa).

b. *[kãripero pënɨ] xawara ropenɨ a*
kãripero =pë =nɨ xawara rope =nɨ a=
miner =PL =ERG epidemic quick =ADVLZ 3SG=
thakihe , a kemakihe .
tha =ki =he a= ke =ma =ki =he
put =PFV2 =3PL 3SG= fall =CAUS =PFV2 =3PL
'[The miners] quickly 'put' an epidemic disease, they 'drop' it.'
(m005_wawa_gari)

INTENTIONAL CAUSERS

(17) a. *ya a tiremarɨnɨ , ya a*
ya a= tire =ma =ri =nɨ ya a=
1SG 3SG= high =CAUS =PFV1 =REL.PST 1SG 3SG=
kemaɨ yapaɨ kõo
ke =ma =ɨ yapa =ɨ kõ =o
fall =CAUS =DYN go_back =DYN again =STV
'Throwing it up first, I make it fall back again.' (s_ms10_raim)

b. [...] *thotho kea yapaa*
thotho= ke =a yapa =a
CLN:liana= fall =PFV.VWL go_back =PFV.VWL
kõmaki wei [...]
kõ =ma =ki =wei
again =CAUS =PFV2 =NMLZ
'Making the liana fall down again.' (n_011_yoasiyaxuru)

The causer, nevertheless, must be necessarily animate, as it will always occupy the ergative position, which cannot be filled by an inanimate argument as a general restriction in the language. The hypothetical example in (18a) is, therefore, ungrammatical. The same event can only be expressed by an intransitive clause, with *maa a* 'rain', as an instrument/cause argument, as in (18b). Note that the case marker for instrument/cause is the same as the ergative, but differently from the ergative argument, the instrument/cause argument cannot be marked on the verb, reason why it is not considered a core argument. The absence of the causative marker and the use

of the intransitive perfective marker *=rayu* also indicates once more that (18b) is an intransitive predicate with only one core argument.

(18) a. * *maa ani apiama a kemarema*
*maa =a =ni apiama a= ke =ma **=ri** =ma*
rain =SG =ERG airplane 3SG= fall =CAUS **=PFV1** =PST
'The storm caused the airplane to fall.'

b. *maa ani apiama a kerayoma* .
*maa =a =ni apiama a= ke **=rayu** =ma*
rain =SG =CAUSAL airplane SG= fall **=PFV1** =PST
'The airplane fell because of the storm.'

The enclitic *=ma* is also used for creating transitive verbs from nouns. For the description of this use, see Chapter 5 (§5.6.10).

9.5.2. Argument restructuring and Comrie's "paradigm case"

YMA conforms quite exactly to the "paradigm case" predictions described by Comrie (1976: 264-266). The language 1) does not display any syntactic restriction regarding the formation of causative constructions; 2) does not allow doubling of core arguments, and the argument structure must be rearranged in causative constructions; 3) always demotes the embedded subject (intransitive subject or transitive agent) down the hierarchy in the derived construction; 4) always demotes the embedded subject stepwise down the hierarchy to the nearest vacant position. The case hierarchy proposed by Comrie is the following one:

subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique constituent

According to this approach, when there is a causative derivation of an intransitive verb, for instance, the original subject is demoted to the direct object position, while the introduced new argument (the causer) takes this now vacant subject (transitive subject/agent) position. The examples in (19) show this rearrangement in YMA.

(19) a. *hiima a nomarayoma* .
hiima a= noma =rayu =ma
dog 3SG= die =PFV1 =PST
'The dog died.'

CAUSER CAUSEE

b. *napë ani hiima a nomamarema* .
napë =a =nɨ hiima a= noma =ma =ri =ma
foreigner =SG =ERG dog 3SG= die =CAUS =PFV1 =PST
'The white person let/make the dog die.'

When the causative derivation is applied to a monotransitive verb, the original transitive subject/agent (the causee) is demoted to the indirect object position, as the direct object position has already been occupied by the original direct object, which remains the same in the causative construction. In (20), we can see that the transitive subject/agent of the non-derived predicate (*kami ya* 'I') appears as the indirect object/oblique in the derived construction, while the original object/patient (*iwa* 'caiman) does not change its syntactic status. The causer argument is always introduced as the syntactic transitive subject/agent of the clause.

(20) a. *yokoto aha kami yanɨ iwa ya a*
yokoto =a =ha kami =ya =nɨ iwa ya a=
swamp =SG =OBL 1 =1SG =ERG caiman 1SG 3SG=
taarema .
taa =ri =ma
see =PFV1 =PST
'I saw a caiman in the pond.'

b. *yokoto aha kami yaeha Ararima*
yokoto =a =ha kami ya =e =ha Ararima
swamp =SG =OBL 1 1SG =DIF.PART =OBL Ararima
anɨ iwa a taamarema .
=a =nɨ iwa a= taa =ma =ri =ma
=SG =ERG caiman 3SG= see =CAUS =PFV1 =PST
'Ararima showed me the caiman in the pond.'

When a ditransitive verb is derived with the causative morpheme, the following happens: the original transitive subject/agent is demoted to the next-highest position that is still available, which, in this case, is also the oblique position, since there is no syntactic difference between an oblique and an indirect object in the language. The examples in (21) illustrate the argument rearrangement in the derivation with this type of verb.

(21) a. *Kunathoi eha* ***Ararima ani*** *rakama*
kunathoi =e *=ha* ***Ararima =a*** ***=ni*** *rakama*
Kunathoi =DIF.PART =OBL **Ararima =SG** **=ERG** hammock
thuku *hipikema* .
thuku= *hipi* *=ki* *=ma*
CLN:hammock= give =PFV2 =PST
'Ararima gave the hammock to Kunathoi.'

b. *Kunathoi eha* *kami yani*
kunathoi =e *=ha* *kami* *=ya* *=ni*
Kunathoi =DIF.PART =OBL 1 =1SG =ERG
Ararima eha *rakama* *ya a* *thuku*
Ararima ***=e*** ***=ha*** *rakama* *ya* *a=* *thuku=*
Ararima **=DIF.PART** **=OBL** hammock 1SG 3SG= CLN:hammock=
hipimarema .
hipi *=ma* *=ri* *=ma*
give =CAUS =PFV1 =PST
'I asked/made/ordered Ararima to give the hammock to Kunathoi.'

The patterns of argument structure rearrangement found in YMA causative derivations can be summarized as in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3 - Patterns of argument structure rearrangement in causative constructions (extracted from Comrie, 1976)

	Basic	Causative
intransitive	Subj	Subj DO
monotransitive	Subj DO	Subj DO IO
ditransitive	Subj DO IO	Subj DO IO OBL

We have seen that YMA complies exactly with Comrie's predictions for argument structure reorganization in causative constructions. However, this approach, in spite of being correct, is not quite elegant for describing what happens in the YMA case. In the remaining part of this section, I will present an alternate view of this rearrangement, which I think is more adequate for YMA.

This alleged lack of elegance of Comrie's paradigm case for describing YMA causation constructions is probably due to the fact that the language is ergative-absolutive (and not nominative-accusative), where the properties of the subject of an intransitive predicate do not match with those of the subject of a transitive predicate. Instead, the subjects of intransitive predicates are formally more similar to the objects of transitive predicates, both occupying the absolutive position of the clause. For the analyses of the causative constructions, the relevance of this parallel treatment given by the language to intransitive subjects and transitive objects resides in the fact that intransitive subjects are "demoted" to the object position in causative derivations, according to Comrie's prediction, as we have seen in (20b) and (21b). The point I am trying to make here is that there is no actual "demotion" of the intransitive subject in causative derivation, as it remains in the same original absolutive position. On the

other hand, the argument introduced by the derivation (the causer) is allocated in the ergative position, which is inexistent in the non-derived intransitive predicate. For Comrie, this position is filled by the intransitive subject, which, from an internal YMA perspective, is not true.

Moreover, as we have seen in Chapter 7 (§7.4.5), YMA does not give any special treatment to indirect objects, compared to the treatment given to oblique arguments, i.e. both are considered oblique arguments in the language[1]. This is important when analyzing the causative derivations of monotransitive and ditransitive verbs. In constructions with monotransitive basic verbs, the original subject/agent of the predicate (which is the ergative argument) is demoted to the indirect object position (in Comrie's prediction), while with ditransitive basic verbs it is demoted to the oblique position. As the language does not distinguish indirect objects and oblique arguments (in the syntax), granting equal treatment to both, it is useless to treat the causative constructions with monotransitive and ditransitive basic verbs differently. In both constructions the original ergative is demoted to an oblique position.

As I have shown, at least two redundancies emerge when Comrie's case hierarchy is applied to YMA. For the sake of descriptive economy, these redundancies could be easily avoided by treating the transitive agent differently from the intransitive subject, and by conflating the intransitive subject and the transitive object under the same general case (absolutive). Also, the indirect object and the oblique argument can be treated as a general oblique case. In (22) I present this alternate and non-redundant schema of the grammatical cases in YMA.

(22)

ERG		**ABS**				**OBL**		
trans. subject	>	intrans. subject	>	patient	>	indirect object	>	oblique constituent

[1] There is a clear preference from the native speakers to place semantic indirect objects after semantic oblique arguments (location, time...). However, there are a lot of counter-examples to this general preference, which indicates that this feature is not fully grammaticalized in the language.

The (non-redundant) case hierarchy in YMA is presented in (23). The brackets on the absolutive case indicate that this position is not altered by a causative derivation.

(23) ERG > [ABS] > OBL

I have argued in this section that the rules governing argument restructuring in causatives constructions are as follows:

1) The absolutive arguments of a causative construction and its non-causative counterpart are always the same;

2) When a new argument (causer) is introduced by a causative derivation, it inevitably occupies the higher position in the hierarchy (the ergative position);

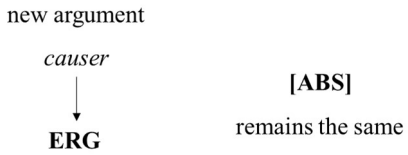
3) If the ergative position is already occupied (when the non-causative counterparts are monotransitive or ditransitive), the original ergative argument is demoted to the oblique case.

In Table 9.4, I restate the information of Table 9.3, now adapted to YMA.

Table 9.4 – Patterns of argument structure rearrangement in YMA causative constructions (non-redundant version)

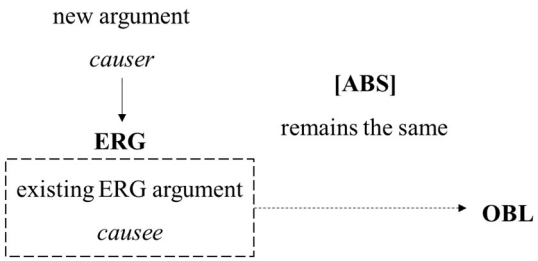
	Basic	Causative
intransitive	ABS →	ERG ABS
monotransitive and ditransitive	ERG → OBL ABS → ABS [OBL] → [OBL]	ERG ABS OBL [OBL]

Schema 9.1 - Argument rearrangement of causative derivation of intransitive predicates



General schema (Causative of transitive verbs):

Schema 9.2 - Argument rearrangement of causative derivation of monotransitive and ditransitive predicates



9.5.3. Transitive morpheme =*pra*

We saw in Chapter 5 (§5.6.6) that the transitivizing morpheme =*pra* is a productive resource for creating new transitive verbs in the language. This morpheme can create new verbs from nouns (24a), and other verbs, either transitive (24b), or intransitive ones (24c).

(24) a. *amoã ya thãa napë**pra**rema* .
*amoã ya= thã= ã= napë **=pra** =ri =ma*
song 1SG= CLN.GNR= sound= foreigner =DRV =PFV1 =PST
'I translated the song (to Portuguese).'

b. *hei napë ya thãa hĩri**pra**imi* .
*hei napë ya= thã= ã= hĩri **=pra** =imi*
this white person 1SG= CLN.GNR= sound= hear **=DRV** =NEG
'I don't understand the language of this white person.'

c. *thuë thëpëni ya*
thuë =thë =pë =ni ya=
woman =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG 1SG=
*wakë**pra**remahe*
*wakë **=pra** =ri =ma =he*
red **=DRV** =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'The women painted me.'

Example (24c) may suggest that the marker *=pra* is also a causative marker. This marker may be indeed replaced by a true causative marker *=ma* in some contexts, as in (25a). In (25b-c) we have another instance of the possible alternation between *=pra* and causative *=ma.*

(25) a. *thuwë thëpëni ya*
thuwë =thë =pë =ni ya=
woman =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG 1SG=
*wakë**ma**remahe* .
*wakë **=ma** =ri =ma =he*
red **=CAUS** =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'The women painted me.'

b. *wa thë ahate**ma**ri* .
*wa= thë= ahate **=ma** =ri*
2SG= CLN.GNR= near **=CAUS** =PFV1
'Move it close.'

c. *wa thë ahate**pra**ri* .
*wa= thë= ahate **=pra** =ri*
2SG= CLN.GNR= near **=DRV** =PFV1
'Move it close.'

The analysis of *=pra* as a causative is correct for examples (24c) and (25), as the derived form is indeed the causative version of the basic verb. With other verb types, it is not accurate . First, when this marker attaches to transitive stems, it does not yield their causative version. Indeed, this marker does not alter the valency or the diathesis

of transitive verbs (which is always the case with the causative marker =*ma*), but only changes their meaning, as in (26b) and (27b). The causative version of transitive stems is only possible by a derivation with =*ma* (26c).

(26) a. *napë yaã hĩrii*
napë ya ã= hĩri =i
white person 1SG sound= hear =DYN
'I am listening the white person.'

b. *napë ya thãa hĩri**pra**i*
*napë ya= thã= ã= hĩri **=pra** =i*
white person 1SG= CLN.GNR= sound= hear **=DRV** =DYN
'I understand the white person's language.'

c. *napë yaã hĩri**ma**i*
*napë ya ã= hĩri **=ma** =i*
white person 1SG sound= hear **=CAUS** =DYN
thuwë thëpëha
thuwë thë =pë =ha
woman CLN.GNR =PL =OBL
'I am making the women listen to the white person.'

(27) a. *hiima ya a xërema* .
hiima ya a= xë =ri =ma
dog 1SG 3SG= beat; kill =PFV1 =PST
'I hit the dog.'

b. *hiima ya a xë**pra**rema* .
*hiima ya a= xë **=pra** =ri =ma*
dog 1SG 3SG= beat; kill **=DRV** =PFV1 =PST
'I killed the dog.'

In a few contexts, this marker may change the diathesis of the clause when compared to the original non-derived predicate, like in (28). The diathesis reorganization of the derivation with =*pra* is, nevertheless, incidental and not as

consistent and systematic as the derivation with *=ma*, i.e. this diathesis changing is not replicable with other verbs.

(28) a. *xaraka ani xama ya a niaprarema*
*xaraka =a =ni xama ya a= nia **=pra** =ri =ma*
arrow =SG =ERG tapir 1SG 3SG= shoot **=DRV** =PFV1 =PST
'I shot the tapir with the arrow.'

b. *xama aha xaraka ya a niarema*
xama =a =ha xaraka ya a= nia =ri =ma
tapir =SG =OBL arrow 1SG 3SG= shoot =PFV1 =PST
'I shot the arrow into the tapir.'

A more detailed description of the semantic and formal properties of the derivational enclitic *=pra* can be found in the chapter on verb stems, under Section §5.6.5.

9.5.4. Applicative derivations

9.5.4.1. Associative applicative *kãyõ=*

The grammatical morpheme *kãyõ=* is a proclitic of Cluster B that appears in several types of constructions. This morpheme acquires the associative applicative meaning only when combined with intransitive verb stems[2]. The resulting derivation does not produce a significant change in the basic lexical meaning of the verb other than increasing the number of core arguments projected in the clause. Semantically, the two arguments projected by the derived construction play similar roles in the predicate, namely as subjects/experiencers/undergoers of the action expressed by the verb. In (29), we can see this derivation taking place: the clause in (29a) contains the

[2] And only when this morpheme is not in Cluster B, indicating that there is a secondary predication (see Chapter 10, §10.2.2), or in combination with other valency- or voice-changing morpheme (see ahead §9.5.4.2 and §9.5.4.3).

basic version of the verb, and the one in (29b), the associative applicative derived version.

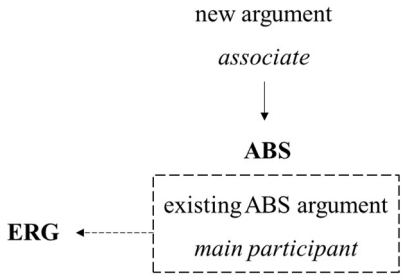
(29) a. *thuë thëpë herii .*
thuë thë= pë= heri =i
woman CLN.GNR= 3PL= chant =DYN
'The women are singing.'

b. *thuë thëpëni napë a **kayõ** herii*
*thuë =thë =pë =ni napë a= **kayõ=** heri =i*
woman =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG foreigner 3SG= **APPL=** chant =DYN
he .
=he
=3PL
'The women are singing with the white person.'

The two arguments are ranked differently, nevertheless, for one of them is perceived as the main argument responsible for bringing about the action, while the other is just a co-performer or associate participant of the verbal predicate. This hierarchy is syntactically expressed by promoting the main participant, which was the sole argument of the non-derived construction, to the ergative position of the derived clause, while the co-participant, which is the newly introduced argument, occupies the absolutive position. The argument restructuring complies with the schema below.

MAIN PARTICIPANT+ERG ASSOCIATED PARTICIPANT+Ø *kãyõ*=V

Schema 9.3 - Argument rearrangement of associative applicative derivation



Interestingly, although the verb derived with *kãyo=* behaves, in several respects, as a regular transitive verb[3], it preserves at least one formal feature of intransitive verbs. The applied construction does not take the transitive perfective morpheme *=r[V]*, but its intransitive counterpart *=rayu*/*=rio* instead. This contrasts with the causative derivation of intransitive verbs, which are authentic transitive verbs in all respects. Example (30a) shows an associative applicative construction in which the intransitive perfective morpheme can be attested, and example (30b) a causative construction with the same verbal root, in which the transitive perfective morpheme is required.

(30) a. *thëkɨ kãyo ithorayoma* .
thë= kɨ= kãyo= itho =rayu =ma
CLN.GNR= PL= APPL= alight **=PFV1** =PST
'He came down [on the floor] with them (the fruits).' (s_marc_pear)

b. *kɨkɨ ithomarema* .
kɨkɨ= itho =ma =ri =ma
CLN:fabric= alight =CAUS **=PFV1** =PST
'He alighted it (the jacket).' (s_tree_alfr)

It is worth mentioning that there is no simple clause that can perfectly paraphrase the derived construction. That is, the introduced argument (the co-participant) cannot be always expressed in the non-derived construction, sometimes not even by an oblique argument. The construction with the additive/associative case morpheme, (31b) and (32b), is the closest that we can get to it, but the differences in the participants' responsibility for the action is then lost. Only a few derived constructions, particularly those with positional stems, can be paraphrased as in (32c), where the introduced argument can indeed be expressed by an oblique argument in

[3] Take notice of the two argument markers in the verb in the clause (29b), for instance.

the basic non-derived predicate. As the literal translation suggests, this construction does not exactly paraphrase the applicative construction.

(31) a. *kami yanɨ Ararima ya a* ***kãyo*** *huu*
*kami =ya =nɨ Ararima ya a= **kãyo=** hu =u*
1 =1SG =ERG Ararima 1SG 3SG= **APPL=** go =DYN
pihio .
pihi =o
will =STV
'Ararima is going with me.'

b. *Ararima a**xo** yahakɨ huu pihio* .
*Ararima =a **=xo** yahakɨ= hu =u pihi =o*
Ararima =SG **=ADD** 1DU= go =DYN will =STV
'Ararima and I are going.'

(32) a. *Kunathoi ya a* ***kãyo*** *pɨrɨa* .
*Kunathoi ya a= **kãyo=** pɨrɨ =a*
Kunathoi 1SG 3SG= **APPL=** lie =POST
'I'm living with Kunathoi.'

b. *Kunathoi a**xo** kami ya**xo** yahakɨ pɨrɨa* .
*Kunathoi =a **=xo** kami =ya **=xo** yahakɨ= pɨrɨ =a*
Kunathoi =SG **=ADD** 1 =1SG **=ADD** 1DU= lie =POST
'Kunathoi and I, we are living (together).'

c. *Kunathoi **eha** ya pɨrɨa* .
*Kunathoi **=e** **=ha** ya= pɨrɨ =a*
Kunathoi **=DIF.PART** **=OBL** 1SG= lie =POST
'I'm lying/living with Kunathoi.' (lit: 'I'm lying/living at Kunathoi's place')

In spite of one of the arguments being perceived as the main responsible for carrying out the event, there is no restriction regarding the intentionality of this responsibility. That is, the main participant may execute the action either intentionally (33a), or by accident (33b). In all cases, nevertheless, the main participant must be an

animate being, as the derived construction is a transitive predicate and complies with the restrictions expected for the ergative argument of this type of predicate, i.e. it does not allow an inanimate entity in the ergative position (see Chapter 7, §7.4.2). The made-up construction (33c) is, therefore, ungrammatical.

INTENTIONAL MAIN PARTICIPANT (UNERGATIVE SUBJECT)

(33) a. *ĩhĩ tëhë nasi kãyo rërëa kõrayu* [...]
ĩhĩ =tëhë nasi= kãyo= rërë =a kõ =rayu
ANA =REL.PRS CLN:round APPL= run =PFV.VWL again =PFV1
'Then, running [he] again with the ball [...]' (s_ball_alfr).

ACCIDENTAL MAIN PARTICIPANT (UNACCUSATIVE SUBJECT)

b. *ĩhĩ tëhë [**napë** ani] wamotima*
*ĩhĩ =tëhë **napë** =a =ni wamotima*
ANA =REL.PRS **foreigner** =SG =ERG food
thëki kãyo kerayoma
thë= ki= kãyo= ke =rayu =ma
CLN.GNR= PL= APPL= fall PFV1 =PST
'Then [the white person] fell with the food.' (s_pear_jose).

c. * *ĩhĩ tëhë **wamotima** thëkini napë a*
*ĩhĩ =tëhë **wamotima** thë =ki =ni napë a=*
ANA =REL.PRS **food** CLN.GNR =PL =ERG foreigner 3SG=
kãyo kerayoma
kãyo= ke =rayu =ma
APPL= fall PFV1 =PST
'Then the white person fell with the food.'

On the other hand, there is also a great deal of diversity regarding the intentionality or volition of the co-participant in co-performing the action expressed by the verb. This newly introduced participant can display full intention of taking part in the event (34a), or just be a mere undergoer of the event, with no intention (34b). The co-participant can be either an animate (34a) or an inanimate entity (34b).

INTENTIONAL ASSOCIATED PARTICIPANT

(34) a. *kami yanɨ* ***Ararima*** *ya a* *kãyo* *huu*
kami *=ya* *=nɨ* ***Ararima*** *ya* *a=* *kãyo=* *hu* *=u*
1 =1SG =ERG **Ararima** 1SG 3SG= APPL= go =DYN
pihio .
pihi *=o*
will =STV
'Ararima is going with me.'

ACCIDENTAL ASSOCIATED PARTICIPANT

b. *ĩhĩ tëhë* *[Xiriana* *pënɨ* *]* ***pisima*** *pë* *kãyõ*
ĩhĩ *=tëhë* *Xiriana* *=pë* *=nɨ* ***pisima*** *pë=* *kãyõ=*
ANA =REL.PRS Xiriana person =PL =ERG **loin-cloth** 3PL= APPL=
waropraamahe *?*
waro *=pra* *=a* *=ma* *=he*
arrive =DRV =DISTR =PST =3PL
'Then [the Xiriana people] arrived with loincloths?' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18).

When the co-participant is an inanimate entity, like in (34b) or in the examples in (35), the clause inevitably acquires a causative-associative reading.

(35) a. *a* *kãyo* *rërëpirinɨ* [...]
a= *kãyo=* *rërë* *=pɨ* *=ri* *=nɨ*
3SG= APPL= run =3DU =PFV1 =REL.PST
'Then, the two running with it [the ball] [...]' (s_ball_suka).

b. *pë* *kãyõ* *praiaɨ* *xoamahe* .
pë= *kãyõ=* *praia* *=ɨ* *xoa* *=ma* *=he*
3PL= APPL= present_onself_dancing =DYN continue =PST =3PL
'[The women] dance with them [the belts with rattles]'
(PDYP_MIC_A_13_07).

c. *[haro] kɨkɨ kãyõi*
haro kɨkɨ= kãyõ= i=
magical necklace CLN:serpentiform= APPL= DIM=
patahuruu ?
pata =huru =u
big =DIR.AND =DYN
'[He/she] will grow with that [necklace with magical seeds]?'
(PDYP_MIC_A_01_24)

With animate entities, however, this meaning is only incidental or contextual. The clause in (36a), for instance, is part of an interview with a Yanomama woman from Papiu, in which she tells about the contact with the first missionary and how he taught them to pray (while also praying himself). Just after this sentence, however, the interviewee person restates the sentence as a pure causative construction with the derivational morpheme=*ma*, (36b). In other words, and differently from other languages of the Amazon (Guillaume and Rose, 2010), there is no dedicated morpheme in YMA which unambiguously conveys a causative-associative meaning.

(36) a. *ĩhĩnë yamakɨ kãyõ teosimoma .*
ĩhĩ =në yamakɨ= kãyõ= teosimo =ma
ANA =ERG 1PL= APPL= pray =PST
'That one prayed with us.' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18)

b. *yamakɨ teosimo**ma**i ni õhõtaama .*
*yamakɨ= teosimo **=ma** =i ni= õhõtaa =ma*
1PL= pray **=CAUS** =DYN V.PTC= suffer =PST
'[He] made us pray in a suffering manner.' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18)

Moreover, YMA does not allow the promotion of an instrument-like argument through an applicative derivation, which is also a peripheral argument in YMA with no effect on the verb. The argument semantically closest to an instrument that can be introduced as a core argument by this derivation are the comitative-causee arguments, as in (37), which are not actual instruments.

(37) *reahu a kuo tëhë pë kãyõ*
reahu a= ku =o =tëhë pë= kãyõ=
festival 3SG= exist =STV =REL.PRS 3PL= APPL=
praɨaɨ xatimahe
praɨa =ɨ xati =ma =he
present_onself_dancing =DYN stick =PST =3PL

'When there is a festival [the women] got used to dancing ['got stuck with dancing'] with them [the belts with rattles].' (PDYP_MIC_A_13_07)

9.5.4.2. Goal/locative applicative *napë= kãyõ=/namo= kãyõ=*

The goal/locative applicative derivation makes use of a combination of two morphemes of Cluster B: (a) *napë=*[4] (or *namo=* in some dialects), which do not appear in any other syntactic context, and (b) *kãyo=*, which, as mentioned before, is used in a variety of constructions, including applicative constructions. Like the associative applicative, the combination of these derivational morphemes is also restricted to intransitive verbs. Differently from the former, however, this derivation does not only change the valency of the verb, increasing the number of projected arguments on the clause with one, but it also alters the basic lexical meaning, adding a clear purpose for what is being done or performed by the subject of the non-derived construction. The introduced argument is perceived as somehow related to the general purpose of the action. In the example below, it is implied that the 1st person is going to do something to another participant (Kunathoi) or something together with him.

(38) a. *kami ya pirɨa*
kami ya= pirɨ =a
1 1SG= lie =POST

[4] The same form *napë* can appear outside Cluster B, as a noun of Type 1 (a free morpheme, therefore), with the meaning of 'white person' or 'non-Yanomama indigenous person'. The applicative morpheme probably comes from this noun, but the grammaticalization path that it took to become a grammatical morpheme is not entirely clear and, synchronically, the two forms do not share properties nor are they perceived as related by native speakers.

'I'm lying (in the hammock).'

b. *kami yanɨ Kunathoi ya* ***napë kãyo*** *pɨrɨa* .
kami =ya =nɨ Kunathoi ya= ***napë= kãyo=*** *pɨrɨ =a*
1 =1SG =ERG Kunathoi 1SG= **APPL= APPL=** lie =POST
'I'm waiting for Kunathoi while lying.' (lit: 'I'm lying for Kunathoi')

In some examples of the corpus, the introduced argument conveys a location (and not an entity), which may be where the action is taking place, (39), or the final destination of a motion verb, (40). In both cases, it is also implied that the original subject has a clear purpose for reaching the place or realizing the action there.

(39) a. *hutukana hamɨ ya kiãɨ* .
hutukana =hamɨ ya= kiã =ɨ
garden =OBL 1SG= work =DYN
'I am working in the garden.'

b. *hutukana ya a* ***napë kãyo*** *kiaɨ* .
hutukana ya a= ***napë= kãyo=*** *kia =ɨ*
garden 1SG 3SG= **APPL= APPL=** work =DYN
'I am working in the garden (because I want to plant on it).'

(40) a. *Poapixita hamɨ hiramatima pë katituu pihio* .
poapixita =hamɨ hirama -tima pë= katitu =u pihi =o
Boa Vista =OBL teach -NMLZ 3PL= walk =DYN will =STV
'The teachers are going to Boa Vista.'

b. *hiramatima pënɨ Poapixita a* ***napë kãyo***
hirama -tima =pë =nɨ poapixita a= ***napë= kãyo=***
teach -NMLZ =PL =ERG Boa Vista 3SG= **APPL= APPL=**
katituu pihiohe .
katitu =u pihi =o =he
walk =DYN will =STV =3PL
'The teachers are going to Boa Vista (and they have something to do there).'

It is very common to find the detailing of this purpose in spontaneous texts in the clauses subsequent to the applicative construction, as we can see in the examples in (41).

(41) a. *kama thëpënɨ kami yamakɨ napë kayõ*
kama =thë =pë =nɨ kami yamakɨ= napë= kayõ=
3 =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG 1 1PL= APPL= APPL=
kopehenɨ , yamakɨ
ko =pe =he =nɨ yamakɨ=
arrive =PFV3 =3PL =REL.PST 1PL=
xëarariheta , ya pihi kuu
xë =a =ra =ri =he =ta ya= pihi ku =u
beat; kill =DRV =DISTR =PFV1 =3PL =CEL 1SG= think =DYN
yaro [...].
=yaro
=CNJ.EXPLV

'After they had arrived at us, they will kill us, that's how I think [...]' (m003_manu_gari)

b. *ĩhĩ tëhë thë namo kãyo ukukiwei ,*
ĩhĩ =tëhë thë= namo= kãyo= uku =ki =wei
ANA =REL.PRS CLN.GNR= APPL= APPL= walk =PFV2 =NMLZ
thë riãi rixama makii [...]
thë= riã= i= rixa =ma =makii
CLN.GNR= V.PTC= DIM= smell =PST =CONCS

'Then he walked towards it [the fruit], and although he smelled it [...]' (i.e. 'Although he went towards the fruit with the intention of smelling it')

Similarly to what happens in the associative applicative construction, the aspectual markers that appear in this construction are not from the transitive paradigm, in spite of the fact that the number of arguments of the predicate is increased and that the verb becomes transitive in this sense. In the examples in (42) we can see the perfective markers *=rio* and *=rayu* from the intransitive paradigm being used in applicative constructions.

(42) a. *ĩhĩ a napë kayõ yootoa**rio*** *wehi* .
*ĩhĩ a= napë= kayõ= yooto =a **=rio** =we =hi*
ANA 3SG= APPL= APPL= squat =DISTR **=PFV1** =NMLZ =3PL
'[While] they sat waiting for him.' (n015_krukunari)

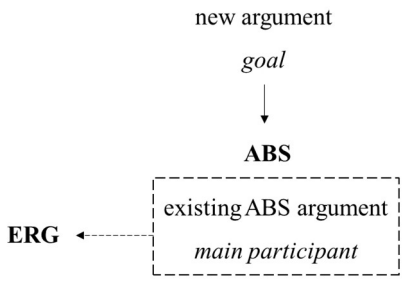
b. *hiramatima pënɨ Poapixita a napë kãyo*
hirama -tima =pë =nɨ poapixita a= napë= kãyo=
teach -NMLZ =PL =ERG Boa Vista 3SG= APPL= APPL=
*katiti**rayo**mahe* .
*katiti **=rayu** =ma =he*
walk **=PFV1** =PST =3PL
'The teachers went to Boa Vista (and they have something to do there).'

As we have seen in this section, the goal applicative construction is a derivation of an intransitive verb in which the original subject of the predicate is promoted to the ergative position of the derived clause, while a new argument is introduced in the vacant absolutive position. The new argument is always related to the purpose or the goal of accomplishing the action. This purpose can be represented by an animate or inanimate entity (with which the main participant wants to do something) or by the location (or the direction) in which the purpose will be realized. The rearrangement of the argument structure can be outlined as below.

General schema:

MAIN PARTICIPANT+ERG GOAL+Ø *napë=kãyõ*=Vintrans

Schema 9.4 - Argument rearrangement of goal applicative derivation



9.5.4.3. Content promoter ‘applicative’ *pihi= kãyõ= / mihi= kãyõ=*

YMA has a type of a diathesis-changing derivation which seems to be very rare among natural languages, as there is no mention of a similar process in the specialized literature (see Haspelmath & Mueller-Bardy, 2004; Kulikov, 2010; Peterson, 2007; Jeong, 2006). This deriving mechanism does not change the valency of the predicate, but only reorganizes its argument structure, introducing ‘content-like participants’ as core arguments while coding ‘container-like participants’ as oblique arguments. We can see the voice reorganization generated by the derivation taking place in the two pairs of examples below: the absolutive arguments (in bold) of the non-derived constructions of (43a) and (44a) are demoted to an oblique position (also in bold) in the derived clauses (43b) and (44a), while a new argument is presented as the core argument.

(43) a. ***wii*** *a* *thomiɨhuruma* .
wii *a=* *thomiɨ* *=ri* *=huru* *=ma*
basket 3SG= steal =PFV1 =DIR.AND =PST
‘He took away the basket.’ (elicited)

b. ***wii*** ***aha*** *wamotima thëkɨ* *mihi* *kãyo*
wii ***=a*** ***=ha*** *wamotima thë=* *kɨ=* *mihi=* *kãyo=*
basket **=SG** **=OBL** food CLN.GNR= PL= APPL= APPL=
thomiɨhuruma .
thomiɨ *=ri* *=huru* *=ma*
steal =PFV1 =DIR.AND =PST
‘He took away fruits in the basket.’ (s_chck_rica)

(44) a. ***karoti*** *a* *ithaatapëha* *, [...]*
karoti *a=* *itha* *=a* *=ta* *=pë* *=ha*
cask 3SG= stand =POST =HAB =NMLZ =OBL
‘Where the cask was ‘standing up’ [...]’ (elicited)

b. *upë* *pihi kãyo* *ithaatapëha* ,
upë= *pihi=* *kãyo=* *itha* *=a* *=ta* *=pë* *=ha*
CLN:liquid= APPL= APPL= stand =POST =HAB =NMLZ =OBL
karoti aha *[...]*
karoti =a =ha
cask =SG =OBL

'Where the water was 'standing up', in the cask [...]' (s_chck_marc)

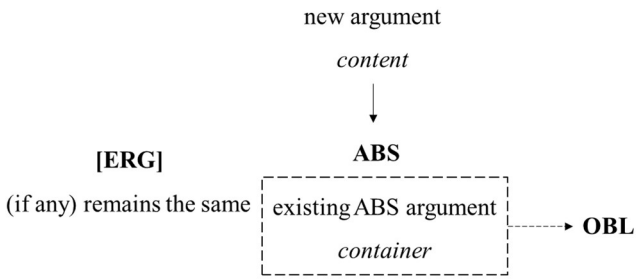
The voice reorganization complies with the following schema: the original intransitive subject or transitive patient (the absolutive argument), which semantically must be a container- or means-of-transportation-like entity, is demoted from its core position in the clause to an oblique one, while a new participant, which is a content- or transported-like entity, is introduced to the now vacant core position. This schema is represented below.

General schema:

CONTAINER+OBL CONTENT+Ø *pihi=kãyõ*=Vintrans

AGENT+ERG CONTAINER+OBL CONTENT+Ø *pihi=kãyõ*=Vtrans

Schema 9.5 - Argument rearrangement of 'content promoter' derivation



It is worth noting that the demoted argument (the container) is frequently omitted in the derived construction, (45b). On the other hand, the new argument introduced by the derivation (the content) is not an actual argument (neither core nor oblique) of the basic clause, i.e. it cannot be expressed in the non-derived construction as a simple

argument. For recovering this argument in a construction without *pihi kãyo*, another clause (a subordinate one) is required, (45c).

(45) a. *huu ya tihi tiyëɨ .*
huu ya= tihi= tiyë =ɨ
tree 1SG= CLN:tree= cut_down =DYN
'I'm cutting a tree.'

b. *õi ya upë **pihi** **kãyo** tiyëɨ .*
*õi ya= upë= **pihi=** **kãyo=** tiyë =ɨ*
bee 1SG= CLN:liquid= **APPL=** **APPL=** cut_down =DYN
'I'm cutting a tree that has honey.' (lit: 'I'm cutting the honey')

c. *huu tihiha õi upë yëtëo wei ya*
huu =tihi =ha õi upë= yëtë =o =wei ya=
tree =CLN:tree =OBL bee CLN:liquid= grip =STV =NMLZ 1SG=
tihi tiyëɨ
tihi= tiyë =ɨ
CLN:tree= cut_down =DYN
'I'm cutting the tree where the honey is gripped.'

This derivation can be applied to both intransitive (46) and transitive (47) predicates with no influence over the native valency of the verb.

INTRANSITIVE

(46) a. *ĩhĩ tëhë misikreta ahamɨ ai a pihi kãyo*
ĩhĩ =tëhë misikreta =a =hamɨ ai a= pihi= kãyo=
ANA =REL.PRS bicycle =SG =OBL other 3SG= APPL= APPL=
***rërë**imaɨ .*
***rërë** =ima =ɨ*
run =DIR.VEN =DYN
'Then another one... another one came [in a mean of transportation], by bicycle.' (s_chck_niki)

b. *ai yãa hanak-ɨ ãriki pihi kãyo*
ai yãa hanak-ɨ= ãriki pihi= kãyo=
other leaf CLN:bush= smoked APPL= APPL=
pra*apëha* .
pra *=o =pë =ha*
lie =STV =NMLZ =OBL
'Where some dry leaves [that were on the branches] were lying on the floor.'
(s_chck_hoax)

TRANSITIVE

(47) a. *ai kɨkɨ mihi kãyõ* ***ke****prari ase ,*
ai kɨkɨ= mihi= kãyõ= ***kë*** *=pra =ri ase*
other CLN:collective= APPL= APPL= **break** =DRV =PFV1 son (VOC)
ya ohi hetu !.
ya= ohi hetu
1SG= be_hungry also
'Break this other [branch with] fruits, my son, I'm also hungry!'
(n035_amathayoma)

b. *ĩhĩ tëhë thëkɨ pihi kãyo* ***tëkë****a*
ĩhĩ =tëhë thë= kɨ= pihi= kãyo= ***tëkë*** *=a*
ANA =REL.PRS CLN.GNR= PL= APPL= APPL= **sit** =PFV.VWL
*kõ****ma****kiwei* .
kõ ***=ma*** *=ki =wei*
again **=CAUS** =PFV2 =NMLZ
'Then he 'sat' the [container of] fruits down. (s_pear_niki).'

9.6. Valency-decreasing mechanisms

Among the derivational morphemes that can alter the valency of a predicate in YMA, the intransitivizer *=mu* stands out by the diversity of constructions in which it can appear. Although the derivation with this morpheme usually results in the decrease of the verb valency (if we compare it with the non-derived version), the change in the diathesis entailed by the valency-decrease does not display a single, homogenous and predictable pattern in all tokens. The alternations in (48) and (49) exemplify this

phenomenon. In (48b), we see that the sole core argument of the predicate – the syntactic subject of the derived clause, *kami ya* 'I' – is the syntactic agent of the non-derived construction, (48a), while the underlying patient of these predicates, *aho hiima* 'your dog', is the syntactic patient in (48a) and appears as an oblique argument in (48b). Example (49) shows the reverse situation: the syntactic (and semantic) agent in (49a) – *wai pë* 'enemies' – becomes the oblique argument in the predicate derived with *=mu*, (49b), while the syntactic (and semantic) patient of (49a) – *thuwë a* 'the woman' – remains in the core position (intransitive subject) in the derivation (49a). As the translations indicate, the pair of examples in (50) do not refer to the same event. The clause in (50a) is transitive and has two different participants as core arguments – *Kunathoi* is the patient and *kami ya* 'I' is the agent – while (50b) is an intransitive clause with only one argument – *Kunathoi* – which is both the underlying agent and patient of the depicted event.

(48) a.*urihi ha kami yanɨ aho hiima yaa*
urihi= =ha kami =ya =nɨ aho hiima ya= a=
forest= =OBL 1 =1SG =ERG 2POS dog 1SG= 3SG=
hëtëma .
hëtë =ma
look for =PST
'I looked for your dog in the forest.'

b. *urihi ha aho hiima a ha kami ya*
urihi= =ha aho hiima =a =ha kami ya=
forest= =OBL 2POS dog =SG =OBL 1 1SG=
*hëtë**mo**ma .*
*hëtë **=mu** =ma*
look for **=INTRZ** =PST
'I looked for your dog in the forest.'

(49) a.*wai pënɨ thuë a huwëpraremahe .*
wai =pë =nɨ thuë a= huwë =pra =ri =ma =he
enemy =PL =ERG woman 3SG= grab =DRV =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'The enemies caught the woman.'

b. *wai* *pëha* *thuë* *a*
wai *=pë* *=ha* *thuë* *a=*
enemy =PL =OBL woman 3SG=
*huwëpra**mo**rayoma* .
huwë *=pra* ***=mu*** *=rayu* *=ma*
grab =DRV **=INTRZ** =PFV1 =PST
'The woman let herself be caught by the enemies.'

(50) a. *TV* *aha* *kami* *yani* *Kunathoi* *yaa*
TV *=a* *=ha* *kami* *=ya* *=ni* *Kunathoi* *ya=* *a=*
television =SG =OBL 1 =1SG =ERG Kunathoi 1SG= 3SG=
taarema .
taa *=ri* *=ma*
see =PFV1 =PST
'I saw Kunathoi on TV.'

b. *kara* *aha* *Kunathoi* *a* *taa**mo**rayoma* .
kara *=a* *=ha* *Kunathoi* *a=* *taa* ***=mu*** *=rayu* *=ma*
mirror =SG =OBL Kunathoi 3SG= see **=INTRZ** =PFV1 =PST
'Kunathoi saw himself in the mirror.'

A hasty analysis of these three pairs of examples might suggest that the YMA has antipassive (48b), passive (49b) and reflexive (50b) constructions, all of them formed through the use of the same derivational mechanism with the enclitic *=mu*. Besides being typologically unusual, I will show that such an analysis would be wrong for the YMA case. In this section, I will argue that (48b) and (50a) are indeed antipassive and reflexive derivations, respectively, but constructions such as (49b) must be analyzed as a special type of reflexive construction or causative construction. Actually, I will show that (49b) is a reflexive-causative construction, whose apparent passive configuration comes from the combined application of the diathesis- and valency-changing rules that characterize regular causative and reflexive derivations in YMA. I will show how this construction differs from a truly passive one, pointing out its formal and semantic properties.

For the use of the enclitic *=mu* as a denominalizer, please refer to Section §5.6.10 in the chapter on verb stems.

9.6.1. Antipassive *=mu* or *=a=mu*

An antipassive construction is a decreasing valency derivation in which the underlying patient of a native or derived transitive predicate is demoted from its core position to an oblique one, while the original agent is treated as the sole argument of the derived predicate, i.e. an intransitive subject. In the pair of elicited examples below, (51), we can see this derivation taking place. The construction in (51a) has a native transitive verb, *wa* 'to eat', which projects two core arguments in the clause: *xama* 'tapir,' the patient of the clause, and *oxe thëpë* 'children', the agent of the predicate marked in the verb by *=he*. The clause in (51b) presents the same verb now derived with the non-punctual marker *=a* and the intransitivizer *=mu*, and has only one core argument projected on it (the underlying agent *oxe thëpë* 'the children'), while the original patient is dislocated to the periphery and treated just like the other oblique arguments.

(51) a. *oxe thëpëni xama a waihe* .
oxe =thë =pë =ni xama =a wa =i =he
youngster =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG tapir =SG eat =DYN =3PL
'The children are eating tapir.'

b. *xama aha oxe*
xama =a =ha oxe
tapir =SG =OBL youngster
*thëpë waa**mu**u* .
*thë= pë= wa =a **=mu** =u*
CLN.GNR= 3PL= eat =DISTR **=INTRZ** =DYN
'The children are guzzling the tapir.'

It is not entirely clear for me what is the full range of functions that this derivation can play, but some recurrent patterns can be deduced from the native speakers' explanations about its meaning. According to them, the first function of this derivation is to magnify the action carried out by the agent, indicating that it was done

intensively or several times. The pair of examples in (52) convey essentially the same meaning, except for in (52b) the agent is not just *asking,* but clearly *demanding* information about the project. That is, there is a gradation emphasis in these two construction.

(52) a. *napë pëha projeto ya thãa*
napë =pë =ha projeto ya= thã= ã=
white person =PL =OBL project 1SG= CLN.GNR= sound=
wãrii pihio .
wãri =i pihi =o
ask =DYN will =STV
'I want to ask the white people about the project.'

b. *napë pëha projeto thãaha ya*
napë =pë =ha projeto =thë =ã =ha ya=
white person =PL =OBL project =CLN.GNR =sound =OBL 1SG=
*wãri**mu**u pihio .*
*wãri **=mu** =u pihi =o*
ask **=INTRZ** =DYN will =STV
'I want to demand the white people about the project.'

In (53b) the antipassive derivation with *=a=mu* produces similar semantic changes, underlying that the action will be carried out with more intensity.

(53) a. *naxi ya kohiu koaɨ pihio .*
naxi ya= kohiu= koa =ɨ pihi =o
cassava 1SG= CLN:beer= drink =DYN will =STV
'I want to drink cassava beer.'

b. *naxi kohiuha ya koaamuu*
naxi kohiu= =ha ya= koa =a =mu =u
cassava CLN:beer= =OBL 1SG= drink =DISTR =INTRZ =DYN
pihio .
pihi =o
will =STV
'I want to drink [a lot of]/guzzle cassava beer.'

This intensification of the action is probably made possible by the non-punctual marker *=a*. Even though this marker is present in most antipassive derivations, it cannot alter the valency or the diathesis of a predicate by itself. This morpheme appears by itself in derivations with either intransitive (54b) or transitive (55b) verbs, having no effect over the argument structure of the clause or the number of projected arguments in it. In those cases, the morpheme only alters the lexical aspect of the verb by adding the features activity/atelicity/diffuseness to its semantic inventory. In both (54) and (55), the morpheme changes the punctual meaning of 'to go' and 'to give' to a non-punctual activity 'to wander around' and 'to distribute'.

(54) a. *Boa Vista hamɨ ya huu pihio*
Boa Vista =hamɨ ya= huu pihi =o
Boa Vista =OBL 1SG= go will =STV
'I want to go to Boa Vista.'

b. *Boa Vista hamɨ ya huaɨ pihio .*
Boa Vista =hamɨ ya= hu ***=a*** *=ɨ pihi =o*
Boa Vista =OBL 1SG= go **=DISTR** =DYN will =STV
'I want to wander around in Boa Vista.'

(55) a. *Kayanau thëripëha kama matihi epë*
Kayanau thëri =pë =ha kama matihi e= pë=
Kayanau inhabitant =PL =OBL 3 belongings DIF.PART= PL=
hipɨkema .
hipɨ =ki =ma
give =PFV2 =PST
'He gave his goods to the people from Kayanau.'

b. *Kayanau thëripëha kama matihi epë*
Kayanau thëri =pë =ha kama matihi e= pë=
Kayanau inhabitant =PL =OBL 3 belongings DIF.PART= PL=
*hipɨ****a****kema .*
hipɨ ***=a*** *=ki =ma*
give **=DISTR** =PFV2 =PST
'He distributed his goods to the people from Kayanau.'

We could conclude from this that the main or even sole morpheme responsible for altering both the valency and the voice in the antipassive derivation is the intransitivizer *=mu*. This analysis is in part consistent with the derivational functions that this morpheme displays in other contexts, such as the reflexive and reflexive-causative contexts (see §9.6.2 and §9.6.3 below). Nevertheless, the intransitivizer *=mu* produces an antipassive derivation by itself only with a very small number of verbs, like in (56).

(56) a. *ĩhĩ thëpëni̱ projeto a noa waxu*
ĩhĩ =thë =pë =ni̱ projeto a= noa= waxu
ANA =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG project 3SG= V.PTC= explain
totihionoohe , kua yaro kami
totihi =o =no =o =he ku =a =yaro kami
good; nice =STV =RESULT =STV =3PL exist =POST =CNJ.EXPLV 1
ya nakamuu pihio [...]
*ya= naka **=mu** =u pihi =o*
1SG= call; ask **=INTRZ** =DYN will =STV

'[As] those people explained us the project very well, so I want to ask for [it].' (PDYP_MIC_13_07)

b. *pei uhurupë e maa*
pei uhurupë= =e ma =a
INDEF son= =DIF.PART not_exist =PFV.VWL
henarayopëha , kama pei thuwëpë
hena =rayu =pë =ha kama pei thuwëpë
in the morning =PFV1 =NMLZ =OBL 3 INDEF wife
*exo kipë hëtë**mo**ma [...]*
*=e =xo kipë= hëtë **=mu** =ma*
=DIF.PART =ADD 3DU= look for **=INTRZ** =PST

'[He] with his wife, they two searched the place where their child had disappeared in the morning.' (wtx_sinaheoma)

With most verbs, the absence of the non-punctual morpheme *=a* prevents the antipassive reading of the construction, allowing only the reflexive or the reflexive-causative ones. The pair of examples in (57) illustrates this restriction for an

antipassive interpretation when the non-punctual *=a* is not present. In both sentences in (57) we have the exact same argument in the periphery of the clause, which is the nominalized clause *pata thëpë ka kuani naha thë* 'the way ancient people lived', marked with the oblique case marker *=ha*. Semantically, this is the theme of both events. On the other hand, the argument *kami ya* 'I', despite occupying the same syntactic position (absolutive) in both clauses (57a-b), plays different semantic roles in each of them. As the translations indicate, in (57a) 'I' is the underlying agent of the event of 'researching how ancient people lived' (the one who will ask), while in (57b) 'I' is the patient (the one whom will be asked) or the reflexive-causer (the one who let himself be asked). These two constructions are not interchangeable. It is not entirely clear for me why the verbs in (56) allow the antipassive reading with *=mu* alone, and the one in (57) does not. It is possibly related to the fact that a reflexive or reflexive-causative interpretation for these verbs (*nakaɨ* 'to call' and *hëtëɨ* 'to look for') is those specific contexts is not logically possible given the argument markers of those clauses. This topic of the YMA remains open for future research.

(57) a. *pata thëpë ka kuani*
pata thë= pë= ka= ku =a =ni
elder CLN.GNR= 3PL= FOC= exist =POST =PRE.HOD.NON.WTNS
*naha thëha ya wãria**mu**u*
*=naha =thë =ha ya= wãri =a **=mu** =u*
=thereby =CLN.GNR =OBL 1SG= ask =DISTR **=INTRZ** =DYN
pihio .
pihi =o
will =STV

'I will start extensive research on how the ancient people used to live.' (It implies that I do not know it, that I am a young Yanomama researcher, for instance).

b. *pata thëpë ka kuani naha*
pata thë= pë= ka= ku =a =ni =naha
elder CLN.GNR= 3PL= FOC= exist =POST =PST.NON.WTNS =thereby
*thëha ya wãri**mu**u pihio* .
*=thë =ha ya= wãri **=mu** =u pihi =o*
=CLN.GNR =OBL 1SG= ask **=INTRZ** =DYN will =STV

'I will let to be asked [by other people] about how the ancient people used to live.' (It implies that I know it, that I am an elder, for instance].

It is worth mentioning that antipassive constructions do not seem to be very common in Amazonian languages. Among a sample of 51 Amazonian languages, Birchall (2013) found only 10 languages that display a morphological marker capable of producing this type of derivation. None of these languages is spoken in the YMA's immediate neighborhood, with Arawakan Lokono, spoken in Suriname, and Cariban Tiriyó, also spoken in Suriname and in the Brazilian states of Para and Amapá, as the geographically closest languages (nearly 750 kilometers distant from the Yanomami-land) that display this feature. Among the languages with morphological antipassive constructions in Birchall's sample, six of them conflate the antipassive marker with the reflexive one, just like YMA does.

In the next sections (§9.6.2 and §9.6.3) I will present the use of *=mu* as reflexive and reflexive-causative marker.

9.6.2. Reflexive *=mu*

For semantic reasons, the derivation with the enclitic *=mu* only acquires a reflexive reading when applied to a transitive dynamic stem. Moreover, as I showed in §9.6.1, some derivations with transitive stems can also result in antipassive verbs. Only when the underlying agent of a transitive clause coincides with its patient do we have a truly reflexive construction. Example (58a) shows a transitive non-reflexive construction and (58b) a reflexive one.

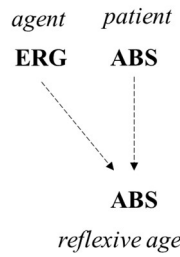
(58) a. *TV* *aha* *Kunathoi* *yaa* *taarema* .
TV *=a* *=ha* *Kunathoi* *ya=* *a=* *taa* *=ri* *=ma*
television =SG =OBL Kunathoi 1SG= 3SG= see =PFV1 =PST
'I saw Kunathoi on the TV.'

b. *TV* *aha* *kami* *ya* *taa**mo**rayoma* .
TV *=a* *=ha* *kami* *ya=* *taa* ***=mu*** *=rayu* *=ma*
television =SG =OBL 1 1SG= see **=INTRZ** =PFV1 =PST

'I saw myself on the TV.'

The intransitive perfective marker =*rayu* in (58b) demonstrates the syntactic intransitivity of the verb . Indeed, the derivation with the reflexive marker =*mu* always produces a full feature intransitive stem, with only one argument projected in the clause and with all morphosyntactic properties of a typical intransitive verb. The solely projected argument always occupies the absolutive position, for it is the only existing core position in intransitive predicates. The Schema 9.6 below represents the argument restructuring that the reflexive derivation produces.

Schema 9.6 - Argument rearrangement of the reflexive derivation



We have seen in Chapter 4 that body part terms are a particular type of nouns in the language (nouns of Type 2). These nouns are not free words in the language, but clitics, which are incorporated into the predicate when they are the semantic subject of an intransitive verb or the patient of a transitive one. In those constructions, the entity to which that part belongs is either the actual syntactic intransitive subject or the transitive patient of the clause. When this whole entity is the semantic agent of the transitive clause , the reflexive derivation is also required. Note that in (59b) the noun *kanasi* 'garbage' is treated as a body-part (a noun of Type 2), just like *usiki* 'shin,' in (59a).

(59) a. *usikɨi wãrioma , usikɨi*
usikɨ= i= wãri =o =ma usikɨ= i=
shin= DIM= spoil =STV =PST shin= DIM=
*hëpa**mo**ma .*
*hëpa **=mu** =ma*
touch **=INTRZ** =PST
'His shin hurt, [and then] he scratched his shin.' (s_pear_hoax)

b. *ĩhĩ tëhë kama kanasi*
ĩhĩ =tëhë kama kanasi=
ANA =REL.PRS 3 garbage
*ĩthãata**mo**rayupëha [...].*
*ĩthã =a =ta **=mu** =rayu =pë =ha*
stand =POST =HAB **=INTRZ** =PFV1 =NMLZ =OBL
'Where he usually kept his trash [can] [...]' (s_ms09_suka)

We will see in §9.7 that the morpheme *=pë* derives a possessed noun into an attributive verb while its possessor becomes the subject of the derived verb. In (60) we have an example of this verbalization, where 'fish' become an attributive stem 'to be fished', i.e. 'to have fishes'.

(60) *Kunathoi a yuri**pë***
*kunathoi a= yuri **=pë***
Kunathoi 3SG= fish **=VBLZ**
'Kunathoi has fishes.' / '[These are] Kunothoi's fishes.' [lit.: 'Kunathoi is "*fished*"']

Like any attributive stem, the verbs derived with *=pë* can appear together with other stems in constructions with secondary predication. The attributive stem is always the secondary predicate in these cases. When the primary verb is an intransitive one, the possessor remains as the subject of the clause, (61a). However, when the verb is transitive, the possessor becomes the patient of the clause, (61b). Therefore, when the promoted possessor coincides with the agent of the clause, the transitive argument structure of the clause must be reorganized, and the verb must take *=mu*, with the

reflexive meaning, (61c-d). Note that beneficiaries are often coded as possessors, which is the case for the examples below.

(61) a. *~~wɨɨ~~* *aha* *Kunathoi* *a* *yuripë* *titia* .
wɨɨ *=a* *=ha* *kunathoi* *a=* *yuri* *=pë* *titi* *=a*
basket =SG =OBL Kunathoi 3SG= fish =VBLZ insert =PFV.VWL
'Kunathoi's fishes are in the basket.'

b. *Kunathoi* *yaa* *yuripë* *rëkërarema* .
kunathoi *ya=* *a=* *yuri* *=pë* *rëkë* *=ra* *=ri* *=ma*
Kunathoi 1SG= 3SG= fish =VBLZ pull =DISTR =PFV1 =PST
'I caught Kunathoi's fishes.'

c. *Kunathoi* *a* *yuripë* *rëkëpra**mo**rayoma* .
kunathoi *a=* *yuri* *=pë* *rëkë* *=pra* *=mu* *=rayu* *=ma*
Kunathoi 3SG= fish =VBLZ pull =DRV =INTRZ =PFV1 =PST
'Kunathoi caught fishes for himself.'

d. *Kunathoi* *a* *rakãma thothopë*
kunathoi *a=* *rakãma* *=thotho* *=pë*
Kunathoi 3SG= hammock =CLN:hammock =VBLZ
*tiyëpra**mo**rayoma* .
tiyë *=pra* ***=mu*** *=rayu* *=ma*
cut_down =DRV **=INTRZ** =PFV1 =PST
'Kunathoi wove a hammock for himself.'

This derivation with *=pë* is particularly productive with kinship terms, as we will see ahead in §9.7, and so is their use in reflexive constructions. In (62), the underlying patients of the clause are kinship terms derived into an attributive stem with *=pë*. This derivation promotes the 'possessor' or the other person of the kinship relation to the core absolutive position of the clause. As this other person (the 'possessor) is also the underlying agent of the event, the construction requires the intransitivizer *=mu* and acquires a reflexive status, at least syntactically.

(62) a. *kama a heparapë xë**mo**rayoma* .
*kama a= hepara =pë xë **=mu** =rayu =ma*
3 3SG= brother =VBLZ beat; kill **=INTRZ** =PFV1 =PST
'He hit his brother.'

b. *kaho wa uhurupë tikipra**mo**rayoma* .
*kaho wa= uhuru =pë tiki =pra **=mu** =rayu =ma*
2 2SG= child =VBLZ prick =DRV **=INTRZ** =PFV1 =PST
'You gave your son an injection.'

It is worth noting that there is no restriction for a denominalized noun to appear together with a noun of Type 2 as the underlying absolutive argument of the clause. In these cases, and when the possessor is the underlying agent, the reflexive construction is also required, as in (63).

(63) *thëpë kiãharayu tëhë* ,
thë= pë= kiã =harayu =u =tëhë
CLN.GNR= 3PL= work =DIR:upstream =DYN =REL.PRS
*ropeni thëpë **kanasi** xawarapë*
*rope =ni thë= pë= **kanasi=** xawara =pë*
quick =ADVLZ CLN.GNR= 3PL= **garbage=** epidemic =VBLZ
*xeeaha**mu**uwei [mau*
*xee =a =ha **=mu** =u =wei mau*
throw =DISTR =DRV **=INTRZ** =DYN =NMLZ water
pata uha] [...]
pata =u =ha
big =CLN:liquid =OBL
'When they [the miners] work upriver, they quickly start to throw away their pestilent garbage [in the river].' (m005_wawa_gari)

9.6.3. 'Pseudopassive' or reflexive-causative markers *=mu* or *=ma=mu*

YMA does not have passive derivations. Nevertheless, there is a type of construction in the language that formally very much resembles a passive. The examples below illustrate this. In (64a) an active transitive predicate has an underlying agent realized

as the syntactic agent (a core argument) of the clause, while the semantic and the syntactic patients coincide. In (64b), the syntactic and underlying arguments do not coincide. The clause is intransitive: the core argument – *kami ya* 'I' – is the subject, while the underlying agent – *thuwë pë* 'the women' – is an oblique argument.

(64) a. *thuwë thëpëni ya wakëprarema*
thuwë =thë =pë =ni ya= wakë =pra =ri =ma
woman =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG 1SG= red =DRV =PFV1 =PST
he .
=he
=3PL
'The women painted me.'

b. *thuwë thëpëha ya*
thuwë thë =pë =ha ya=
woman CLN.GNR =PL =OBL 1SG=
*wakëpra**mo**rayoma* .
*wakë =pra **=mu** =rayu =ma*
red =DRV **=INTRZ** =PFV1 =PST
'I had the women paint me.'

One of the reasons for not considering this a passive construction lies in the fact that not all types of nouns can occupy the absolutive position in the derived clause. Inanimate entities, for instance, cannot be the subject of this 'passive' clause. The hypothetical example in (65b) is ungrammatical. When confronted with this construction, a speaker mockingly asked this researcher whether houses were able to talk and ask to be burnt.

(65) a. *warõ thëpëni yano a*
warõ =thë =pë =ni yano a=
man =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG house 3SG=
ixipraremahe
ixi =pra =ri =ma =he
burn =DRV =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'The men burnt the house.'

b. * *warõ pëha yano a*
warõ =pë =ha yano a=
man =PL =OBL house 3SG=
*ixipra**mo**rayoma* .
*ixi =pra **=mu** =rayu =ma*
burn =DRV **=INTRZ** =PFV1 =PST
'The house was burnt by the men.'

As the translations in (64) suggest, this pair of examples do not perfectly match regarding their semantics, even though I ended up being painted in both events. In (64a), nevertheless, it is not clear whether I had let or asked them to paint me, whereas (64b) makes explicit that I had done it. Semantically, the construction in (64b) resembles the analytic construction found in French called 'reflexive-causative.' This construction makes use of the reflexive version of verb *faire* 'to do', the verb (in its non-reflexive version) regularly used in French for causative constructions. In the examples (66a-b) we have the same meaning as in (64) translated into French. Note that example (66c) is a passive construction, which semantically matches with (66a) but not with (66b).

(66) a. *Les femmes m'ont peint.*
'The women painted me.'

b. *Je me suis fait peindre par les femmes.*
'I let them paint me.'/'I asked them to paint me.'

c. *J'ai été peint par les femmes.*
'I was painted by the women.'

Note that, similarly to what happens in YMA, in French there is also a restriction for non-animate entities to occupy the position of the reflexive causer. The example in (67a), a translation of the example (65b), will also sound quite strange for a native speaker of French unless it was found in a clear metaphorical context. The active construction, (67b), or the passive one, (67c), are the only grammatically acceptable versions of this.

(67) a. **La maison se fait incendier par des hommes.*
'The house had itself be burnt by the men.'

b. *Les hommes ont incendié la maison.*
'The men burnt the house.'

c. *La maison a été incendiée par des hommes.*
'The house was burnt by the men.'

This semantic restriction, which is also found in YMA, is crucial to understand why this construction is not a passive. In YMA, every type of noun, regardless its animacy, can be the subject of intransitive predicates. Moreover, there are a lot of anticausative stems of which the prototypical subject is inanimate. The verb *ixipra* in example (65a), for instance, is the causative version of the basic anticausative stem *ixi* 'to burn'. In (68a) we have the same situation of (65a) depicted as an agentless event (anticausative). Conversely, as we have seen in other sections of this grammar, there is a strong restriction in the language for inanimate entities to be the syntactic agent of a transitive clause. Moreover, as I mentioned before, the restriction is to inanimate entities to be the *ergative* argument of a clause, not the *absolutive*. This is the clue that indicates that the example (64b) has, at least in this sense, a transitive status – which (68) does not have – and that the absolutive argument of the example (64b) is also categorized, at least partially, as an agentive argument.

(68) *yano a ixirayoma*
yano a= ixi =rayu =ma
house 3SG= burn =PFV1 =PST
'The house burnt.'

This semantic restriction can be explained by the fact that this construction always entails a certain responsibility on the syntactic subject's part for the outcome of the event, which ultimately affects himself. This requires that the participant in the subject position should be at least a living creature with volition and consciousness. Actually, consciousness seems to be even more important in the characterization of

the reflexive causer than volition, since there are several examples in the corpus of undesired self-inflicted (or perceived as self-inflicted) actions coded as reflexive-causative. This construction is frequently heard, for instance, in the context of war or a fight – in which the participant consciously or voluntarily had engaged – to describe a resulting or related event that affects him. If he gets hit or killed in this event, the reflexive-causative will be used describe it. Also, when the participant does something despite the advice of others not to do so, or engages in something notoriously dangerous, or performs something remarkably careless, any outcome event that has 'himself' as the underlying patient/object will be syntactically expressed as reflexive-causative. Therefore, the semantic feature that explains the usage of this construction is not related to willingness/volition itself, but to something like 'responsibility.' Note that the semantic features associated with the reflexive causer are very similar to those found in the non-reflexive causer of simple causative constructions, as in (12)-(17). In (69), I present other three examples of the reflexive-causative construction.

(69) a. *urihi* *hamɨ* *thuë* *a* *wãyãa* *kãyo* *ha*
urihi= *=hamɨ* *thuë* *a=* *wãyã* *=a* *kãyo=* *ha=*
CLN:forest= =OBL woman 3SG= distressed =POST APPL= REL.PST=
arinɨ *wai* *pëha* *a* *xëpra*
a *=ri* *=nɨ* *wai* *=pë* *=ha* *a=* *xë* *=pra*
go =PFV1 =REL.PST enemy =PL =OBL 3SG= beat; kill =DRV
mo*rayoma* .
=mu *=rayu* *=ma*
=INTRZ =PFV1 =PST

'After the woman had angrily run away to the forest, she let herself be killed by the enemies (she shares the responsibility for her death because she decided to go to the forest).'

b. *Kunathoi* *eha* *Ararima* *a* *xë*
kunathoi *=e* *=ha* *Ararima* *a=* *xë*
Kunathoi =DIF.PART =OBL Ararima 3SG= beat; kill
mo*rayoma* .
=mu *=rayu* *=ma*
=INTRZ =PFV1 =PST

'Ararima let himself be beaten by Kunathoi.' (Ararima was somehow responsible for being beaten by Kunathoi, as he voluntarily entered into a fight with him, for instance)

c. *kraiyo thëpë hamɨ ya xëpra**mu***
kraiyo =thë =pë =hamɨ ya= xë =pra ***=mu***
white person =CLN.GNR =PL =OBL 1SG= beat; kill =DRV **=INTRZ**
pihioimi yaro yaã xaari haɨ
pihi =o =imi =yaro ya= ã= xaari ha =ɨ
will =STV =NEG =CNJ.EXPLV 1SG= sound= straight pass_through =DYN
.

'I am speaking out because I do not want to be killed by the white people.' (PDYP_MIC_A_18_02).

When speakers were confronted with the hypothetical sentence in (70), they did not fully reject it in terms of its grammaticality, but asked whether this was taken from a traditional narrative (where animals usually behave like humans) or whether Ararima was a type of animal. According to their explanations the dog does not have enough awareness or responsibility over what it is doing to be blamed when there is a bad outcome. Using the same analogy presented by them, it is like blaming a child for falling from his mother's arms, even if he bounced around a lot.

(70) * *hiima anɨ Ararima a ha warɨnɨ*
hiima =a =nɨ Ararima a= ha= wa =ri =nɨ
dog =SG =ERG Ararima 3SG= REL.PST= eat =PFV1 =REL.PST
huu tihinɨ a xeepramorayoma
huu =tihi =nɨ a= xee =pra =mu =rayu =ma
tree =CLN:tree =INS 3SG= throw =DRV =INTRZ =PFV1 =PST
'After the dog had bitten Ararima, he beat it with a stick.'

Interestingly, the reflexive-causative constructions, probably because of this resemblance to passives, can play some of the functions typically associated with passive constructions, such as foregrounding the underlying patient of a clause or backgrounding an indefinite or diffuse agent. In the examples below we have two

instances of agentless (or *causeeless*, to be more precise) reflexive-causative clauses. In both cases, the deleted causee is unknown or indefinite, and the role of the remaining participant in bringing about the event is being underlined.

(71) a. *einaha pata thëpë kurayomamakii , ipa*
einaha pata thë= pë= ku =rayu =ma =makii ipa
like that elder CLN.GNR= 3PL= say =PFV1 =PST =CONCS 1POS
napë kama wã huonimi yaro , ipa
napë kama wã= hu =o =n =imi =yaro ipa
white person 3 sound= answer =STV =PST =NEG =CNJ.EXPLV 1POS
kama a wãriãmorayoma , kama a
kama a= wãria =mu =rayu =ma kama a=
3 3SG= spoil =INTRZ =PFV1 =PST 3 3SG=
xëpramorayoma .
xë =pra =mu =rayu =ma
beat; kill =DRV =INTRZ =PFV1 =PST

'Although they had said that, and because 'my white person' did not obey, he let himself be spoiled, he let himself be killed.' (PDYP_MIC_B_08_05)

b. *xapuri Yurina wããha kuo wei anë , pë*
xapuri Yurina wããha= ku =o =wei =a =në pë=
shaman Yurina name= exist =STV =NMLZ =SG =ERG 3PL=
wasumamakii , pëã huo ha
wasu =ma =makii pë= ã= hu =o ha=
forbid =PST =CONCS 3PL= sound= answer =STV REL.PST=
maanë , pë niãpramorayoma .
ma =o =në pë= niã =pra =mu =rayu =ma
not_exist =STV =REL.PST 3PL= shoot =DRV =INTRZ =PFV1 =PST

'Although the shaman named Yurina had prohibited them, and after they had not listened to it, they let themselves be shot.' (PDYP_MIC_B_10_02)

Even though the semantics can help us to decide whether the analysis of this construction as reflexive-causative is correct, we do not need to rely exclusively on it, for the language also provides some formal pieces of evidence that support this analysis. The first formal hint that this is not a passive construction can be found through the comparison of the argument restructuring pattern of this derivation with

non-reflexive-causative constructions, i.e. with simple causative or reflexive constructions. Example (72a) shows a simple causative derivation with the enclitic *=ma*, where the causer and the causative patient are distinct entities. On the other hand, in (72b) we have reflexive-causative derivation with *=mu* in which the causer and causative patient coincide (*kami ya* 'I'). Note that, in both utterances, the causee (*wai pë* 'the enemies') is given similar treatment as an oblique argument. The absolutive position that the reflexive causer takes in (72b) can be easily explained by the argument restructuring regularly found in reflexive derivations. As I show in §9.6.2, in the reflexive derivation, the verb is made intransitive with *=mu*, and the sole argument projected in the clause, which conflates the underlying agent and patient, is absolutive.

(72) a. *wai* *pëha* *karaka* *ya a* *riã*
wai *=pë* *=ha* *karaka* *ya* *a=* *riã=*
enemy =PL =OBL chicken 1SG 3SG= VOL=
*huwëpra**ma**i* *ha* *maani*
huwë *=pra* ***=ma*** *=i* *ha=* *ma* *=o* *=ni*
grab =DRV **=CAUS** =DYN REL.PST= not_exist =STV =REL.PST
yaa *hõyakema*
ya= *a=* *hõya* *=ki* *=ma*
1SG= 3SG= hide =PFV2 =PST
'Not to let the enemies catch the chicken, I hid it.'

b. *wai* *pëha* *ya* *riã* *huwëpra**mu**u*
wai *=pë* *=ha* *ya=* *riã=* *huwë* *=pra* ***=mu*** *=u*
enemy =PL =OBL 1SG= VOL= grab =DRV **=INTRZ** =DYN
ha *maani* *ya* *hõyakema*
ha= *ma* *=o* *=ni* *ya=* *hõya* *=ki* *=ma*
REL.PST= not_exist =STV =REL.PST 1SG= hide =PFV2 =PST
'Not to let the enemies catch myself, I hid.'

According to this analysis, in reflexive-causative constructions, the argument structure of the clause undergoes two successive reorganizations. First the argument structure acquires the typical organization of a causative construction and then it is rearranged as a reflexive. In both processes, only the canonical rules of regular

causative and reflexive derivations are necessary to explain what happens. Below, Table 9.5 illustrates this double reorganization of the argument structure.

Table 9.5 – Patterns of argument structure rearrangement in YMA reflexive-causative constructions

	Basic	Causative	Reflexive-causative
intransitive	ABS →	ERG ABS →	ERG ABS
monotransitive and ditransitive	ERG ABS [OBL] →	ERG ABS → OBL → [OBL] →	ABS OBL [OBL]

The final bit of evidence that morphosyntax provides us with in support of a reflexive-causative interpretation of these constructions is related to the fact that the enclitic *=mu* can be replaced, only in these contexts, by the combination of *=ma=mu* without any change in meaning. This combination is formed by causative *=ma* and intransitivizer *=mu* and has, therefore, a transparent iconic relationship with the double nature of this complex derivation (CAUS+REFLX). Even though this combination is rarely realized in spontaneous texts, for all the examples above native speakers claim that the substitution by these combined morphemes was perfecty possible. The examples in (64b) and (72b) could be restated, with no semantic loss, as in (73a) and (73b). In (74), I present another example of possible replacement of *=mu* by *=ma=mu* in reflexive-causative contexts.

(73) a. *thuë pëha ya*
thuë =pë =ha ya=
woman =PL =OBL 1SG=
*wakëpra**mamo**rayoma*
*wakë =pra **=ma** **=mu** =rayu =ma*
red =DRV =CAUS =INTRZ =PFV1 =PST
'I let the women paint myself.'

b. *wai* *pëha* *ya* *riã*
wai *=pë* *=ha* *ya=* *riã=*
enemy =PL =OBL 1SG= VOL=
*huwëpra**mamu**u* *ha*
huwë *=pra* ***=ma*** ***=mu*** *=u* *ha=*
grab =DRV **=CAUS** **=INTRZ** =DYN REL.PST=
maanɨ *ya* *hõyakema* .
ma *=o* *=nɨ* *ya=* *hõya* *=ki* *=ma*
not_exist =STV =REL.PST 1SG= hide =PFV2 =PST
'Not to let the enemies catch myself, I hid.'

(74) a. *wai* *pëha* *Kunathoi* *a* *noma**mo**rayoma.* .
wai *=pë* *=ha* *Kunathoi* *a=* *noma* ***=mu*** *=rayu* *=ma*
enemy =PL =OBL Kunathoi 3SG= die **=INTRZ** =PFV =PST
'Kunathoi let the enemies kill himself.'

b. *wai* *pëha* *Kunathoi* *a*
wai *=pë* *=ha* *Kunathoi* *a=*
enemy =PL =OBL Kunathoi 3SG=
*noma**mamo**rayoma.*
noma ***=ma*** ***=mu*** *=rayu* *=ma*
die **=CAUS** **=INTRZ** =PFV =PST
'Kunathoi let the enemies kill himself.'

It is worth noting that, differently from the simple reflexive derivation, the reflexive-causative derivation allows either transitive or intransitive stems to take part in the construction. With transitive verbs the resulting predicate always has ditransitive valency – with the causee moved to the oblique position. When the derived verb is intransitive, the resulting construction may be monotransitive – without a causee –, like in (75a), or ditransitive – with an oblique causee – like in (75b).

(75) a. *tireha huu tihiha Ararima a ĩriamuu*
tire =ha huu =tihi =ha Ararima a= ĩriamu =u
high =OBL tree =CLN:tree =OBL Ararima 3SG= play =DYN
ha kuikɨnɨ pixata aha a
ha= ku =(i)ki =nɨ pixata =a =ha a=
REL.PST= exist =PFV2 =REL.PST ground =SG =OBL 3SG=
*ke**(ma)mo**rayoma* .
*ke **(=ma)** **=mu** =rayu =ma*
fall **(=CAUS)** **=INTRZ** =PFV1 =PST

'When Ararima started to play on the top of the tree, he fell on the floor. (It is implicit that Ararima was playing in an obviously dangerous manner, or that he was warned not to climb the tree or not to play on the top of it).'

b. *tireha huu tihiha Ararima axo Kunathoi*
tire =ha huu =tihi =ha Ararima =a =xo Kunathoi
high =OBL tree =CLN:tree =OBL Ararima =SG =ADD Kunathoi
axo kɨpë ĩriamuu ha kuikɨnɨ
=a =xo kɨpë= ĩriamu =u ha= ku =(i)ki =nɨ
=SG =ADD 3DU= play =DYN REL.PST= exist =PFV2 =REL.PST
*pixata aha Ararima a ke**(ma)mo**rayoma*
*pixata =a =ha Ararima a= ke **(=ma)** **=mu** =rayu =ma*
ground =SG =OBL Ararima 3SG= fall **(=CAUS)** **=INTRZ** =PFV1 =PST
Kunathoi aha .
Kunathoi =a =ha
Kunathoi =SG =OBL

'When Ararima and Kunathoi started to play on the top of the tree, Ararima let himself be dropped down on the floor by Kunathoi. (It is implicit that Ararima was himself trying to drop Kunathoi, or that they were playing in an obviously dangerous manner or that Ararima was warned not to climb the tree or not to play on the top of it with Kunathoi).'

Example (76a) is the monotransitive version of the ditransitive clauses in (74) and helps us understand the semantic differences between the two constructions. As the translations in (76a) show this construction can refer to an event where the participant literally killed himself (by drinking poison) or to event where he was

obviously killed by others (but somehow shares some responsibility). That is, when the construction is monotransitive a more strictly reflexive reading of the event is allowed, without the mediation of a causee. Nevertheless, the interpretation of a mediated event is not ruled out, as long as this causee is indefinite, unknown or general ('the enemies', 'the foreigners', 'the white people'...). In (76b) we have the non-reflexive anticausative version of this clause.

(76) a. *Kunathoi a noma(**ma**)**mo**rayoma.*
*Kunathoi a= noma **(=ma)** **=mu** =rayu =ma*
Kunathoi 3SG= die **(=CAUS)** **=INTRZ** =PFV =PST
'Kunathoi killed himself (suicide).'/'Kunathoi let be killed (by the unknow people or for being carefulless).'

b. *Kunathoi a nomarayoma.* .
Kunathoi a= noma =rayu =ma
Kunathoi 3SG= die =PFV =PST
'Kunathoi died.'

The use of the reflexive-causative markers *=mu* or *=ma=mu* with intransitive verbs should not be mistaken for the intransitive marker *=mu* (and only *=mu* in this case, not *=ma=mu*) that obligatorily appears with positional stems in imperfective contexts. The examples in (10) above illustrate this usage. Nevertheless, the reflexive-causative derivation can still be used with positional stems, as the examples (76b-c) show. Note that the (76b) has two possible literal meanings: one that considers the derived verb ditransitive and takes *pei nee* 'his mother' as the causee, and another that sees the verb as monotransitive and considers the oblique argument *pei nee* 'his mother' as an adverbial argument (place or company). The example (76c), nevertheless, admits only the monotransitive interpretation of the proposition (i.e. one without a causee), as 'the participant letting the enemies hide him [from the enemies]' would not make any sense. These examples show that the context, the intrinsic semantic features of each participant and the lexical meaning of the verb are all important parameters (alongside with the morphology) in determining the correct argument structure of a particular proposition.

(77) a. *ipa thuwë eha kami ya yakaa*
ipa thuwë =e =ha kami ya= yaka =a
1POS woman =DIF.PART =OBL 1 1SG= lie_tgthr_with_sbd =POST
'I'm lying in the hammock with my wife.' (him_krep_ex)

b. *pei nee eha Ararima a*
pei nee =e =ha Ararima a=
INDEF his_mother =DIF.PART =OBL Ararima 3SG=
*yaka**mu**u* .
*yaka =**mu** =u*
lie_tgthr_with_sbd **=INTRZ** =DYN
'Ararima is lying in the hammock with his mom.' (lit: 'Ararima is making himself lie with his mother' or 'Ararima is making his mother lay him [with her]) (him_krep_ex).

c. *wai pëha ya riã huwëpra**mu**u*
*wai =pë =ha ya= riã= huwë =pra **=mu** =u*
enemy =PL =OBL 1SG= VOL= grab =DRV **=INTRZ** =DYN
*ha maanɨ ya hõya**mo**kema*
*ha= ma =o =nɨ ya= hõya **=mu** =ki =ma*
REL.PST= not_exist =STV =REL.PST 1SG= hide **=INTRZ** =PFV2 =PST
'Not to let myself be caught by the enemies, I hid myself.'

9.6.4. Reciprocal =*yu*

There are very few contexts in which ditransitive verbs differ from monotransitive ones. The derivation with the reciprocal marker =*yu* is one of these. Only dynamic mono and ditransitive stems can be derived with reciprocal =*yu*, but differently from the intransitivizer =*mu*, the resulting verb does not always project an intransitive argument structure into the clause. While the derivation of a monotransitive stem produces a intransitive verb, like in (78a), the derivation a ditransitive stem results in a 'semi'-transitive stem, like in (78b).

(78) a. *thuwë* ***thëpë*** *iamayuu* .
thuwë ***thë=*** ***pë=*** *ia* *=ma* *=yu* *=u*
woman **CLN.GNR=** **3PL=** eat =CAUS =RECP =DYN
'The women are feeding each other.'

b. *thuwë* *thëpë**ni*** *tëpë* ***kiki***
thuwë *=thë* *=pë* ***=ni*** *tëpë* ***kiki=***
woman =CLN.GNR =PL **=ERG** glass bead **CLN:collective=**
*hipɨayorayoma**he*** .
hipɨ *=a* *=yu* *=rayu* *=ma* ***=he***
give =DISTR =RECP =PFV1 =PST **=3PL**
'The women distributed among themselves the glass beads.'

The reason for calling (78b) a 'semi'-transitive lies in the fact that these derived verbs display ambiguous behavior as to their morphosyntactic properties. On the one hand, they project a transitive argument structure in the clause, with two noun phrases being allowed as core arguments – one marked ergative (*thuë thëpë**ni*** 'the women') and one absolutive (*tëpë kiki* 'glass beads') –, and two slots vacant in the verb for argument markers – *kiki=* for 3rd person plural patient and *=he* for 3rd person plural agent. On the other hand, the derived verb does not take the typical perfective morphology of a transitive verb, i.e. it does not take transitive perfective *=re*, but intransitive *=rayu* instead. In non-perfective contexts, nevertheless, the verb behaves as a regular transitive.

The reassignment of semantic roles to syntactic functions that this derivation produces also varies according to the level of transitivity of the basic verb. When it is monotransitive, the diathesis rearrangement of the derived clause has the following features. The participants (always more than one) are conflated into a single non-marked absolutive argument with plural semantics (80), or listed one by one in overtly marked additive/comitative arguments (79). Nevertheless, the verb acquires intransitive valency in both cases as only one argument is marked on the verb (inevitably a non-singular marker). Semantically the participants bring about an action over other participants while they are simultaneously the object of the same action that is being reversely carried out by the other participants. In other words, and like

the reflexive situation, the agent and patient arguments coincide. In this case, the coinciding arguments must refer to more than one participant, who are separetedly performing an action affecting not themselves reflexively, but the co-performers.

(79) a. *hõõkĩãrĩ**xo*** , *ĩrari**xo*** *pi* *kɨpë*
hõõkĩãrĩ ***=xo*** *ĩrari* ***=xo*** *pi=* *kɨpë=*
spirit of puma **=ADD** spirit of jaguar **=ADD** FOC= 3DU=
*poa**yu*** *paxioma* .
poa ***=yu*** *=u* *paxi* *=o* *=ma*
plow, cut **=RECP** =DYN be obvious =STV =PST

'The spirits of the jaguar and of the puma, they two evidently stab each other.' (n034_oeki)

b. *Xirianapë**xo*** *yamakɨ*
xiriana *=pë* ***=xo*** *yamakɨ=*
Xiriana person =PL **=ADD** 1PL=
*praɨama**yo**ma* *!*
praɨa *=ma* ***=yu*** *=ma*
present_onself_dancing =CAUS **=RECP** =PST

'With the Xiriana people, we made each other present ourselves in the festival.' (i.e. 'The Xiriana people and us, we invited each other to our respective festivals') (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18).

(80) a. ***yamakɨ*** *në* *mii* *niãyorayoma* *makii* [...]
yamakɨ= *nɨ=* *mii* *niã* *=yu* *=rayu* *=ma* *=makii*
1PL= V.PTC= not be shoot =RECP =PFV1 =PST =CONCS
'Although we had almost shot each other [...]' (PDYP_MIC_B_10_02).

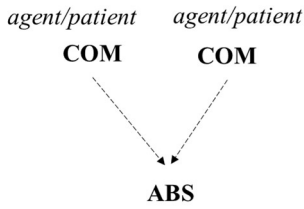
b. ***yamakɨ*** *nohiãyu* *kutayonɨ* , ***yamakɨ***
yamakɨ= *nohi* *=a* *=yu* *=kutayo* *=nɨ* ***yamakɨ=***
1PL= friend =DRV =RECP =REAS =REAS **1PL=**
rimiãyorayoma *kutayonɨ* [...]
rimi *=a* *=yu* *=rayu* *=ma* *=kutayo* *=nɨ*
ally =DRV =RECP =PFV1 =PST =REAS =REAS

'Because we treated each other friendly, because we treated each other as allies [...]' (PDYP_MIC_B_07_06).

The argument structure projected by monotransitive verbs derived with reciprocal *=yu* follows the Schema 9.7 below.

[PARTICIPANT1+COM] [PARTICIPANT2+COM]... ABS(DU/PL) V=*yu*

Schema 9.7 – Argument rearrangement of reciprocal derivations with monotransitive verbs



When the basic verb is ditransitive, the reciprocal derivation projects two arguments in the clause, one absolutive, which corresponds to the original theme argument of the non-derived clause (also absolutive), and one ergative, which conflates the agent and the recipient arguments.

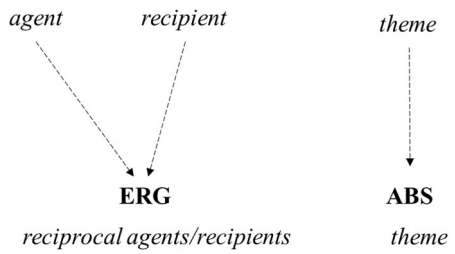
(81) a. *[pata thëpë**ni**] thuwë pë*
*pata =thë =pë **=ni** thuwë pë=*
elder =CLN.GNR =PL **=ERG** woman 3PL=
*hipia**yo**mahe* .
*hipi =a **=yu** =ma =he*
give =PFV.VWL **=RECP** =PST =3PL

'[The ancestors] gave each other their woman.' (n003_hakimuwei)

b. [...] *thëkɨi* *toayu*
thë *kɨ=* *i* *toa* *=a* *=yu*
CLN.GNR PL= DIM take =PFV.VWL =RECP
xoarayomahe .
xoa *=rayu* *=ma* *=he*
continue =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'[...] [And] they took them [the fruits] from each other.' (s_pear_marc)

In other words, when applied to a ditransitive verb, the derivation fuses the ergative argument (the Agent) and the oblique argument (the recipient) of the non-derived argument structure, keeping intact the absolutive one (the theme). With monotransitive verbs, the conflation is between the ergative and absolutive arguments. Schema 9.8 below represents the argument restructuring that the reciprocal derivation produces with ditransitive verbs.

Schema 9.8 – Argument rearrangement of reciprocal derivations with ditransitive verbs



In (82) I present other verbs that behave as ditransitives in the reciprocal derivation. Note that not all these verbs project a recipient-like argument besides the agent argument. Sometimes this argument is semantically closer to a *source*, like in (82b) and (82c). In all cases with ditransitive verbs, nevertheless, this other argument (source or recipient) is conflated with the agent argument, and is syntactically realized in the clause as the ergative argument. In the clauses below, the ergative argument is only recoverable by the third person plural and dual agent markers, *=he* and *=pɨ*.

(82) a. *projeto thaã wëayu*
projeto tha= ã= wë =a =yu
project CLN.GNR= sound= explain =PFV.VWL =RECP
xoamahe .
xoa =ma ***=he***
continue =PST **=3PL**
'They explained each other the project.'

b. *amoã thëpëã hĩriayu*
amoã thë= pë= ã= hĩri =a =yu
song CLN.GNR= 3PL= sound= hear =PFV.VWL =RECP
*xoama**he*** .
xoa =ma ***=he***
continue =PST **=3PL**
'Then they listened each other's songs.' (lit.: 'They listened the songs from each other')

c. *projeto thãã wariayu*
projeto thë= ã= wãri =a =yu
project CLN.GNR= sound= ask =PFV.VWL =RECP
*xoa**pi**ma* .
xoa ***=pi*** *=ma*
continue **=3DU** =PST
'Then they two asked each other about the project.'

As we saw in §4.2.5 and §7.5.2, when the semantic patient of an event is a body-part, its possessor appears as the syntactic patient of the clause, i.e. in the absolutive position. When there is an event where the different agents do something over each other's body-parts, we will also have a syntactic coincidence between agent and patient arguments, and the verb must be derived with reciprocal *=yu*. Example (83) is one instance of this configuration.

(83) *thëpë* ***pariki*** *xëyoma* .
thë= pë= ***pariki*** *xë =yu =ma*
CLN.GNR= 3PL= **chest** beat; kill =RECP =PST

'They beat each other's chest.' (PDYP_MIC_A_17_01)

This 'promotion' of the body-part possessor to the absolutive position of the clause helps us understand why the derived clauses in (84), which have the same ditransitive verb as in (78b) and (81a), do not require two arguments to be marked in the verb. In examples (84), not only the reciprocal agents and the recipients are the same, but also the theme (which is in the absolutive position). The reciprocal construction in this case has a truly intransitive argument structure, just like if it was derived with a monotransitive verb. Otherwise, the marker *=pɨ* for third person dual agent would be expected in the examples (84), like the marker *=he* for third person plural agent appears in the example (78b) and (81a).

(84) a. *tihɨ axo , opo axo kipë **nakɨ** ka*
*tihɨ =a =xo opo =a =xo kipë= **na=** **kɨ=** ka=*
jaguar =SG =ADD armadillo =SG =ADD 3DU= **tooth=** **PL=** FOC=
hipɨayoni [...]
hipɨ =a =yu =ni
give =DISTR =RECP =PAS.REM

'The jaguar and the armadillo, they two exchanged their teeth [...]' (n026_opotihi)

b. *utinaha pi kipë pihiha*
uti =naha pi= kipë= pihi= ha=
INT.PRO =thereby FOC.INT= 3DU= V.PTC:thought= REL.PST=
*kunɨ , pi kipë **nakɨ***
*ku =nɨ pi= kipë= **na=** **kɨ=***
exist =REL.PST FOC.INT= 3DU= **tooth=** **PL=**
hipɨayoma tha?
hipɨ =a =yu =ma =tha
give =DISTR =RECP =PST =PTC.INT

'What did they think before they exchanged their teeth?' (n026_opotihi)

9.6.5. Intransitive morpheme =*pru*

Like its transitive counterpart =*pra*, the morpheme =*pru* can change the valency of a predicate but should not be considered a valency-changing marker *per se*. This marker may indeed decrease the valency of a transitive verb, as in (85a). On the other hand, it also derives intransitive verbs only altering their lexical meaning, as in (86) . This change in the lexical meaning is frequently a very subtle semantic modulation without any alteration in the valency or voice of the verb. As the translation indicates, the sentences in (86) mean literary the same thing, but are used in completely different contexts. Therefore, the intransitive marker =*pru*, as its transitive counterpart =*pra*, should rather be analyzed as morphological resources for creating new lexical meanings than as morphosyntactic devices to reorganize argument structure or change the number of arguments of a proposition. Note that the vowel =*pru* is centralized as *a* when adjacent to the perfective morpheme =*rio*. We know that in the examples below it is indeed the intransitive morpheme =*pru* and not the transitive =*pra* because the perfective marker =*rio* is not compatible with transitive stems.

(85) a. *huu tihini yano a xë**pra**rioma* .
*huu =tihi =ni yano a= xë **=pra** =rio =ma*
tree =CLN:tree =CAUSE house 3SG= beat; kill **=DRV** =PFV1 =PST
'The house was destroyed because of the tree.'

b. *huu tihini hiima yaa xërema* .
huu =tihi =ni hiima ya= a= xë =ri =ma
tree =CLN:tree =INS dog 1SG= 3SG= beat; kill =PFV1 =PST
'I hit the dog with the stick.'

c. *huu tihini hiima yaa*
huu =tihi =ni hiima ya= a=
tree =CLN:tree =INS dog 1SG= 3SG=
*xë**pra**rema* .
*xë **=pra** =ri =ma*
beat; kill **=DRV** =PFV1 =PST
'I killed the dog with the stick.'

(86) a. *ya pihi xaarirayoma*
ya= pihi= xaari =rayu =ma
1SG= V.PTC:thought= right =PFV1 =PST
'I made my mind [about something] (intr).'/ 'I am sure [about something] (intr).' (lit.: 'I made my thought straight').

b. *ya pihi xaari**pra**rioma*
*ya= pihi= xaari **=pra** =rio =ma*
1SG= V.PTC:thought= right **=DRV** =PFV1 =PST
'I am aware of/educated/informed [about something] (intr).' (lit.: 'My thought got straight').

For more uses of *=pru* as a mechanism for creating new intransitive verbs from nouns and other verbs, please refer to §5.6.5 and §5.6.10 in the chapter on verb stems.

9.7. *Possessor* promotion and *possessed* denominalization

As I have shown in §4.2.4 and §8.2.3, there are only three productive pronominal morphemes in YMA that can indicate a possession relationship between two arguments. These are the two possessive pronouns, *ipa* 'my' and *aho* 'your', and the different participant marker *=e/e=*, a clitic from both clusters A and B. Prototypically, these pronouns and the different participant marker are used exclusively with singular possessors, the pronouns for 1st and 2nd persons, (87a-b), and the different participant marker for 3rd person singular, (87c).

(87) a. ***ipa*** *yano a* .
ipa *yano =a*
1POS house =SG
'My house.'

b. ***aho*** *yano a* .
aho *yano =a*
2POS house =SG
'Your house.'

c. *Ararima yano* ***e*** .
Ararima yano ***=e***
Ararima house **=DIF.PART**
'Ararima's house.'

There are some cases in which, at least semantically, the usage of the possessive pronouns (but not the different participant marker) can be extended to plural person possessors: the examples (87a) and (87b) could, in some very restricted contexts, be translated as 'our house' and 'your (plural) house', respectively. However, this is not the prototypical way of conveying this meaning. To truly express a possession relationship between a plural possessor and an alienable entity a previous derivation is required of the possessed argument into an adjective verb with denominalizing *=pë*, making the possessor argument the subject of this denominalized verb, (88).

(88) a. *kami yamaki yano****pë*** .
kami yamaki= yano ***=pë***
1 1PL= house **=VBLZ**
'Our house.' (lit: 'We are housed')

b. *kaho wahaki yano****pë*** .
kaho wahaki= yano ***=pë***
2 2DU= house **=VBLZ**
'The house of you two.' (lit: 'You two are housed')

c. *napë pë yano****pë*** .
napë pë= yano ***=pë***
foreigner 3PL= house **=VBLZ**
'The white people's house.' (lit: 'The white people are housed')

Although this is the prototypical mechanism for expressing possession by plural possessors, the construction is not restricted to these persons and can also be used with singular possessors, (89).

(89) *kami ya horema**pë*** .
*kami ya= horema **=pë***
1 1SG= threadworm **=VBLZ**
'I have worms.' (lit: 'I am wormed')

The resulting construction is not a nominal predicate, like in (87), but a legitimate attributive verb stem, with the same formal features of this type of verb. These denominalized verbs must take, for instance, the stative vowel *=o* in imperfective contexts (90a), and can have an inchoative version, being able to take the dynamic morpheme *=i* (90b), or the perfective marker *=rayu*, (90c-d).

(90) a. *kami ya hõremapë**o*** *tëhë naxi ya*
*kami ya= hõrema =pë **=o** =tëhë naxi ya=*
1 1SG= threadworm =VBLZ **=STV** =REL.PRS cassava 1SG=
kohiu koaimi .
kohiu= koa =imi
CLN:beer= drink =NEG
'When I have worms I don't drink cassava beer.'

b. *ya horemapë**i*** *ta ya pihi kuu* .
*ya= horema =pë **=i** =ta ya= pihi ku =u*
1SG= threadworm =VBLZ **=DYN** =CMPLZ 1SG= think =DYN
'I think I am getting worms.'

c. *kami ya horemapë**rayo**ma* .
*kami ya= horema =pë **=rayu** =ma*
1 1SG= threadworm =VBLZ **=PFV1** =PST
'I got worms.' (lit: 'I became wormed')

d. *kama imiki misikipë**rayo**ma* .
*kama imiki= misiki =pë **=rayu** =ma*
3 hand= thorn =VBLZ **=PFV1** =PST
'His hands got thorns.' (s_ms10_arok)

Another adjective stem feature that these derived verbs acquire is the ability of taking part in secondary predications, with either transitive or intransitive verbs as the main predicate. When the main predicate is an intransitive verb, the possessor remains the syntactic subject of the clause, (91a), while is treated as object when the main predicate is transitive, (91b). Syntactically, the semantic possessor therefore always occupies the absolutive position in the derived clause.

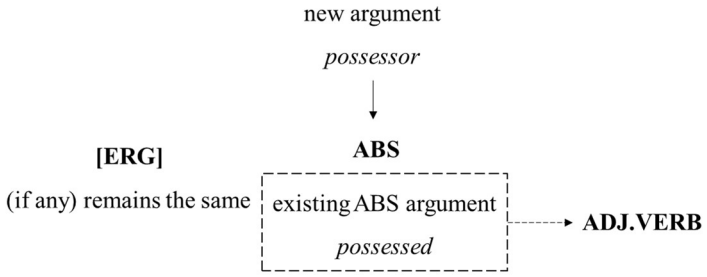
(91) a. *kami yamakɨ yanopë ixirayoma* .
kami yamakɨ= yano =pë ixi =rayu =ma
1 1PL= house =VBLZ burn =PFV1 =PST
'Our house has burnt.' (lit: 'We housed burned')

b. *proro pënɨ kami yamakɨ yanopë*
proro =pë =nɨ kami yamakɨ= yano =pë
miner =PL =ERG 1 1PL= house =VBLZ
iximaremahe .
ixi =ma =ri =ma =he
burn =CAUS =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'The miners burnt our house.' (lit: 'The miners burned us housed')

In secondary predication with transitive main predicates, when the described event is semantically such that the possessor performs an action on the possessed entity (which is formally a verb now), the whole construction is reorganized as a reflexive one, and the main verb must be derived with the intransitivizer *=mu* (92).

(92) *ĩhĩ tëhë [wamotima] pë mapruu*
ĩhĩ =tëhë wamotima pë= ma =pru =u
ANA =REL.PRS food 3PL= not_exist =DRV =DYN
*tëhë , pë yaropë hëtë**mu**u pihio* [...]
*=tëhë pë= yaro =pë hëtë **=mu** =u pihi =o*
=REL.PRS 3PL= animal =VBLZ look for =**INTRZ** =DYN will =STV
'Then, when their food is over, they will look for their game meat [...].'
(m004_paya_gari)

Schema 9.9 - Argument rearrangement of the possessor promotion derivation



This derived construction can be used not only to express a possession relationship between two entities, but also to convey a beneficiary-benefit relationship. The example (61b) shows this feature, which is not exclusive of the 'possessor promotion' construction, but common among all types of possession constructions, including the ones with the possessive pronouns and the different participant marker, as in (93):

(93)	*kami*	*yani*		*Kunathoi*	*yuri*	*ya*	***e****pë*		*rëkë*	*(*
	kami	*=ya*	*=ni*	*kunathoi*	*yuri*	*ya=*	***e=***	*pë=*	*rëkë*	
	1	=1SG	=ERG	Kunathoi	fish	1SG=	**DIF.PART=**	PL=	pull	

ra	*)*	*rema*	.
=ra		*=ri*	*=ma*
=DISTR		=PFV1	=PST

'I caught Kunathoi's fishes.' (i.e. 'I caught fishes for Kunathoi')

Interestingly, when this derivation takes place, the semantically possessed entity, which is now a verb, cannot be marked for number anymore. The resulting construction is, therefore, transnumeral or invariable for number, and can refer to a single possessed entity or to several ones. The examples below exemplify this feature. In (94a), the number of possessed entities is clearly plural, while in (94b) is singular (we know that that person is married with just one Waika woman).

(94) a. *thuwë thëpënë xiriana pë pree yei*
thuwë =thë =pë =në xiriana pë= pree yei
woman =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG Xiriana person 3PL= also true
thuwëpë nohimamahe .
thuwë =pë nohima =ma =he
woman =VBLZ friendly treat =PST =3PL

'The women (from Papiu) also made strong friendship with the Xiriana people's women.' (PDYP_MIC_B_07_06)

b. *ei Arokona anë [waika] pë thuwëpë*
ei Arokona =a =në waika pë= thuwë =pë
this Arokona =SG =ERG Waika person 3PL= woman =VBLZ
ka pore [...]
ka= po =re
FOC= hold =PRS

'That Waika people's woman that Arokona is married to [...]' (n037_waikapeuhurupe)

It must be noticed, nevertheless, that kinship terms display ambiguous behavior when derived with this denominalizing suffix. Although the derived kinship terms can be used as attributive stems, (much like any other type of derived alienable noun in YMA), there are a lot of examples in my corpus in which these (derived) words are being used as a regular (non-derived) noun of Type 1, appearing before Cluster B clitics. The examples in (95) reveal this extended usage of the derived forms, while those in (96) show the prototypical use of them as an attributive verb. In the examples below, the clitics from Cluster B are bold. Note the variable position of the derived kinship. This ambiguous behavior is only attested with kinship terms.

(95) a. *pei heãropë* ***eri*** *ohi hari pihio*
pei heãropë ***e=*** ***ri=*** *ohi hari pihi =o*
INDEF husband **DIF.PART=** **HON=** be_hungry cook will =STV
yaro [...]
=yaro
=CNJ.EXPLV

'Because she wanted to cook the food for her husband.' (s_chck_jose)

b. *pei* *thuwëpë* ***e*** *warokema* .
pei *thuwëpë* ***e=*** *waro* *=ki* *=ma*
INDEF wife **DIF.PART=** arrive =PFV2 =PST
'His wife arrived.' (s_chck_jose)

c. *pei* *heãropë* ***e*** ***ha*** *hixurinɨ* [...]
pei *heãropë* ***e=*** ***ha=*** *hixu* *=ri* *=nɨ*
INDEF husband **DIF.PART=** **REL.PST=** angry =PFV1 =REL.PST
'After her husband had got mad [...]' (s_chck_arir)

d. *pei* *thuwëpë* ***e*** *huu* *xoaimama* .
pei *thuwëpë* ***e=*** *hu* *=u* *xoa* *=ima* *=ma*
INDEF wife **DIF.PART=** go =DYN afterwards =DIR.VEN =PST
'His wife came afterwards. (s_chck_arir).'

(96) a. *[kama]* ***a*** *thuwëpë* *maa* *paxio*
kama ***a=*** *thuwë* *=pë* *ma* *=o* *paxi* *=o*
3 **3SG=** woman =VBLZ not_exist =STV be obvious =STV
wei [...]
=wei
=NMLZ
'His wife does not exist [...]' (i.e. 'He does not have a wife') (n018_yari)

b. *[kama]* ***thëpë*** *thuwëpë* *noãmayuu*
kama ***thë=*** ***pë=*** *thuwë* *=pë* *noãma* *=yu* *=u*
3 **CLN.GNR=** **3PL=** woman =VBLZ protect =RECP =DYN
paxio [...]
paxi *=o*
be obvious =STV
'They evidently protect their women from each other (i.e. they are stingy about them)' (n003_hakimuwei)

c. *[kaho]* ***wamaki*** *thuwëpë* *noãmayu*
kaho ***wamaki=*** *thuwë=* *=pë* *noãma* *=yu* *=u*
2 **2PL=** woman =VBLZ protect =RECP =DYN
yaro [...]
=yaro
=CNJ.EXPLV

'Because you all protect your women from each other.' (i.e. 'you are stingy about them') (n003_hakimuwei)

The kinship term derived with *=pë* can even be in the ergative position of the clause, when it is the underlying agent of the event, taking the ergative morpheme *=nɨ*. The sentences in (97), which were extracted from spontaneous texts, illustrate this feature.

(97) a. *ĩhĩ tëhë* *pei* *thuwëpë* *eri**në*** *koã*
ĩhĩ *=tëhë* *pei* *thuwëpë* *=e* *=ri* ***=në*** *koã*
ANA =REL.PRS INDEF wife =DIF.PART =HON **=ERG** firewood
ãhasikɨ *pree* *ãriki* *tërihuruma* .
ãhasi= *kɨ=* *pree* *ãriki* *të* *=ri* *=huru* *=ma*
CLN:kindling wood= PL= also dry take =PFV1 =DIR.AND =PST

'Then his wife took with her the small pieces of dry firewood.' (s_chck_jose)

b. *pei* *heãropë* *eri**në*** *pixata* *a*
pei *heãropë* *=e* *=ri* ***=në*** *pixata* *a=*
INDEF husband =DIF.PART =HON **=ERG** ground 3SG=
poapëha [...] .
poa *=pë* *=ha*
plow, cut =NMLZ =OBL

'Where her husband was plowing the earth [...].' (s_chck_jose)

c. *ĩhĩ tëhë kama pei ayõpë **eni** kama*
*ĩhĩ =tëhë kama pei ayõpë =e **=ni** kama*
ANA =REL.PRS 3 INDEF older_brother =DIF.PART **=ERG** 3
heprapë e ora titia
heprapë e= ora= titi =a
brother DIF.PART= neck= insert =PFV.VWL
xoamakema .
xoa =ma =ki =ma
afterwards =CAUS =PFV2 =PST

'Then the older brother made his brother put on the T-shirt.' (s_tree_arir)

9.8. Summary and final remarks

In this chapter, I presented several valency- and diathesis-changing mechanisms found in YMA. These mechanisms reorganize the argument structure of the clause, most of the times also changing the number of arguments required by the verb. In all these mechanisms, a derivational marker or a combination of them characterizes the construction from a morphological perspective. In the Table 6, I present a summary of these markers, with the type of derivation associated with them and the types of verbs to which this derivational morpheme can be applied. As the last line of the table indicates, the derivation with *=pë*, which promotes the possessor to a core position, is the only non-verbal derivation among the valency- and voice-changing mechanisms, although it has a similar impact on argument structure of the clause in several contexts.

Table 6 - Valency- and voice-changing markers (Summary)

Markers	Type of derivation	Valency change	Type of word that can be derived with
=ma	Causative	+1	any verb
kãyõ=	Associative applicative	+1	intransitive verbs
napë= kãyo= (namo= kãyo=)	Goal/location applicative	+1	intransitive verbs
pihi= kãyo= (mihi= kãyo=)	'Content promoter/ container demoter '	0	any verb
(=a)=mu	Antipassive	-1	transitive verbs
=mu	Reflexive	-1	transitive verbs
(=ma)=mu	Reflexive-causative	-1	intransitive and transitive verbs
=yu	Reciprocal	-1	monotransitive and ditransitive verbs
=pë	Denominalization of possessed nouns/ promotion of possessor	0	alienable nouns

Several questions remain to be answered, such as the origin of each one of these markers and their development over time. Moreover, it is also important to have a clearer panorama of the semantic and lexical restrictions involved in each type of derivation with these morphemes, especially with the multifunctional intransitivizer *=mu*. This diachronic study allied with a lexical-semantic survey will possibly help us to better understand these derivations with *=mu* and more accurately predict the argument structure of the resulting constructions.

In the next chapter, we will move on to description of the multi-verbal clauses, i.e. clauses that display more than one verb in its predicate. We will see that the applicative morpheme *kãyo=* is required in one of those multi-verbal constructions: non-canonical depictive secondary predication.

10. Multi-verbal clauses

10.1. Introduction

In YMA, it is not uncommon for clauses to have more than one verb stem in their predicate but only one set of argument markers. Indeed, in our sample of 2011 clauses, 858 (42.7%) of them are of this type. This number does not correspond, nevertheless, to a single grammatical phenomenon in YMA. Rather, it concerns semantically and formally very diverse constructions, such as depictive secondary predication (1a), adverbial modification (1b), serialized verbs (1c), and some types of complementation (1d) and (1e). Note that the arguments are marked only once in the predicate (the argument indices in the verb are in bold).

DEPICTIVE SECONDARY PREDICATION (DSP)

(1) a. *Ararima ani xama **a** wĩte xëprarema* .
*Ararima =a =nɨ xama **a=** wĩte xë =pra =ri =ma*
Ararima =SG =ERG tapir **3SG=** be_fat kill =DRV =PFV$_1$ =PST
'Ararima killed a fat tapir.'

ADVERBIAL MODIFICATION

b. *Ararima ani xama **a** rope xëprarema*
*Ararima =a =nɨ xama **a=** rope xë =pra =ri =ma*
Ararima =SG =ERG tapir **3SG=** be_quick kill =DRV =PFV$_1$ =PST
'Ararima killed the tapir quickly (in a quick manner).'

SERIAL VERBS CONSTRUCTION (SVC)

c. *Kunathoi ani aho xaraka **a** hɨpɨa*
*kunathoi =a =nɨ aho xaraka **a=** hɨpɨ =a*
Kunathoi =SG =ERG 2POS arrow **3SG=** give =PFV.VWL
yapaa kõkema .
yapa =a kõ =ki =ma
be_back =PFV.VWL return_home =PFV$_2$ =PST

‘Kunathoi gave you your arrow back [again].’

COMPLEMENTATION I

d. *kihamɨ proro* ***ya*** ***pë*** *kiaɨ* *taarema* .
kihamɨ proro ***ya=*** ***pë=*** *kia* *=ɨ* *taa* *=ri* *=ma*
there miner **1SG=** **3PL=** work =DYN see =PFV$_1$ =PST
‘I saw miners working over there.’

COMPLEMENTATION II

e. *Tixopona* ***a*** *taamuu* *haari* .
tixopona ***a=*** *taa* *=mu* *=ɨ* *haari*
Tixopona **3SG=** see =INTRZ =DYN be_sick
‘Tixopona looks sick.’

The constructions above contrast with clearly biclausal ones, in which there is also more than one verb stem in the sentence, but two distinct and independently marked argument structures as well. The biclausal constructions in (2) have, in each clause, a different set of person indexing morphemes from Cluster B (in bold). These biclausal constructions, including all types of subordination and coordination, are beyond the scope of this study and will be described in detail in the future.

(2) a. ***ya*** *ohi* *makii* ***ya*** *kiãɨ* .
ya= *ohi* *ma=* *ki* *=i* ***ya=*** *kiã* *=ɨ*
1SG= be_hungry FOC.CONC= COP =REL **1SG=** work =DYN
‘Although hungry, I am working.’

b. *Kunathoi* ***a*** *roranɨ* ***a*** *yurimuu* .
kunathoi ***a=*** *ro* *=ranɨ* ***a=*** *yurimu* *=ɨ*
Kunathoi **3SG=** squat =REL.PRS **3SG=** fish =DYN
‘Kunathoi is fishing while squatting.’

c. *proro pëni oru* ***pë*** *torari wehi*
proro =pë =ni oru ***pë=*** *to =ra =ri =we* ***=hi***
miner =PL =ERG gold **3PL=** take =DISTR =PFV$_1$ =NMLZ **=3PL**
ya thë *taarema* .
ya= ***thë=*** *taa =ri =ma*
1SG= **CLN.GNR=** see =PFV$_1$ =PST
'I saw the miners extracting gold.'

In this chapter, the expression *multi-verbal clause* is an umbrella and *ad hoc* term to refer to very different phenomena in the language: unlike the sentences in (2), all clauses in (1) are multi-verbal clauses, . To include such distinct constructions under the same analytic category is justified by of their shared formal properties already pointed out– i.e. they all have more than one verb stem and only one full set of argument marking and TAME morphemes. In some cases, the sentences are therefore morphosyntactically ambiguous. The pair of examples in (3) illustrates the potential ambiguity that multi-verbal clauses can produce: both sentences have the same morphosyntactic structure and lexical components. As suggested by the translation, (3a) is secondary predication, in which the main verb is *kõo* 'to leave/to go back' and *ohi* 'to be hungry' is a simultaneous but independent predicate (i.e. 'I am leaving, and I am hungry'). The sentence in (3b) is a serial verb construction: the main predicate is *ohi* 'to be hungry', and the verb stem *kõo* only adds an aspectual/adverbial meaning 'again' to the main event, not conveying an actual independent predicate.

(3) a. *ya ohi kõo* .
ya= ohi kõ =o
1SG= be_hungry return_home =STV
'I am leaving/going back home hungry.'

b. *ya ohi kõo* .
ya= ohi kõ =o
1SG= be_hungry again =STV
'I am hungry again.'

Example (4) is another instance of polysemy in multi-verbal clauses.The first one, in (4a), reads as a motion with purpose construction: the main verb is a motion verb (*yapaaɨ* 'to return'), complemented by another predicate encoding the action carried out after the motion. The complement predicate is usually perceived as the aim of the motion predicate. By contrast, the translation of the example in (4b) shows that the same sentence can still refer to completely different event, in which motion is not necessarily involved. The sentence in (4b) may refer, for instance, to a context in which Ararima started working again in his garden after a brief pause just sitting down on the ground on the same spot where he was working before. This is a serial verb construction (SVC) which has *kiaɨ* 'to work' as the main predicate, while *yapaaɨ* 'to return' is not participant- but event-oriented, only adding an aspectual meaning of 'repeated instance' to the event described by the main predicate.

(4) a. *Ararima a kiaɨ yapaaɨ .*
Ararima a= kia =ɨ yapa =a =ɨ
Ararima 3SG= work =DYN be_back =DRV =DYN
'Ararima is returning to work. (motion with purpose).'

b. *Ararima a kiaɨ yapaaɨ .*
Ararima a= kia =ɨ yapa =a =ɨ
Ararima 3SG= work =DYN be_back =DRV =DYN
'Ararima is back to work.' (SVC)

These ambiguities should not give the false impression, nevertheless, that these multi-verbal constructions are indistinguishable in YMA. Quite on the contrary, we are going to see in this chapter that these polysemous examples are incidental and restricted to just a few aspectual contexts (namely imperfective) and only attested with very few verb stem combinations. The constructions subsumed under the term *multi-verbal clauses* are indeed very distinct constructions in YMA, not only from a semantic point of view but also, and most importantly, from a formal perspective. In order to better understand their similarities and differences, I decided to analyze them all in the same chapter. To make the characterization comparable, I chose a set of

common parameters to be checked in each multi-verbal clause. Some of these parameters are related to the criteria presented by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) to identify a genuine depictive secondary predication (DSP) in any language, which turned out to be also helpful, at least in YMA, to characterize other types of constructions. Additional parameters were still required,to distinguish all structures in the language. In section §10.2 I will refer specifically to Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann's criteria when discussing depictive secondary predicates. The parameters examined in all constructions are the following:

- The order of the verbs in each construction (V_1 vs. V_2; V_{matrix} vs. $V_{complement}$...);
- The types of verb stem that can take part in them (attributive, positional or dynamic stems) and the valency of these verb stems;
- The arguments that can control the constructions (ergative, absolutive or oblique);
- The independence of each verb stem/predicate in the constructions (whether an adjunct, co-predication, complex predication...);
- The semantic orientation of the verb stem/predicate (participant or event oriented);
- The semantic change patterns, if any, of each verb stem type in the complex construction.

The chapter will begin with the description of structures with secondary predication in section §10.2. In §10.2.1, I examine the typological criteria presented by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) to identify depictive secondary predication. I will show that in YMA only secondary predicates with attributive stems comply with them entirely. Moreover, I will show in §10.2.2. that there is another multi-verbal construction in YMA which is also a co-predication with depictive semantics, even though it does not fully match the criteria from a formal point of view. Now following Aissen and Zavala (2010: 29), I will consider this other construction the non-canonical depictive secondary predication construction in YMA.

In section §10.3 I will deal with constructions with adverbial modification, showing how they differ from depictive predication.

We will see in §10.4 that serial verbs constructions are also able to express typically adverbial meanings such as intensity. I will show, nevertheless, that serial verbs constructions are not only formally quite distinct from truly adverbial constructions but also convey meanings that adverbs are not able to in YMA. Section §10.4.1 describea the morphosyntactic aspects involved in the serial verbs construction while section §10.4.2 discusses the meanings conveyed by SVCs, comparing the semantics of the verb in the series and as a sole verb.

In §10.5 some types of highly integrated complementation constructions will be described. We will see that one of these constructions have interestingly inverted orders of matrix and complement verbs. The structures described in §10.5.1 to §10.5.3 have the complement verb before the matrix while the construction in §10.5.4 positions the verbs the other way around.

Finally, in §10.6, I will summarize the differences and similarities between all types of multi-verbal clauses and, in §10.7, present some final remarks on the subject.

10.2. Secondary predication

10.2.1. Canonical depictive secondary predicates

In this section, I will identify the depictive construction as defined by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004). According to these authors, a canonical depictive secondary predication (canonical DSP) must comply with the following criteria (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann, 2004: 77-78):

i. "It contains two separate predicative elements, the main predicate and the depictive, where the state of affairs expressed by the depictive holds within the time frame of the eventuality expressed by the main predicate.
ii. The depictive is obligatorily controlled, i.e., there exists a formal relation to one participant of the main predicate, the controller,

which is usually interpreted as a predicative relationship (i.e., the depictive predicates an eventuality of the controller). The controller is not expressed separately as an argument of the depictive.

iii. The depictive makes a predication about its controller which is at least in part independent of the predication conveyed by the main predicate, i.e., the depictive does not form a complex or periphrastic predicate with the main predicate.

iv. The depictive is not an argument of the main predicate, i.e., it is not obligatory.

v. The depictive does not form a low-level constituent with the controller, i.e., it does not function as a modifier of the controller.

vi. The depictive is non-finite (to be understood as not marked for tense or mood categories), or the dependency of the depictive on the main predicate is indicated in other formal ways.

vii. The depictive is part of the same prosodic unit as the main predicate."

Having in mind only the criteria i., and ii., I selected from our corpus four examples of clauses that seemed candidates for depictive secondary predication constructions (5). Those candidate clauses had at least two verb stems in their predicate and only one set of morphemes from Cluster B, which automatically excluded loosely integrated biclausal constructions, as the one illustrated in (2). Moreover, as required by the criteria, those clauses had to express two separate but co-temporal predicates (including here attributive predicates). I believe that the criterion vii. is irrelevant in YMA since all verbs in multi-verbal clauses seem to be part of the same prosodic unit.

The selected clauses are in (5). In (5a), the two predicates are expressed by the verb stems *hu* 'to go' and *taa* 'to see', being the intransitive subject of *hu* 'to go' the same transitive object of *taa* 'to see'. In (5b), we have the same coincidence between the subject of the intransitive verb *wakë* 'to be ripe' and the object of the transitive *hatëtëpu* 'to keep in the pocket.' The sentences in (5c) and (5d) exhibit only intransitive verbs, and there is also overlap between the arguments of the verbs, i.e.

the same subject controls both predicates. In (5c) the subject of *taamu* ‘to seem/to look like’ is the same of *totihi* ‘to be good, nice,' while in (5d) the intransitive verbs *rërë* ‘to run’ and *ɨkɨ* ‘to cry’ also share the same subject.

(5) a. *yamakɨ huu taari wei* [...]
yamakɨ= hu =ɨ taa =ri =wei
1PL= go =DYN see =PFV$_1$ =NMLZ
‘[When] he saw us going [...]’ (PDYP_A_06_07)

b. *paho anɨ paixima kɨkɨ wakë*
paho =a =nɨ paixima kɨkɨ= wakë
mouse =SG =ERG esp. banana CLN:collective= be_ripe
hatëtëpoma .
hatëtëpo =ma
keep_in_the_pocket =PST
‘The mouse kept ripe bananas [in his pocket/belt].’ (s_ms09_alfr)

c. *kama xapuri thëpë taamuu totihi* .
kama xapuri thë= pë= taa =mu =ɨ totihi
3 shaman CLN.GNR= 3PL= see =INTRZ =DYN be_good
‘The shamanic spirits seem handsome.’ (PDYP_MIC_A_07_19)

d. *a pata nomaɨ kãyo huimaɨ*
a= pata noma =ɨ kãyo= hu =ima =ɨ
3SG= elder die; be_drunk =DYN APPL= go =DIR.VEN =DYN
wei [...]
=wei
=NMLZ
‘He came drunk.’ (PDYP_A_06_07)

Criterion i. rules out as secondary predication constructions candidates non-simultaneous predicates such as motion with purpose constructions, like in (4a) above or (6) below. In these constructions, the motion predicate - *yapaɨ* ‘to return’ in (4a)

and *huimaɨ* - 'to come' in (6) – logically precedes the purpose predicate – *kiaɨ* 'to work' and *koaɨ*, respectively.

(6) *pei thuwëpë eniɨ ahãsikiɨ pree*
pei thuwëpë =e =niɨ ahãsi= kiɨ= pree
INDEF wife =DIF.PART =ERG CLN:kindling wood= 3PL= also
koama huimama
kõa =ma hu =ima =ma
take =LINK go =DIR.VEN =PST
'The woman also came to take the pieces of firewood.' (s_chck_suka).

Criterion i. also excludes SVCs such as (3b) and (4b) above or (7) below, for not containing two actually separate predicates. We will see in §10.4 that SVCs in YMA are of the asymmetric type (Aikhenvald, 2006: 22), i.e. they denote a *single* event described by one of the verbs in the series (called *major verb*), which also determines the overall argument structure and valency of the construction. The other verbs in the series (the *minor verbs* or *coverbs*) do not convey actual predicates themselves, but only "provide a modificational specification" (Aikhenvald, 2006: 22). In YMA, the major verb is always in the first position in the string. The translations of the sentences in (3b) and (7) seem to confirm this analysis.

(7) *pei thuwëpë erĩ pree waroa*
pei thuwëpë e= rĩ= pree waro =a
INDEF wife DIF.PART= HON= also arrive =PFV.VWL
hetukema .
hetu =ki =ma
lay_above =PFV2 =PST
'[...] his wife 'for her part' also arrived.' (s_chck_cesa)

SVCs as in (7) and (3b) are not DSP for they do not comply with criterion iii either. Minor verbs of SVCs are not independent of the complex predicate they form with the main verb. Even though most of the minor verbs in YMA can appear alone as the head of a predicate, as in (8), their meaning often differs from their use as minor

verbs. We have already mentioned that the verb stem *kõo* ‘to return home’ acquires the sense of ‘repeated instance’ when used as a minor verb. The minor verb in (7) is *hetu* and means ‘also’ in this context; when employed as the main positional verb, nevertheless, it means ‘to be above something’, frequently used to describe a situation in which two hammocks are tied one above one another, as in (8).

(8) *Ararima eha* *ipa* *rakama* *thuku*
Ararima *=e* *=ha* *ipa* *rakama* *thuku=*
Ararima =DIF.PART =OBL 1POS hammock CLN:hammock=
hetua .
hetu *=a*
lay_above =POST
‘My hammock is [tied] above Ararima’s.’

By criterion iv, two of the constructions in (5) should also be ruled out as not being DSP. This criterion says that the depictive secondary predication is not an argument of the main predicate. In the sentences (5a) and (5c) the verbs *huu* ‘to go’ and *totihi* ‘to be good, nice’ are the complement arguments of the verbs *taaɨ* ‘to see’ and *taamuu* ‘to seem/to look like,' respectively. The sentences (5a) and (5c) are not, therefore, depictive secondary predication constructions but complement constructions, as the analyses above suggest. I will deal with these constructions in two different sections of this chapter since they are different types of complement constructions, placing their complements in different positions regarding the main predicate. Complement constructions as in (5a) will be described in §10.5.3, while the constructions like (5c) will be dealt with in §10.5.4. On the other hand, *nomaɨ* ‘to be drunk’ is not the complement of *huimaɨ* ‘to come’ in (5d) nor is the intransitive verb *wakë* ‘to be ripe’ the patient argument of *hatëtëpuu* ‘to keep in the pocket’ in (5b).

Criterion v. says that the secondary predicate is not a modifier of the controller. One could argue that by this criterion the constructions (5b) and (5d) should be excluded as DSPs since *wakë* ‘to be ripe’ and *nomaɨ* ‘to be drunk’ modify *koraha* ‘banana’ and *ipa uhuru* ‘my child.' This analysis is not correct, however. We saw in §4.3.6 that in order for attributive and dynamic stems to directly modify a noun within

the noun phrase, they need to undergo a previous derivation with *–rima* with attributive stems (such as *wakë* 'to be ripe'), and *=wei* with dynamic ones (such as *nomaɨ* 'to be drunk'). Furthermore, we also saw that, when acting as modifiers of the noun, these forms have to appear before the proclitics of cluster B, that is, outside the verbal phrase. Both the position in which *wakë* 'to be ripe' and *nomaɨ* 'to be drunk' appear in (5b) and (5d) and the morphology that they display indicate that those forms do not have a modification function.

At this point, only two constructions stood up our scrutiny and remain candidates for DSP constructions, the examples (5b) and (5d). The last remaining criterion (criterion vi.), nevertheless, excludes one of them. It states that the verbs acting as secondary predicates (P2) should not appear in their finite version, that is, with the inflectional morphemes of tense, aspect or mood. Indeed, the attributive stem *wakë* 'to be ripe' does not receive any morpheme in (5b), which was actually expected since it is an attributive stem. In that construction, the information concerning tense, aspect, and mood (and also polarity) of the clause is exclusively conveyed by the morphemes that appear in the main predicate. On the other hand, *nomaɨ* 'to be drunk' in (5d) has it is own tense-aspectual morpheme *=ɨ*, which is an imperfective morpheme, as we saw in Chapter 6. One could argue that this is not a real problem since the general aspect of the clause in (5d) is also imperfective. However, even when the main predicate is marked for perfectiveness in constructions similar to (5d), the verb functioning as P2 is always inflected with the dynamic vowel, as the example in (9) shows.

(9) *xama ya hërëɨ kãyo xëprarema .*
xama ya= hërë =ɨ kãyo= xë =pra =ri =ma
tapir 1SG= swim =DYN APPL= beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 =PST
'I killed the tapir [while it was] swimming.'

Thus according to Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann, only the construction in (5b) is a true DSP. I will claim, nevertheless, that both (5b) and (5d) are DSP constructions in YMA. The two constructions differ evidently in that in (5b) the two predicates are merely juxtaposed without any morpheme intervening between them

while in (5d) the P2 has the dynamic vowel =*i* and the main predicate is derived with the morpheme *kãyo*=, used in the applicative constructions of the language, as we saw in Chapter 9 (§9.5.4). Construction (5d) also does not comply with one of the criteria postulated by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann.

Following Aissen and Zavala (2010: 29), who found similar situations in Mesoamerican languages, particularly among the Mayan varieties, I will consider the construction in (5b) the canonical construction while sentences such as (5d) will be regarded as the non-canonical DSP construction of the language. The greater level of markedness of the construction (5d) is also an indication that this is not the canonical one. This latter construction will be described in the next section (§10.2.2.) In the remaining part of this section, I will be concerned with the formal and semantic properties of the canonical DSP. I will begin presenting a representation of the morphosyntactic structure of this construction in Schema 10.1.

Schema 10.1 – Morphosyntactic structure of the canonical DSP

$$[NP_{ERG}]\ \ NP_{ABS}\ \text{Cluster B=}V2_{attributive}\ V1\ \text{=Cluster C}$$

As pointed out above, only attributive stems can function as V2 of the construction of the Schema 10.1. Hence the range of meanings that P2 can convey in the canonical DSP is the same as the attributive stems discussed in §5.4.1. The only exception is some attributive stems that convey categories of value (good, bad, correct), strength (strong or weak) and velocity (fast and slow): they may get an adverbial reading in multi-verbal clauses (see §10.3). Below I present two instances of such a construction, the first (10a) using *kohipë* 'to be strong' as the secondary verb of the clause, and the second (10b) with *rope* 'to be quick' in the same position. Note that in both examples the attribution is event-oriented and does not refer to an argument of the clause. I would not say, nevertheless, that the DSP construction itself imposes any sort of semantic restriction to these stems to be the P2. Indeed, the speakers confirm that the constructions in (10) may still be read as DSP with the meaning 'I am strong and want to speak out' and 'They took the fast ones,' respectively, even though it was clearly not the case in those examples.

(10) a. *kami yaã kohipë haɨ pihio .*
kami ya ã= kohipë ha =ɨ pihi =o
1 1SG sound= be_strong pass_through =DYN will =STV
'I want to speak strongly.' (m003_manu_gari)

b. *pë rope kõremahe .*
pë= rope kõ =ri =ma =he
3PL= be_quick take =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'They took them quickly.' (m004_paya_gari)

Another bit of evidence that the constructions in (10) can potentially be read as DSP is that we do find instances of multi-verbal clauses in our corpus where this type of attributive stems (that express concepts of value, strength, and velocity) appears as a genuine P2, as in (11). We still have to investigate whether there is any prosodic difference between the two cases, though. As far as I can establish, the lexical context of the clause (i.e. the verb items that take part in the construction either as a main or secondary verb) plays the major role in indicating which reading is the adequate one.

(11) *raa yama sihipë kohipë tharari !*
raa yama= sihi= pë= kohipë tha =ra =ri
bow 1PL= CLN:bow= 3PL= be_strong do; make =DISTR =PFV1
'We will make strong arrows!' (n015_krukunari)

In any event, when the construction is indeed a DSP, the absolutive argument of the clause is always the controlling argument of the P2, i.e. the attribution predicated by the attributive stem always refers to the absolutive argument of the clause. When the main predicate is intransitive the sole argument of the clause is, therefore, the subject of both predications, as in the examples in (12).

(12) a. *hei apiama yaa hote hupaɨ pihioimi .*
hei apiama ya= a= hote hupa =ɨ pihi =o =imi
this airplane 1SG= 3SG= shabby touch =DYN will =STV =NEG
'I don't want to touch this old airplane [I will get sick].' (PDYP_A_01_40)

b. *[paho] a marixi rakɨoti tëhë* [...]
paho a= mãrixi rakɨ =o =ti =tëhë
mouse 3SG= sleepy lean =STV =DUR =REL.PRS
'When the mouse was leaning asleep [...]' (s_ms10_marc)

When the main verb is transitive (or ditransitive), the subject of the depictive predications always coincides with the object of the main predicate. That is, the subject/agent of (di)transitive verbs, which syntactically is the ergative argument of the clause, never controls the depictive predication. Example (13shows secondary predication constructions with main transitive verb .

(13) a. *pei thuwëpë enɨ hanakɨ ãriki*
pei thuwëpë =e =nɨ hanakɨ= ãriki
INDEF wife =DIF.PART =ERG CLN:leaf= dry
kërarɨnɨ [...]
kë =ra =ri =nɨ
break =DISTR =PFV$_1$ =REL.PST
'His wife breaking the dry leaves [...]' (s_chck_hoax)

b. *thëkɨ pesi kõa*
thë= kɨ= pesi kõa =a
CLN.GNR= PL= package take =PFV.VWL
kõretayoma .
kõ =ri =tayo =ma
again =PFV$_1$ =LOC:a_bit_faraway =PST
'(She) went there to bring the wrapped thing.' (s_chck_hoax)

Some constructions are syntactically ambiguous with respect to their status as DSP or complementation constuctions. This ambiguity is particularly frequent with transitive sensorial verbs such as *taaɨ* 'to see' and *hĩrii* 'to hear,' and due to the absolutive alignment of secondary predication. The examples in (14) below illustrate this situation.

(14) a. *ĩhĩ ayõkɨrĩ yãmi taa nɨ*
ĩhĩ ayõ kɨ rĩ= yãmi taa nɨ=
ANA CLN:firewood PL HON= be_few see V.PTC=
wãyariha [...]
wãya =ri =ha
distressed =PFV$_1$ =OBL

'And for annoyingly seeing [that] the pieces of firewood [were] few [...]' or 'And for annoyingly seeing the few pieces of firewood [...]' (s_chck_cesa)

b. *ĩhĩ tëhë thëkɨrĩ mii taarema* .
ĩhĩ =tëhë thë kɨ= rĩ= mii taa =ri =ma
ANA =REL.PRS CLN.GNR PL= HON= not_be see =PFV$_1$ =PST

'And then (he+REV) saw [that] they [were] missing' or 'And then (he+REV) saw them missing.' (s_chck_cesa)

On the one hand, we can be sure that not only the secondary predication reading is possible for the other types of verb stems (and not only attributive) that can take part in this construction as a V_{comp}. In (15a), we have an instance of a positional verb functioning as head of the complement predicate, and in (15b) we have an example of a dynamic verb in that position.

(15) a. *kamixa kɨkɨ araa taarema maɨka*
kamixa kɨkɨ= ara =a taa =ri =ma maɨka
cloth CLN:fabric= be_on_sth =POST see =PFV$_1$ =PST mango
hiha .
=hi =ha
=CLN:tree =OBL

'[He] saw the jacket laying on the mango tree.' (s_tree_alf)

b. *thuwë thëpëha pisima wa kɨkɨ yai*
thuwë thë =pë =ha pisima wa= kɨkɨ= yai
woman CLN.GNR =PL =OBL loin-cloth 2SG= CLN:fabric= true
yarepuu taari wei [...]
yarepu =ɨ taa =ri =wei
wear =DYN see =PFV$_1$ =NMLZ
'[When] you really (i.e. first) saw the women wearing loin-cloths.'
(PDYP_A_09_03)

We know the examples in (15b) are not DSPs for positional stems, such as *araa* 'to be lying', and dynamic stems, like *yarepuu* 'to wear' cannot be head of a canonical depictive secondary predication. The examples in (16) with an intransitive verb as the main predicate are not grammatical.

(16) a. * *Ararima a araa mio .*
Ararima a= ara =a mi =o
Ararima 3SG= be_on_sth =POST sleep =STV
'Ararima is sleeping [while] laying [on the bed].'

b. * *thuë thëpënɨ pisima kɨkɨ*
thuë =thë =pë =nɨ pisima kɨkɨ=
woman =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG loin-cloth CLN:fabric=
yarepuu heri he .
yarepu =ɨ heri =he
wear =DYN brother-in-law =3PL
'The women are singing [while] wearing loin cloths.'

On the other hand, we can be sure that the examples in (14) can also be read as DSP constructions, for the non-canonical construction is also possible in this context. As we will see in §10.2.2, only dynamic verbs can be the head of non-canonical construction with the help of the applicative marker *kãyo=*. Example (15b), which is clearly a complementation construction as I explained above, can be restated as a DSP construction, as in (17).

(17) *thuwë thëpëha pisima wa kɨkɨ yai*
thuwë =thë =pë =ha pisima wa= kɨkɨ= yai
woman CLN.GNR =PL =OBL loin-cloth 2SG= CLN:fabric= true
yarepuu kãyo taari wei [...]
yarepo =ɨ kãyo= taa =ri =wei
wear =DYN APPL= see =PFV$_1$ =NMLZ
'[When] you really (i.e. first) saw the women wearing cotton [loin-cloth].'

Before we move on to the description of the non-canonical construction, which has a dynamic verb as the P2, I would like to contrast that construction with examples like (18), in which a dynamic verb (*manɨɨ* 'to chop') also appears to be the P2. Note nonetheless that this verb is not dynamic in (18), but rather derived with *=no* and with a resultative meaning. Thus the P2 of the construction is not a dynamic verb but a derived attributive stem.

(18) *ayõkɨ manɨno hiraa wei* [...]
ayõ= kɨ= manɨ =no hira =o =wei
CLN:firewood= 3PL= cut =RESULT transport =STV =NMLZ
'Carrying/transporting [she] the chopped firewood [...]' (s_chck_marc)

10.2.2. Non-canonical depictive secondary predicates

To be the head of a DSP, dynamic stems require the main predicate to be derived with proclitic *kayo=* (the same element is used in applicative constructions), as in example (19).

(19) *Ararima a amoamuu kãyo yurimoma* .
Ararima a= amoamu =ɨ kãyo= yurimo =ma
Ararima 3SG= sing =DYN APPL= fish =PST
'Ararima fished singing.'

This type of predicate falls under the following general schema:

Schema 10.2 – Morphosyntactic structure of non-canonical DSP

[ERG] ABS Cluster B= $V2_{dynamic}$ =*ɨ* *kãyo*=V1 =Cluster C

Only intransitive dynamic stems can occupy the position of V_2 in this construction. Transitive dynamic stems and all remaining types of verb stems require multi-clausal constructions to convey simultaneity with another predicate. As we can see by the examples below, which are all ungrammatical, neither irregular (20a), nor positional (20b), nor attributive stems (20c) can be the head of a non-canonical depictive secondary predicate. In the hypothetical examples in (20), I am using the basic morphology associated with each type of stem (i.e. =*o* for irregular, =*a* for positional and no morpheme with attributive stems) but these sentences would also be ungrammatical if I had employed the dynamic vowel =*ɨ* instead, as indicated in Schema 10.2.

IRREGULAR

(20) a. * *Ararima a mio kãyo tëkëoma* .
Ararima a= mi =o kãyo= tëkë =o =ma
Ararima 3SG= sleep =STV APPL= sit =STV =PST
'Ararima slept [while] sitting.'

POSITIONAL

b. * *Ararima a tëkëa kãyo yurimoma* .
Ararima a= tëkë =a kãyo= yurimo =ma
Ararima 3SG= sit =POST APPL= fish =PST
'Ararima fished [while] sitting.'

ATTRIBUTIVE

c. * *Ararima a ohi kãyo tëkëoma* .
Ararima a= ohi kãyo= tëkë =o =ma
Ararima 3SG= be_hungry APPL= sit =STV =PST
'Ararima was hungry [while] sitting.'

To convey the meaning intended in (20), we would need two clauses for each sentence in (20a) and (20b), and the canonical construction of DSP for (20c). In (21a), I present one grammatical way of expressing the example (20b), and the grammatically acceptable version of (20c) in example (21b).

(21) a. *Ararima a tëkërani , a yurimoma .*
Ararima a= tëkë =ranɨ a= yurimu =ma
Ararima 3SG= stand_up =REL.PRS 3SG= fish =PST
'While sitting, Ararima fished'

b. *Ararima a ohi tëkëoma .*
Ararima a= ohi tëkë =o =ma
Ararima 3SG= be_hungry sit =STV =PST
'Ararima was hungry [while] sitting.'

Similarly to what happens in the canonical construction, the controller of the P2 is an argument of the main predicate in the non-canonical DSP and it also has an absolutive alignment, that is, it is either the subject when the main intransitive predicate, as in (22), or the patient of a transitive, as in (22).

(22) a. *Ararima a nasi kei kãyo pirɨoma .*
Ararima a= nasi= ke =ɨ kãyo= pirɨ =o =ma
Ararima 3SG= urine= fall =DYN APPL= lie =STV =PST
'Ararima peed laying on the hammock.' (i.e. 'He peed when was asleep')

b. *tũruamotima ya a kei kãyo huwërema .*
tũrũamotima ya a= ke =ɨ kãyo= huwë =ri =ma
computer 1SG 3SG= fall =DYN APPL= grab =PFV1 =PST
'I caught the computer [when it was] falling.'

There is an alternative construction in our corpus for the non-canonical DSP. In this other construction, the dynamic verb appears with the linking morpheme *=ma* instead of the dynamic vowel, as in (23).

(23) *[ipa uhuru] a ĩkɨma kãyo rërëimama kami*
ipa uhuru a= ĩkɨ =ma kãyo= rërë =ima =ma kami
1POS child 3SG= cry =LINK APPL= run =DIR.VEN =PST 1 *yahamɨ* .
=ya =hamɨ
=1SG =OBL
'[And my son] ran crying towards me.' (PDYP_MIC_A_05_82)

The following schema would represent this second non-canonical DSP construction:

Schema 10.3 – Morphosyntactic structure of non-canonical DSP (alternative)

[ERG] ABS Cluster B= $V2_{dynamic}$=*ma* *kãyo*=V1 =Cluster C

Note that in this parallel construction, P2 is not marked for tense, aspect or mood and, in this sense, complies with criterion vi., which excluded the construction represented in Schema 10.2 as a DSP. Considering that this construction is still much more marked than the DSP with attributive stems, I will still regard it as the non-canonical.

The speakers do not report any semantic difference between the two possible ways of elaborating the non-canonical construction. So far, I did not identify any discursive or morphosyntactic context in which one of them is the only grammatical possibility. The role of the dialectal variation should still be investigated. According to my knowledge, the linking morpheme *=ma* is employed in only one other construction, namely in the complement of a motion predicate. Indeed, the only morpheme that prevents us from reading the example in (23) as a motion with purpose construction is the morpheme *kãyo=*. If it is suppressed, the sentence will become a regular motion with purpose complementation construction, as in (24).

(24) *[ipa uhuru] a ĩkɨma rërëimama kami*
ipa uhuru a= ĩkɨ =ma rërë =ima =ma kami
1POS child 3SG= cry =LINK run =DIR.VEN =PST 1
yahamɨ .
=ya =hamɨ
=1SG =OBL
'[And my son] ran towards me to cry.' (motion with purpose)

I will deal with this type of predicate in §10.5.1. In the next section, I will turn to the description of clauses with adverbial modification.

10.3. Adverbial modification

Adverbial modification constructions in YMA are multi-verbal clauses in which one of the verbal items modifies the whole "predication rather than assigning a specific property to one participant of the main predicate" (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann; 2004: 61). This verb item is always a subtype of attributive stem. As we saw in 10.2.1, this construction may be formally identical to a secondary predication. In (25), I present two more examples that show this resemblance. Note that *totihi* 'to be good' and *xaari* 'to be straight' are attributive stems and both are placed in the exact position of P2 in a DSP. We can only tell that these examples are adverbial modification constructions by the semantics of the lexemes[1].

(25) a. *Maria Teresa anɨ yamakɨ totihi hɨrɨmama .*
Maria Teresa =a =nɨ yamakɨ= totihi hɨrɨ =ma =ma
Maria Teresa =SG =ERG 1PL= be_good heal =CAUS =PST
'Maria Teresa healed us nicely.' (PDYP_MIC_B_08_01)

[1] There could be a prosodic difference between a DSP and adverbial modification constructions, but I am not entirely sure about it.

b. *yamakɨ xaari kiãɨ .*
yamakɨ= xaari kiã =ɨ
1PL= straight work =DYN
'We work correctly.' (m007_geni_kona)

Nevertheless, when an attributive stem is functioning as an adverbial, it acquires greater mobility within the clause. The lexical items *totihi* 'to be good' and *xaari* 'to be straight' of (25) could have been placed, for instance, after the main predicate and the clause would still have the same meaning. In (26), I present a pair of examples that illustrate these two alternative positions of the adverbial word. Note that in (26a) the verb stem *yãnikɨ* 'to be slow' appears after the main predicate, while in (26b) it precedes it.

(26) a. *[waika] thëpëã pree*
waika thë= pë= ã= pree
Waika person CLN.GNR= 3PL= sound= also
haɨ ***yãnikɨ*** .
ha =ɨ ***yãnikɨ***
pass_through =DYN **slow**
'The Waika people also speak slow(ly).' (PDYP_B_07_06)

b. *pë* ***yãnikɨ*** *hiraa kõpii .*
pë= yãnikɨ hira =o kõ =pi
3PL= **slow** transport =STV return_home =PFV3
'They slowly transported themselves again.' (n002_titikiki)

Interestingly enough, several examples in our corpus of these adverbial words are being used even outside the borders of the verbal phrase. As I postulated in §3.5, the verbal phrase comprises everything in between and including the proclitics of the Cluster B and the enclitics of Cluster C. The examples in (27) illustrate this usage. In this case, the adverb is clearly being underlined by a prosodic stress.

(27) a. *totihi thëpë wamonɨ* [...]
totihi thë= pë= wamu =nɨ
be_good CLN.GNR= 3PL= have_sex =REL.PST
'Having [they] sex nicely [...]' (n045_xuwe)

b. *xaari kami yanɨ ya pë noa thaɨ* .
xaari kami =ya =nɨ ya= pë= noa= tha =ɨ
straight 1 =1SG =ERG 1SG= 3PL= V.PTC= talk =DYN
'I advise them correctly.' (m007_geni_kona)

We will see in §10.4.1. that SVCs may resemble constructions with adverbial modification for serialized verbs also typically convey adverbial meanings. Moreover, all the lexical items that can function as adverbs can also be used as minor verbs in SVCs. In some tense and aspectual contexts, the two constructions are also indistinguishable. I will explain the reasons for this formal and semantic neutralization in the next section.

10.4. Serial verb constructions (SVCs)

Serial verb constructions (SVC) are the most productive type of clause with more than one verb in YMA. Among the 2011 clauses of our sample, 38.3% of them have at least one serial verb in it and 4.5% display two or more. Furthermore, a great diversity of verbs (over 30 different verb stems) was found in the serial position (see Table 10.2 below).

The YMA SVC conveys one simple predicate expressed by the main verb (always the first one of the series) which is followed by one or more minor verbs that add grammatical meanings to that main predicate. In (28), we have a example of such a construction.

(28) *MDM pë kiãɨ he yatio xoama*
MDM pë= kiã =ɨ he= yati =o xoa =o =ma
MDM 3PL= work =DYN V.PTC= persist =STV continue =STV =PST

After that, the people from MDM (Médecins du Monde) continued to work. (PDYP_MIC_B_08_01)

Following Aikhenvald's typology, the YMA SVCs are of the asymmetrical type, in the sense "they consist of one verb from a relatively large, open, or otherwise unrestricted class, and another from a semantically or grammatically restricted (or closed) class." (Aikhenvald; 2006: 21). The YMA SVC resembles the asymmetrical SVCs described in Toqabaqita (Oceanic) by Lichtenberk (2006: 254-272) in several respects. It is important to mention that not all authors agree on considering such constructions as SVCs, precisely because of their semantic asymmetry. Haspelmath recently voiced this opposition stating the need for the "additional requirement that the verbs in a SVC must be INDEPENDENT VERBS i.e. they must be able to occur on their own without another verb" [emphasis is given by the author] (Haspelmath 2016: 303). Indeed, as we will see in 10.4.2, most minor verbs do not appear independently with the same meaning as the one displayed in SVCs. Haspelmath would probably call them coverbs or simply auxiliary verbs, just like *will* in English, in the sentence 'I will go to the party' (Haspelmath 2016: 303). The great difference between English auxiliaries and the YMA serial verbs is that the latter are much more diverse and can appear together with other serial verbs in a string of up to four verbs. In any event, it must be clear at this point that I am using the expression "serial verbs" in this study not as a "comparative concept" but as a "descriptive category" (Haspelmath 2010: 664) whose local meaning arises from the contrast with other grammatical categories of the language. In the next subsections, I will do precisely this, i.e. contrast SVCs with other similar constructions. I will discuss the formal (§10.4.1) and semantic (§10.4.2) properties that characterize this construction, highlighting the differences between this and other types of multi-verbal clauses in YMA.

10.4.1. Morphosyntax of SVCs

To provide elements for a discussion on the formal properties of SV, I present three examples of what I consider to be an SVC in the language in (29).

(29) a. *wama ãri **pairimaɨ** nõho .*

*wama= a= rĩ= **pairi** =ma =ɨ nõho*

2PL= SG= HON= **take part in** =CAUS =DYN be_subsequent

'You shall help her next (following her that had already helped you).' (PDYP_MIC_A_02_11)

b. *ɨhɨ tëhë pixataha una **kea***

*ɨhɨ =tëhë pixata =ha una= **ke** =a*

ANA =REL.PRS ground =OBL CLN:???= **fall** =PFV.VWL

kõmaki [...]

kõ =ma =ki

again =CAUS =PFV2

'Then [the mouse] makes it [the spiny fruit] fall on the ground again [...]' (s_ms10_alfr)

c. *hapa mahi kɨpë **niahuu***

*hapa mahi kɨpë= **nia** **=hu** =ɨ*

before much 3DU= **jump, spring** **=DRV** =DYN

parɨoma .

parɨ =o =ma

be_first =STV =PST

'They two first jumped.' (s_tree_marc)

From these examples, we can identify the first characteristic feature of the serial verb constructions. Different from secondary predication, which have the canonical position of V_2 (or P2) before V_1 (or P1), the order of the verbs in serial construction is V_1 V_2, that is, the main verb – in bold in (29) – precedes the minor verbs. Note that we identify V_1 not on semantic but on syntactic grounds, even though we will see in §10.4.2 that the semantics of the minor verbs (V_2, V_3,...) clearly tends to be bleached in the construction while the one of the main verb (V_1) remains unaltered. Syntactically, V1 is the verb that determines the overall valency and argument structure of the clause. The examples in (30) demonstrate the first position of V_1 (also

in bold). Note that the replacement of the intransitive verb *a* 'to go' of (30a) by the transitive *tha* 'to do, to make' in (30b) affects the valency of the clause, and that in (30b) there are two main arguments in the predicate. In SVCs, the verbs that go after the main verb never have this effect on the valency of the clause. Conversely, as we saw in §10.2, especially for the examples in (12) and (13), the verb that can affect the valency of the clause in a secondary predication construction is always in the second position in the string of verbs, following the order V_2 V_1 in those constructions.

(30) a. *e* ***a****a* *xeererahuruma* .
e= ***a*** *=a* *xeere* *=raa* *=huru* *=ma*
DIF.PART= **go** =PFV.VWL split, divide =PFV1 =DIR.AND =PST
'[He] went, splitting [from his wife].' (s_chck_marc)

b. *Õmama* *anɨ* *yamakɨ* ***tha****a*
Õmama *=a* *=nɨ* *yamakɨ=* ***tha*** *=a*
Õmama =SG =ERG 1PL= **do; make** =PFV.VWL
xeereki *wei* [...]
xeere *=ki* *=wei*
split, divide =PFV2 =NMLZ
'Õmama made us separately [...]' (PDYP_MIC_A_13_13)

We will see in §10.5.4 – considering that V_{matrix} is the main verb in complementation constructions – that only one complementation type displays a similar order of verbs, that is, V_{matrix} $V_{complement}$. All remaining complementation types display the inverse order, i.e. $V_{complement}$ V_{matrix}. We will see in that section that the criteria to determine which verb is the main verb in complementation constructions are differentfrom those used with serial verbs and secondary predication constructions, since in all complementation types both matrix and complement verbs can project a marked argument structure in the clause.

Another important formal feature of SVCs concerns the number of the verb stems that can take part in the construction. Secondary predication allows only one verb besides the main verb, and so do all complementation constructions, as we will

see in §10.5. On the other hand, serial verbs constructions do not seem to restrict the number of minor verbs in the predicate. In our corpus, we have examples of up to three coverbs after the main verb, as in (31).

(31) a. *pei xahukuhamɨ e nasi horea*
pei xahu =ku =hamɨ e= nasi= hore =a
INDEF thigh =PL =OBL DIF.PART= bladder= crawl =PFV.VWL
yapaa thaa komakema
yapa =a tha =a ko =ma =ki =ma
be_back =PFV.VWL put =PFV.VWL return_home =CAUS =PFV2 =PST
'[He] made the ball pass back again under the [other's] legs.' (s_ball_alfr)
(note: tapir's bladder = ball)

b. *e rërëɨ ahatuu mahia*
e= rërë =ɨ ahate =ɨ mahi =a
DIF.PART= run =DYN near =DYN much =POST
hetuimaɨ weinɨ [...]
hetu =ima =ɨ =wei =nɨ
lay_above =DIR.VEN =DYN =NMLZ =ERG
'[The woman] who? was running towards here and getting closer [...]'
(s_pear_kami)

Similarly to other multi-verbal clauses discussed in this chapter, clauses with serial verbs have more than one verb stem in the predicate but have only one set of argument markers. As we saw in §10.2 and §10.3, secondary predication and adverbial modification constructions also display only one set of tense and aspectual markers. Serial verbs constructions also have only one *full* set of tense and aspectual morphemes, which is hosted by the last coverb of the series. Nevertheless, and differently from the mentioned constructions, all non-final verbs in the serial verbal chain, including the main verb, have to host an aspectual marker, which always agrees with the general aspect of the clause. If the clause is marked for perfectiveness, for instance, as in the examples in (32), all verbs in the SVC that are not in the final position have to be inflected with the perfective vowel =*a* (in bold). This perfective

morpheme is exclusively used in SVCs. Note that the last minor verb of the string does not receive this morpheme but takes the regular perfective markers *=ri* or *=ki* (also in bold).

(32) a. *ai* *kɨkɨ* *hukë**a*** *kõra**ri*** [...]
ai *kɨkɨ=* *hëkë* ***=a*** *kõ* *=ra* ***=ri***
other CLN:collective= pick **=PFV.VWL** again =DISTR **=PFV1**
'Having picked them [pears] again [...]' (s_pear_alfr)

b.*wãrõkõxi* *una* *tire**a*** *yapa**a***
wãrõkõxi *una=* *tire* ***=a*** *yapa* ***=a***
sp._of_fruit CLN:???= be_high **=PFV.VWL** go_back **=PFV.VWL**
*kõma**rii*** [...]
kõ *=ma* ***=ri***
be_ again =CAUS **=PFV1**
'[the mice] Making the spiny fruit spring back again high [into the air] [...]' (s_ms10_alfr)

c. *a* *pree* *rërë**a*** *yapa**a***
a= *pree* *rërë* ***=a*** *yapa* ***=a***
3SG= also run **=PFV.VWL** be_back **=PFV.VWL**
*hetu**a*** *kõ**ke**ma*
hetu ***=a*** *kõ* ***=ki*** *=ma*
lay_above **=PFV.VWL** take **=PFV2** =PST
'[He] (for his side) also ran back again.' (s_ball_cesa)

Things get a little bit more complicated when it comes to clauses with imperfective reading. There are two possibilities for elaborating SVCs. The first one simply consists in each verb stem type in the series (both major and minor verbs) taking the class morpheme regularly according to the tense context or the independence of the clause. In present tense readings, for instance, dynamic stems receive *=ɨ* (33a), positional verbs take *=a* (33b), irregular stems take *=o* (33c), and

attributive stems do not take any maker (33d), as we saw in §5.3.1. In the examples below, the different types of minor verbs are in bold.

DYNAMIC

(33) a. *yamaki sautemuu **yapai** kõo*
*yamaki= sautemu =i **yapa** **=i** kõ =o*
1PL= work with health issues =DYN **be_back** **=DYN** again =STV
'Let's return working with health issues again.' (m007_geni_kona)

POSITIONAL

b. *ĩhĩni tëpë kiki pou*
ĩhĩ =ni tëpë kiki= po =i
ANA =ERG glass bead CLN:collective= hold =DYN
hetua .
hetu =a
lay_above =PFV.VWL
'That one also has glass beads.' (PDYP_MIC_A_07_19)

IRREGULAR

c. *yama thëpë thai **kõo** .*
*yama= thë= pë= tha =i **kõ** **=o***
1PL= CLN.GNR= 3PL= do; make =DYN **again** **=STV**
'We make them [the loin cloths] again.' (PDYP_MIC_A_02_11)

ATTRIBUTIVE

d. *ĩhĩ tëhë a hututupu **kohipë** [...]*
*ĩhĩ =tëhë a= hututu =pu =i **kohipë***
ANA =REL.PRS 3SG= clamp =CSVT =DYN **be_strong**
'Then [she] grabs it [the chicken] strongly [...]' (s_chck_marc_from_alfr2)

In both past imperfective contexts and dependent clauses, the non-final verbs in the SVC receive the same marking as they typically do in dependent clauses (see

§5.3.3). That is, the dynamic vowel takes *=ɨ* while all the remaining types take the stative vowel *=o*, as the examples in (34) show.

(34) a. *ɨhã Xokotha aha ya pirɨo kõoma .*
ɨhã Xokotha =a =ha ya= pirɨ =o kõ =o =ma
there Xokotha =SG =OBL 1SG= lie =STV again =STV =PST
'[Then] I lived there again in Xokatha village.' (PDYP_MIC_A_14_02)

b. *ĩhĩ yama thëpë mapramaɨ*
ĩhĩ yama= thë= pë= ma =pra =ma =ɨ
ANA 1PL= CLN.GNR= 3PL= not_exist =DRV =CAUS =DYN
yapaaɨ kõo pihio .
yapa =a =ɨ kõ =o pihi =o
be_back =DRV =DYN again =STV will =STV
'We want to make those things [Western-like hammocks] disappear back again' (PDYP_MIC̀_B_10_02)

c. *yamakɨ urihipë huëpomuu*
yamakɨ= urihi =pë huë =po =mu =ɨ
1PL= forest =VBLZ grab =PFV3 =INTRZ =DYN
kohipëo mahiõ pihio yaro [...]
kohipë =o mahi =o pihi =o =yaro
be_strong =STV much =STV will =STV =CNJ.EXPLV
'Because we want to hold/grab/grip our forest [i.e. protect it] very strongly [...]' (PDYP_MIC_A_01_43)

As regards the second possibility, which is available only when the major verb is either dynamic or irregular, the stative stem types (i.e. positional and attributive) that function as coverbs are derived as dynamic or irregular verbs, with the corresponding marker. In this context, the derivation in dynamic stems requires the morpheme *=a*, as in (35a), while the derivation in irregular stems is not overtly marked and the stative vowel *=o* is the only signal that a derivation happened, as in (35b). Note that both examples in (35) basically have the same lexical items and the

same syntactic function: *pihi kuu* ‘to think’ is the main verb in both sentences in which *hetu* ‘lay above; be also’ is the coverb.

(35) a. *hapai naha kami ya pihi pree kuu*
hapai =naha kami ya= pihi= pree ku =i̵
CAT =thereby 1 1SG= V.PTC:thought= also say =DYN
hetuai̵ .
hetu =a =i̵
lay_above =DRV =DYN
‘I also think the following.’ (m006_arok_mari)

b. *ya pihi pree kuu hetuo* .
ya= pihi= pree ku =i̵ hetu =o
1SG= APPL= also say =DYN lay_above =STV
‘I also think [that].’ (n004_morithue)

I still do not understand this variation. Is there any formal or semantic motivation for it or is it just a matter of dialectal differences or stylistic preferences of the speakers? In any event, I underline that it can be found with several other lexical items that appear as coverbs. In (36), I offer a pair of examples with *he yati* ‘persistently.' In (36a), this coverb is treated as an irregular verb while in (36b) is derived in a dynamic stem. Note that the main verb (*wã hai̵* ‘to speak’) is the same in both constructions.

(36) a. *kami yaã hai̵ he yatio* .
kami ya ã= ha =i̵ he= yati =o
1 1SG sound= speak =DYN V.PTC= persist =STV
‘I keep talking.’ (n035_kahikianoamai2)

b. *ai wamaki̵ ã hai̵ heyatiai̵*
ai wamaki̵= ã= ha =i̵ he= yati =a =i̵
other 2PL= sound= speak =DYN V.PTC= persist =DRV =DYN
‘Some of you keep talking (saying things).’ (m010_tibi_kona_02)

We also found some cases in our corpus in which the derivation in dynamic stems is made through the intransitivizer *=mu* instead of the dynamizer *=a*, as in the example in (37).

(37) *ya pataimatayu yaro , ĩhĩ ya kiãɨ*
ya= pata =imatayu =ɨ =yaro ĩhĩ ya= kiã =ɨ
1SG= big =PRG =DYN =CNJ.EXPLV ANA 1SG= work =DYN
*utiti**mu**u* [...]
utiti ***=mu*** *=ɨ*
be_weak **=INTRZ** =DYN
'Because I'm becoming old, I work weakly [...]' (PDYP_MIC_A_02_11)

In Table 10.1, I present a summary of the morphology that each type of verb stem takes in SVCs when it is not the ultimate verb. These morphemes appear both in main and minor verbs of the construction. The only exception is the last verb (always a minor verb), which takes the regular tense and aspectual morphology found in non-SVCs.

Table 10.1 – Summary of the SVC morphology

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>DYN</th><th>POST</th><th>ATTR</th><th>IRREG</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">imperfective present</td><td rowspan="3">=ɨ</td><td>=a</td><td>Ø</td><td rowspan="2">=o</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">=ai/=muu/=o</td></tr>
<tr><td>past imperfective/dependent</td><td colspan="3">=o</td></tr>
<tr><td>perfective</td><td colspan="4">=a</td></tr>
</table>

In the Schema 10.4, I present a visual representation of the structure of SVCs in the YMA. The abbreviation ASP indicates the aspectual vowel that every non-final verb stem of the string must take, according to the general aspect of the sentence.

Schema 10.4 – Morphosyntactic structure of SVCs

[ERG] ABS Cluster B= V1=ASP V2 =ASP... ...Vn =Cluster C

We will now move on to the discussion of the semantic aspects of SVCs in YMA.

10.4.2. Semantics of SVCs

One of the most distinctive features of SVCs in comparison with other multi-verbal predicates in YMA regards the semantic asymmetry between the main and the minor verbs. While the main verb always retains its literal or lexical meaning, the minor verbs that appear in the string often undergo significant semantic bleaching, losing their primitive lexical meaning to acquire a more grammatical one. The examples in (38) illustrate this. In (38a), we have verb *xoa* as the head of a predicate, with the meaning of 'to continue'. However, as a minor verb, it acquires the aspectual meaning 'still' in imperfective predicates, as in (38b), and 'afterwards' in predicates marked for perfectiveness, as (38c).

(38) a. *ĩhĩ hãyõkoroma a **xoa** makii*
*ĩhĩ hãyõkoroma a= **xoa** **=a** makii*
ANA axe 3SG= **continue** **=POST** CONCS
'Even though the axe continues [...]' (i.e. 'It exists.') (n011_yoasiyaxuru)

b. *kama pei xẽe exo kɨpë hote*
kama pei xẽe =e =xo kɨpë= hote
3 INDEF father-in-law =DIF.PART =ADD 3DU= shabby
praa **xoa** .
pra =a **xoa** **=a**
lie =POST **continue** **=POST**
'With the pilot (airplane's father-in-law), both still lay shabby on the ground.' (i.e. 'The decomposed corpses of two people still lay on the ground.') (PDYP_MIC_A_01_42)

c. *upë* *yɨpɨpu* *koimaɨ* *wei* ,
upë= *yɨpɨ* *=pu* *=ɨ* *kõ* *=ima* *=ɨ* *=wei*
CLN:liquid= lift =CSVT =DYN again =DIR.VEN =DYN =NMLZ
upë *tua* ***xoa****kema* .
upë= *tu* *=a* ***xoa*** *=ki* *=ma*
CLN:liquid= be over the fire =POST **continue** =PFV2 =PST
'The water that [she] carried back, she put it afterward on the fire.'
(s_chck_arir)

In (39) we can observe an interesting example of *xoa* being used twice in the same SVC, first as the main verb (in bold) in its literal meaning, and then as a serial verb with its more specific meaning.

(39) a. *heha* *a* *ixirayu* *wei* *a* ***xoa*** *xoa*
heha *a=* *ixi* *=rayu* *=wei* *a=* ***xoa*** **=a** *xoa* *=a*
here 3SG= burn =PFV1 =NMLZ 3SG= **continue** **=POST** still =POST
'The one who burned still continues here.' (i.e. 'The one who burned is still here.') (PDYP_MIC_A_01_42)

In (40), we have two examples that show the bleaching of the coverb. In this process, one semantic feature of the lexical meaning, such as the underlying directionality of verb *yapa(a)ɨ*, which literally means 'to return'/'to be back', as in (4a), is selected as its most relevant feature, while the remaining features are simply bleached out. In (40a), we can see that when *yapa(a)ɨ* is used as a SV, it means just 'back' (40a). (40b), we have an example with the verb of *pë(a)ɨ* , literally 'to appear', but it changes its meaning to 'suddenly,' 'accidentally' or 'without an apparent reason' when it occurs as a coverb in a SVC.

(40) a. *warõ ani thëki hoyaa*
warõ =a =ni thë= ki= hoya =a
man =SG =ERG CLN.GNR= PL= throw away =PFV.VWL
yaparema .
yapa =ri =ma
be_back =PFV1 =PST
'The man threw it back.' (s_chck_marc)

b. *ĩhĩ ya thãa hĩria*
ĩhĩ ya= thã= ã= hĩri =a
ANA 1SG= CLN.GNR= sound= hear =PFV.VWL
pëtarema .
pë =ta =ri =ma
appear =CEL =PFV1 =PST
'I heard that accidentally.' (PDYP_MIC_B_08_01)

As consequence of this bleaching, the minor verbs cannot be independent predicates. They only occur with the grammatical meanings described above in SVCs. When these forms appear as head of the predicate (i.e. independently), their meaning is always the lexical one.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that not all verbs display a significant change in their meaning when used as a coverb. Most of the coverbs that express spatial and attributive categories, for example, have a very similar meaning when used as a main verb. The verb *ni õhõtaai* means 'to suffer' when it is the head of the predicate, and 'in a suffering manner' when used as a coverb.

(41) a. *yamaki ni pree õhõtaama* .
yamaki= ni= pree õhõtaa =ma
1PL= V.PTC= also suffer =PST
'We also suffered.' (PDYP_MIC_A_02_11)

b. *ɨnaha* *thëpë* *kuu* *nɨ* *õhõtaaɨha*
ɨnaha *thë=* *pë=* *ku* *=ɨ* *nɨ=* *õhõtaa* *=ɨ* *=ha*
thereby CLN.GNR= 3PL= say =DYN V.PTC= suffer =DYN =OBL
[...]
'For they said [it] in a suffering manner.' (PDYP_MIC_A_02_11)

However, the main semantic difference between the two uses (as the main verb or a coverb) lies in the scope of the verb affectedness, i.e. on which component of the clause is being affected by the verb. While an absolutive argument is the affected constituent when the form is used as the main verb, the whole predicate is the scope of the modification when it appears as a coverb. In other words, the coverbs of SVCs are always event- and not participant-oriented. In this sense, SVCs resemble adverbial modifiers; their scope is also the predicate itself.

The resemblance between SVCs and adverbial modification does not stop here. Several coverbs also look like adverbial words as regards the meanings they add to the main predicate, which are typically adverbial in some cases, such as intensity (42a), spatial orientation, (42b), or the period of the day in which the event occurred (at night or in the morning), (42c).

(42) a. *a* *kiãɨ* *kohipëo* *wei* [...]
a= *kiã* *=ɨ* *kohipë* *=o* *=wei*
3SG= work =DYN be_strong =STV =NMLZ
'The one who works hard [...]' (m011_joan_tihi)

b. *ĩhĩ tëhë* *e* *waroa*
ĩhĩ *=tëhë* *e=* *waro* *=a*
ANA =REL.PRS DIF.PART= arrive =PFV.VWL
pëhëthë*kɨnɨ* [...]
pëhëthë *=kɨ* *=nɨ*
below =PFV2 =REL.PST
'The [other] arriving below [at the bottom of the tree] [...]'. (s_pear_marc)

c.	*a*	*xɨmɨa*		*henakema*			*makii*	[...]
	a=	*xɨmɨ*	*=a*	*hena*	*=ki*	*=ma*	*makii*	
	3SG=	send	=PFV.VWL	in the morning	=PFV2	=PST	CONCS	

‘Even though [he] sent her on the morning [...]’ (n007_nara)

Indeed, some of the coverbs can function as adverbial words as well, with the same formal properties. We saw in (26), the lexeme *yãnɨkɨ* ‘to be slow/calm’ being used as an adverb. The great freedom of this form within the clause is evidence of its categorization as an adverbial word. Nevertheless, when this word occurs after the main verb, as in (26a), it actually has an ambiguous status concerning its categorization and can be regarded either as an adverb or a coverb. Since all adverbial words are also attributive verbs, it was expected that *yanɨkɨ* would not receive any morpheme in that position if it was a SVC, i.e. when functioning as a coverb. We can be sure that this analysis is valid for examples such as in (43), where the clause has a perfective morphology. In this context, *yanɨkɨ* behaves exactly like any other minor verb in the final position of a SVC, i.e. it receives all the enclitics of cluster C, while the preceding verbs are only inflected with the perfective vowel *=a*. Thus there is a morphosyntactic and semantic ambiguity in imperfective multi-verbal constructions in which the secondary verb is an adverbial word. The imperfective construction can always be regarded either as an adverbial modification or a serial verb construction.

(43)	*a*	*kãyo*	*pɨrɨa*		*yãnɨkɨarioma*				.
	a=	*kãyo=*	*pɨrɨ*	*=a*	*yãnɨkɨ*	*=a*	*=rio*	*=ma*	
	3SG=	APPL=	lie	=PFV.VWL	slow	=DRV	=PFV1	=PST	

‘Then she settled down with him.’ (i.e. ‘They moved permanently to that place’) (n031_omamayesie1)

The range of meanings conveyed by SVs still includes the specification of the main predicate in relation to a previous predicate or a participant outside the clause. We saw in (38c) that the minor verb *xoa* means ‘afterwards’ when the clause is marked with a perfective morpheme. The minor verb *noho* ‘to be subsequent’ also indicates that the main predicate (either perfective or imperfective) was carried out as a

sequence of another predicate, but in this case, it requires the participant of the previous predicate to be different, such as in (44a). The verb *nomɨhɨ̃*, which literally means 'to replace, to exchange,' has a similar meaning, but in this case, it implies that the previous predicate was identical to the main predicate, i.e. it indicates that the new participant is replacing the previous one, like in (44b).

(44) a. *nãa ãri wama pë noã thaɨ̃ tëhë*
nãa a= rĩ= wama= pë= noã= tha =ɨ̃ =tëhë
my_mother SG= HON= 2PL= 3PL= V.PTC= talk =DYN =REL.PRS
uti naha pi pë kuu noho kupe
uti =naha pi= pë= ku =ɨ̃ noho ku =pe
INT.PRO =thereby FOC.INT= 3PL= say =DYN be_subsequent COP =PRE.HOD
?

'Mom, when you talked to them, what did they say then?'
(PDYP_MIC_A_06_06)

b. *Maria Teresa arĩnɨ̃ kami ya pree tëa*
Maria Teresa =a =rĩ =nɨ̃ kami ya= pree të =a
Maria Teresa =SG =HON =ERG 1 1SG= also take =PFV.VWL
nomɨhɨ̃a kõrema .
nomɨhɨ̃ =a kõ =ri =ma
exchange =PFV.VWL go_home =PFV1 =PST

'Maria Teresa also 'took' me [i.e. married me'].' (PDYP_MIC_B_08_01) (It implies that the speaker was married to a different person by the time Maria Teresa married him).

There are more verbs that express such relations. The verb *paa*, which literally means 'to debouch [river],' for instance, when used as a serial verb, indicates that the participant performed the main predicate when encountering another participant, as in (45a). On the other hand, the verb *hëa*, which literally means 'to remain, to be left,' conveys the idea that the main action was performed by the participant alone or after other participants had left, such as in (45b). The minor verb *huo* has this same basic

meaning but implies that the participants who left will not return soon or at all, like in (45c).

(45) a. *ĩhĩ eha kaxa a ixi totopuu*
ĩhĩ =e =ha kaxa a= ixi totopu =i̱
ANA =DIF.PART =OBL caterpillar 3SG= burn show =DYN
paamahe .
pa =o =ma =he
flow_in =STV =PST =3PL
'[They] showed the burned caterpillar to that one [when they encountered that one].' (wtx_iwa)

b. *pei thuwëpë e huu hëimai̱*
pei thuwëpë e= hu =i̱ hë =ima =i̱
INDEF wife DIF.PART= go =DYN remain =DIR.VEN =DYN
wei [...]
=wei
=NMLZ
'His wife coming alone [after he had left] [...]' (s_chck_marc)

c. *wamaki̱ urihipë noamio huo wei* [...]
wamaki̱= urihi =pë noami̱ =o hu =o =wei
2PL= forest =VBLZ self-protect =STV alone =STV =NMLZ
'You who are going to defend alone your forest [after I had died] [...]' (n055_kahikianoamai)

Some minor verbs still convey phasal aspect, such as terminative, as in (46a), and inceptive, as in (46b).

(46) a. *thëpë* *xina* *thaɨ*
thë= *pë=* *xina=* *tha* *=ɨ*
CLN.GNR= 3PL= tail= do; make =DYN
hurapraɨhe *tëhë*
hura *=pra* *=ɨ* *=he* *=tëhë*
finish =DRV =DYN =3PL =REL.PRS
'When they were about to finish making the tails (i.e., the loin cloths) [...]' (PDYP_MIC_06_06)

b. *kama* *ãrinë* *thëkɨrĩ* *hanɨɨ*
kama *=a* *=rĩ* *=në* *thë=* *kɨ=* *rĩ=* *hanɨ* *=ɨ*
3 =SG =HON =ERG CLN.GNR= PL= HON= cut =DYN
kuki *wei* [...]
ku *=ki* *=wei*
exist =PFV$_2$ =NMLZ
'[She] (+REV) starting to cut it (the food) [...]' (s_chck_hoax)

SVCs can also express polarity and possibility. While the use of the positional stem *maa* 'not to exist' as a serial verb gives negative polarity to the main predicate, such as in (47a), the verb *hathõo* indicates uncertainty on the part of the speaker (47b).

(47) a. *ya* *xëɨ* ***maa*** *he* *tëhë* , *ya*
ya= *xë* *=ɨ* ***ma*** ***=o*** *=he* *=tëhë* *ya=*
1SG= beat; kill =DYN **not_exist** **=STV** =3PL =REL.PRS 1SG=
nomaɨ ***maa*** *tëhë* [...]
noma *=ɨ* ***ma*** ***=o*** *=tëhë*
die; be_drunk =DYN **not_exist** **=STV** =REL.PRS
'While they don't kill me, while I am not dead [...]' (m005_wawa_gari)

b. *yamakɨ* *xëa* *hathõrarihe* .
yamakɨ= *xë* *=a* *hathõ* *=ra* *=ri* *=he*
1PL= beat; kill =PFV.VWL maybe =DISTR =PFV1 =3PL
'They will possibly kill us.' (m007_niki_kona)

In Table 10.2, I present the most common SVs in YMA, followed by the indication of their literal semantics (when traceable) and the meaning they convey when used as SVs.

Table 10.2 - Semantics of the minor verbs and their literal meaning (I)

form	literal meaning	meaning in SVC
xoa	to stay; to continue	still
xi= wari	to entangle	always
he= yati	to continue, to insist	insistingly
he= tato	to recede, to give up	give up
kõ	to go/leave back home	again
yapa	to return	back
parɨ	to be at the front	firstly
ku	to be, to exist	to begin
ke	to fall	to begin
hura	to finish	to finish
pihi	to think	to want
ahate	to be near	near
praha	to be far	far
heaka	to be on the top	on the top
kasi	to put/be aside	beside
pëhëthë	to be below	below
xokë	be circular, make a circle	in a circular path
utiti	to be weak, to weaken	weakly

Table 3 – Semantics of the minor verbs and their literal meaning (II)

form	literal meaning	meaning in SVC
kohipë	to be strong	strongly
mahi	to be many	much
maa	to not exist	NEG
hathõ	to be possible	maybe
hë [hëai, huo]	to be left, to remain	alone
hetu	to be (tied) above	for oneself side
noho	to be subsequent	subsequently
nomɨhɨ	to exchange	subsequently
paa	to debouch (waterway)	after encountering someone else
xeere	to split	separately
nikere	to mix	variously, confusingly
yakë	to make a mistake	mistakenly, carelessly
xaari	to be straight, to be right	straightly, rightly,
totihi	to be good	well
nɨ= wãyã	to be distressed	annoyingly, disgracefully
nɨ= kirihi	to be scary	terribly, awfully
toko	---	unfortunately
nëhë= ruaɨ	to disturb	disturbingly, clumsy
nɨ= õhõtaɨ	to suffer	painstakingly

10.5. Complementation

In the following sections, I will present four types of complementation constructions in YMA. There are still several other strategies in the language that will not be described here for they consist of loosely integrated sentences made of two or more clauses. Here I will be exclusively concerned with the monoclausal complementation type. I will start with the constructions that express motion with purpose.

10.5.1. Type 1 – Motion with purpose

In YMA, a predicate that conveys motion may accept a verb as its goal complement and integrate it into the main predicate. This multi-verbal construction is highly specialized in the language, only used to express this function. Several exclusive features characterize this construction. From a morphological perspective, the most evident feature is the linking morpheme *=ma*, which appears only in this construction and in the alternative non-canonical secondary predication construction, as we saw in §10.2.2. In (48), I present an instance of this construction.

(48) *ĩhĩ tëhë ai einɨ pora ai*
ĩhĩ =tëhë ai =e =i =nɨ pora a= i=
ANA =REL.PRS other =DIF.PART =DIM =ERG ball 3SG= DIM=
*kõa**ma** rëërahuruma* .
*kõa **=ma** rëë =raa =huru =ma*
take **=LINK** run =PFV1 =DIR.AND =PST
'And then one youngster ran to take/pick up the ball.' (s_tree_marc).

As we can see by this example, the complement verb (V_{comp}) precedes the matrix verb (V_{matrix}), which is always intransitive and can be any type of motion verb, such as *rërëɨ* - 'run', *ukuu* 'walk', *a* 'go/leave to', *huu* 'go', *huimaɨ* 'come', *karëɨ* 'float, go by canoe', and *yëɨ* 'fly'. The achievement verb *waroo* 'to arrive' can also be the V_{matrix} of this construction. On the other hand, V_{comp} is always a dynamic stem (or the dynamic version of an attributive or positional stem) and it can be either transitive, as in (48), or intransitive, as in (49).

(49) *thuwë pë okomoma aa heturayu .*
thuwë pë= okomu =ma a =a hetu =rayu
woman 3PL= crab-pick =LINK go =PFV.VWL lay_above =PFV1
'The women for their side leave to crab-pick.' (PDYP_B_02_01)

Interestingly, the nominal argument shared between the motion and the complement predicates does not display absolutive alignment, as in other multi-verbal constructions, but nominative alignment instead. That is, the subject of the motion predicate coincides with the subject of the intransitive complement predicate or with the agent of the transitive one. In (48), for instance, the syntactic agent of the verb *kõaɨ* 'to take' is also the subject of *rërëɨ* 'to run,' while in (49) the subject of *okomuu* 'to crab-pick' matches the subject of the motion predicate *aaɨ* 'to go.' This is one of the few morphosyntactic contexts in which the language does not display (ergative-) absolutive alignment. And as a consequence of this alignment, motion with purpose constructions can display a transitive argument structure when the complement predicate is transitive. We already saw in (48) that one of the arguments (*ai einɨ* 'other little one') of the clause is marked with the ergative case marker *=nɨ*[2]. And when the ergative argument is plural or a SAP, the predicate is also marked with a person index, as illustrated in (50) and (51). In (50a) the morpheme *=he* (in bold) indicates that a 3rd person plural is both the agent of the complement predicate and the subject of the motion verb, while in (50b) the proclitic *ya=* (also in bold) tells that the 1st person is performing the same syntactic roles.

(50) a. *wãro pënɨ yaro **pë** niama aa*
*wãro =pë =nɨ yaro **pë=** nia =ma a =a*
man =PL =ERG animal **3PL=** shoot =PST go =PFV.VWL
*heturayu**he** .*
*hetu =rayu **=he***
lay_above =PFV1 **=3PL**

[2] We saw in Chapter 7 that there is no person index on the verb for 3rd person singular agent.

'The men for their side leave to shoot animals.' (PDYP_B_02_01)

b. *tëpë*	***ya***	***kiki***	*toama*		*warokema*			.
tëpë	***ya=***	***kiki=***	*toa*	*=ma*	*waro*	*=ki*	*=ma*	
glass bead	**1SG=**	**CLN:collective=**	take	=LINK	arrive	=PFV2	=PST	

'I arrived to collect glass beads.'

Since the V_{comp} receives the linking morpheme *=ma*, it is not marked for tense or aspect. Indeed, it is the V_{matrix} that hosts all the morphemes from Cluster C. The index for the 3rd person dual agent is only one exception to this rule; it is always hosted by the V_{comp}, as we can see in (51). We saw in (50a) that the 3rd person plural agent marker *=he*, which is also an enclitic from Cluster C, attaches to the V_{matrix}.

(51)	*ai*	*huu*	*tihiki*		*kõa**pi**ma*			*arayoma*		.
	ai	*huu*	*tihi=*	*ki=*	*kõa*	***=pi***	*=ma*	*a*	*=rayu*	*=ma*
	other	tree	CLN:tree=	PL=	take	**=3DU**	=LINK	go	=PFV1	=PST

'They two went to pick up another wood stick.' (s_tree_marc)

Schema 10.5 is a visual representation of highly integrated complementation constructions that express motion with purpose inYMA.

Schema 10.5 – Morphosyntactic structure of complement construction Type A3

[ERG] ABS Cluster B= V_{comp} [=3DU] =LINK $V_{motion\text{-}matrix}$ =Cluster C

Notice that even though the general valency of the clauses in (51) and (50a) is transitive, the perfective morpheme that the predicate takes is not *=re* but *=rayu*, which is the intransitive perfective morpheme of the Series I, as we saw in Chapter 6. On the one hand, it is the V_{comp}, not the V_{matrix} that determines the argument structure of the clause and the number of person indexes on the predicate . On the other hand, it is the V_{matrix}, always intransitive, that specifies the aspectual morphology of the predicate. The only other context where this morphosyntactic discrepancy is observed is in the reciprocal derivation of ditransitives verbs, as explained in §9.6.4. In the next section, we will see another type of complementation construction of which the

general valency is also determined by the V_{comp}. In this case, however, there is no apparent inconsistency between valency and aspectual morphology since the aspect marker used in this later construction is always from Series II, which does not vary according to the valency of the predicate.

10.5.2. Type 2 – Verbs *taɨ* 'to know' and *wapaɨ* 'to try'

The most striking feature of this complementation construction is that the valency of V_{matrix} has to agree with the valency of the V_{comp}. As far as I know, the only two verbs that can function as V_{matrix} in this construction are the verbs *taɨ* 'to know' and *wapaɨ* 'to try,' both of which are originally transitive in YMA. We can attest the transitivity of these verbs by examples such as (52) where the object arguments of these constructions are exclusively made of nouns. The primary evidence for considering these predicates transitive is that both constructions may display two person indexes. Moreover, in (52b) the predicate takes the perfective morpheme *=ri*, which is the prototypical marker for transitive predicates.

(52) a. *napë* ***yama*** ***pë̃ã*** *taɨ* *hikio* .
napë ***yama=*** ***pë=*** *ã=* *ta* *=ɨ* *hiki* *=o*
white person **1PL=** **3PL=** sound= know =DYN already =STV
'We already know white people's words.' (m007_geni_kona)

b. *Manaus hamɨ* *pizza* ***yaa*** *wapa**re**ma* .
Manaus *=hamɨ* *pizza* ***ya=*** ***a=*** *wapa* ***=ri*** *=ma*
Manaus =OBL pizza **1SG=** **3SG=** try **=PFV1** =PST
'I tried pizza in Manaus.'

In any event, when these verbs have another predicate as their complement, i.e. when they are the V_{matrix} of a complementation construction, their morphosyntactic valency has to coincide with the valency of the V_{comp}. That is, when the V_{comp} is transitive, the V_{matrix} keeps it transitive argument structure and corresponding morphology, as in the example (53a); when the V_{comp} is intransitive, nevertheless,

V_{matrix} has to undergo a previous derivation with the intransitivizer *=mu* to decrease its valency, as in (53b).

(53) a. *ĩhĩ pëni sãhẽsãhẽ pë hãxãremai tai*
ĩhĩ =pë =ni sãhẽsãhẽ pë= hãxãrema =i ta =i
ANA =PL =ERG foliage 3PL= sweep =DYN know =DYN
mahi yarohe .
mahi =yaro =he
much =CNJ.EXPLV =3PL
'For those ones know how to sweep the foliage.' (wtx_iwa)

b. *yaã hai tamuu*
ya= ã= ha =i ta =mu =į
1SG= sound= pass_through =DYN know =INTRZ =DYN
yaro , ya pihi kuu tamuu
=yaro ya= pihi= ku =į ta =mu =į
=CNJ.EXPLV 1SG= V.PTC:thought= say =DYN know =INTRZ =DYN
yaro [...]
=yaro
=CNJ.EXPLV
'For I know how to speak, for I know how to think [...]'
(PDYP_MIC_A_14_02)

When the V_{matrix} is intransitivized, the whole predicate not only loses the ability to host two person indexes but also acquires other morphological properties of intransitive predicates, such as the preference for the perfective morpheme *=rayu* instead of its transitive counterpart *=ri*. In (54), we have an example of the of V_{matrix} *tai* 'to know' in a perfective construtions in which the V_{comp} is intransitive.

(54) *napë* *pë* *urihipë* *hamɨ* *ya* *huu*
napë *pë=* *urihi* *=pë* *=hamɨ* *ya=* *hu* *=ɨ*
white person 3PL= forest =VBLZ =OBL 1SG= go =DYN
tamorayoma .
ta *=mu* *=rayu* *=ma*
know =INTRZ =PFV1 =PST
'I learned how to go to the land of the white people.' (i.e. 'I have already been there') (PDYP_MIC_A_13_07)

As the examples in (53) and (54) show, the alignment of the common argument shared by the V_{matrix} and V_{comp} displays a nominative pattern. That is, in transitive clauses, the V_{matrix} and V_{comp} have in common the same agent argument (both syntactically and semantically), while in intransitive constructions, they share the same syntactic subject argument. From a semantic perspective, the subject of the complement predicate coincides with both the patient and the agent of the matrix predicate. In this sense, and since this construction also requires the intransitivizer *=mu*, it resembles the reflexive derivation a lot, as described in §9.6.2. They are different constructions, nevertheless, as examples such as (55) suggest. In this very complex clause, we have three different types of multi-verbal constructions and three independent verbal derivations. The first derivation through the morpheme *=pë* turned the noun *xaraka* 'arrow' into an attributive verb to convey possession (see §5.6.10 and §9.7). In the clause, this derived verb is the P2 of the verb *niaɨ* 'to shoot' which is intransitivized with *=mu*, for the possessor of the *xaraka* 'arrow' was promoted to the core argument of an attributive-possessive construction and coincides with the semantic agent argument of the predicate *niaɨ* 'to shoot.' This second derivation is the reflexive one (see §9.6.2). The attributive verb *tire* 'to be high' is clearly a minor verb in a SVC as the dynamic vowel *=ɨ* attached to it demonstrates (see §10.4.1). Finally, *tamuu* is the intransitivized version of *taɨ* 'to know', which is the V_{matrix} of a complement construction that has the reflexive verb *xarakapë niamuu tirei*'to shoot his own arrow high' as V_{comp}.

(55) *pi* *a* *xarakapë* *niãmuu* *tirei*
pi= *a=* *xaraka* *=pë* *niã* *=mu* *=i̱* *tire* *=i̱*
FOC.INT= 3SG= arrow =VBLZ shoot =INTRZ =DYN high =DYN
tamu *wei*
ta *=mu* *=i̱* *=wei*
know =INTRZ =DYN =NMLZ
'The one who knows how to shoot his arrows high.' (wtx_krukunari)

Similarly to other multi-verbal constructions, it is the last verb of the clause, i.e the V_{matrix} in this construction, that receives most of the clitics from Cluster C. The V_{comp} only hosts the dynamic vowel *=i*, when it is a dynamic verb as in the examples above, or the stative vowel *=o*, when the V_{comp} is an irregular one, as in (56). Positional and attributive stems can only take part in this construction in their non-stative version, which requires the dynamic vowel *=i*. Note from example (54) that even when the clause is marked for perfectiveness, the V_{comp} still hosts the dynamic vowel. This aspectual independence of the V_{comp} is a feature that sets complementation constructions apart from SVCs.

(56) *huu* *tihiha* *ya* *tuo* *tamoimi* .
huu *=tihi* *=ha* *ya=* *tu* *=o* *ta* *=mu* *=imi*
tree =CLN:tree =OBL 1SG= climb =STV know =INTRZ =NEG
'I do not know how to climb a tree.'

Below, I offer the general schema that illustrates the morphosyntactic structure of this complement construction when the V_{comp} is intransitive.

Schema 10.6 – Morphosyntactic structure of the complement construction Type A3 with intransitive complement verbs

ABS Cluster B= V_{comp} V_{matrix}=INTRZ =Cluster C

The schematic representation of this construction with a transitive V_{comp} is like in Schema 10.7.

Schema 10.7 – Morphosyntactic structure of the complement construction Type A3 with transitive complement verbs

ERG ABS Cluster B= V_{comp} V_{matrix} =Cluster C

As a final note, attributive stems cannot be the V_{comp} in this construction. It is the only type of verb stem that displays such a restriction.

10.5.3. Type 3 – Verbs *taai* 'to see,' *himai* 'accuse,' *wasuu* 'to forbid'

This complementation construction differs from the others described in this chapter in always displaying a transitive argument structure. This structure is provided by the V_{matrix}, which follows V_{comp}. Differently from the construction described in §10.5.2, which also has a transitive verb as its V_{matrix}, in this complementation construction, the V_{matrix} never changes its valency, regardless of the valency of the $V_{comp.}$ In (57a), I offer an example with an intransitive V_{comp} and in (57b) an instance with transitive V_{comp}.

(57) a. *oxe thëpëni Kunathoi a hërëi*
oxe =thë =pë =ni Kunathoi a= hërë =i
youngster =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG Kunathoi 3SG= swim =DYN
himamahe .
hima =ma =he
point =PST =3PL
'The children accused Kunathoi of swimming (in the large river).'

b. *[nara aha] aroari kiki*
nara =a =ha aroari kiki=
opossum =SG =OBL witchcraft CLN:collective=
hokiai taaremahe .
hoki =a =i taa =ri =ma =he
lift =DRV =DYN see =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'They saw [the opossum] casting (lit. lifting) sorcery curse .' (n007_nara)

Note that the core argument shared by V_{matrix} and V_{comp} is always the absolutive one. When the V_{comp} is intransitive as in (57a), its subject (*Kunathoi*) is raised to the position of a patient of the matrix verb. On the other hand, the argument that is the patient of a transitive V_{comp}, such as *aroari kɨkɨ* 'sorcery' in (57b), is also the syntactic patient of the complementation construction while the semantic agent of V_{comp} (*nara a* 'opossum') is categorized as a peripheral constituent of the clause, being marked with the oblique case marker *=ha*. That is, the patient of the complement predicate is treated as the patient of the matrix verb. In (58a), I present an example of the transitive predicate as an independent clause and, in (58b), the same predicate embedded as the complement of another predicate which has *wasu* 'to forbid' as its head.

(58) a. *Ararima anɨ xama a xëprarema .*
Ararima =a =nɨ xama a= xë =pra =ri =ma
Ararima =SG =ERG tapir 3SG= beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 =PST
'Ararima killed a tapir.'

b. *kami yanɨ Ararima eha xama ya a*
kami =ya =nɨ Ararima =e =ha xama ya a=
1 =1SG =ERG Ararima =DIF.PART =OBL tapir 1SG 3SG=
xëpraɨ wasuma .
xë =pra =ɨ wasu =ma
beat; kill =DRV =DYN forbid =PST
'I forbade Ararima from killing the tapir.'

It is worth mentioning that the rearrangement of the argument structure of this embedded complement predicate follows the exact same pattern observed in causative derivations. As described in §9.5.2, the sole absolutive argument of an intransitive predicate also remains in the absolutive position in the causative version, i.e. it becomes the object of the transitive (causative) construction, as in (59a), which is exactly what happens with intransitive complement verbs. When the causative derivation occurs with a transitive predicate, as in (59b), the absolutive argument of the non-derived clause also remains in the same position in the causative construction,

while the ergative argument of the non-derived clause is moved to an oblique position in the causative construction.

(59) a. *kami yanɨ Ararima ya a herimama* .
kami =ya =nɨ Ararima ya a= heri =ma =ma
1 =1SG =ERG Ararima 1SG 3SG= chant =CAUS =PST
'I made Ararima sing.'

b. *kami yanɨ Ararima eha xama ya a*
kami =ya =nɨ Ararima =e =ha xama ya a=
1 =1SG =ERG Ararima =DIF.PART =OBL tapir 1SG 3SG=
xëpramarema .
xë =pra =ma =ri =ma
beat; kill =DRV =CAUS =PFV1 =PST
'I made Ararima kill a tapir.'

Schema 10.8 represents the morphosyntactic structure of this construction. In lower characters, I make the indication of the semantic role that each argument of the clause, that is, 'ag-comp' and 'pat-comp' refer to the semantic agent and patient of the complement predicate and, correspondently, 'ag-matrix' to the semantic agent of the matrix predicate.

Schema 10.8 – Morphosyntactic structure of complement construction Type A

$$ERG_{ag\text{-}matrix}\ OBL_{ag\text{-}comp}\ ABS_{pat\text{-}comp/matrix}\ Cluster\ B=V_{comp}\ V_{matrix}=Cluster\ C$$

This construction allows not only transitive or intransitive dynamic verbs in the complement position but any verb stem type. In (60a), I present an example of a dynamic stem being the complement verb of the construction; in (60b), the complement verb is a positional stem; in (60c), it is an attributive stem, and, finally, the sentence in (60d) brings us an example of irregular verb in the complement position.

DYNAMIC

(60) a. *eha yamaki në õhõtaai ha*

*eha yamaki= ni= õhõtaa **=i** ha=*

here 1PL= V.PTC= suffer **=DYN** REL.PST=
taarinë [...]

taa =ri =në

see =PFV1 =REL.PST

'After he saw us suffering here.' (PDYP_MIC_B_08_01)

POSITIONAL

b. *thapiha ai napë ani kama xapeya ei praa*

*thapiha ai napë =a =ni kama xapeya ei pra **=a***

thither other foreigner =SG =ERG 3 hat this lie **=POST**
taarema .

taa =ri =ma

see =PFV1 =PST

'Not far from there, one of the foreigners then saw his. hat laying on the ground.' (s_pear_marc)

ATTRIBUTIVE

c. *kaxa a ripi taaremahe* .

kaxa a= ripi taa =ri =ma =he

caterpillar 3SG= cooked see =PFV1 =PST =3PL

'They saw the caterpillar cooked.' (n001_iwa)

IRREGULAR

d. *huu tihiha oxe ya thëpë tuo*

*huu =tihi =ha oxe ya= thë= pë= tu **=o***

tree =CLN:tree =OBL youngster 1SG= CLN.GNR= 3PL= climb **=STV**
ha taarini [...]

ha= taa =ri =ni

REL.PST= see =PFV1 =REL.PST

'When I saw the kids climbing the tree.'

Note in (60a) that each verb stem type takes a different morpheme (in bold) in the complement position. These morphemes are the same taken by these stem types in the imperfective-present contexts; that is, dynamic stems take the dynamic vowel *=ɨ*, positional stems host the positional vowel *=a*, irregular verbs receives *=o* and attributive stems do not require any morpheme in this context. Note that this marking pattern is the same as found in present imperfective SVCs. However, while in SVCs the marking pattern varies according to the tense and aspectual markers of the clause, in complementation constructions the marking of the V_{comp} does not change, regardless the tense-aspectual status of the V_{matrix}.

10.5.4. Type 4 – Predicative complementation

This complementation construction is unique in the language for the positions of the V_{matrix} and V_{comp}, which is the opposite of what is observed in other constructions. As we can see in the example in (61), the V_{comp} follows the V_{matrix} in this construction.

(61)

thëkɨ		*taamuu*			*ruëo*		*wei*
thë=	*kɨ=*	*taa*	*=mu*	*=ɨ*	*ruë*	*=o*	*=wei*
CLN.GNR=	PL=	see	=INTRZ	=DYN	unripe	=STV	=NMLZ

'The things [that] seemed unripe.' (s_pear_hoax)

This construction also differs from the other ones as its V_{matrix} is a verb intransitivized through the deriving morpheme *=mu*. All perceptual verbs, such as *taaɨ*, 'to see', *hĩrĩ* 'to hear' or *riã rixaɨ* 'to smell', can be derived with the intransitivizer *=mu* to form a new verb that expresses a perceptual or sensory quality of a source entity. The derived form is the V_{matrix} of this complementation construction, which prototypically has an attributive stem as its V_{comp} to specify the sensory quality. In (62), I present another example of this construction. Note that entity that experiences the sensory quality provided by source entity is coded as an oblique argument (*kami yaeha* 'to me') while the source-entity itself (*ĩhĩ thãa* 'those words') is the subject of both V_{matrix} .and V_{comp}.

(62) *kami yaeha [ĩhĩ] thãa*
kami =ya =e =ha ĩhĩ thã= ã=
1 =1SG =DIF.PART =OBL ANA CLN.GNR= sound=
hĩrĩmuu totihi mahioma .
hĩrĩ =mu =ɨ totihi mahi =o =ma
hear =INTRZ =DYN be_good much =STV =PST
'[Those] words sounded very nice to me.' (PDYP_MIC_A_16_01)

Not only perceptual verbs can take part in this construction. Indeed, several positional or dynamic stems can be derived with the intransitivizer *=mu* and be the head of this construction. The resulting form specifies the perceptual domain in which the attributive predication (the V_{comp}) is valid. For instance, the derivation of the positional stem *tëkëa* 'to sit (on a bench)' results in the intransitive form *tëkëmu*, as in the example (63a), which selects an entity made or used for sitting on (such as a chair) as its subject and requires an attributive verb, such as *totihi* 'to be good', as its predicative complement. The scope of the "goodness" of the chair is determined by derived verb *tëkëmu* 'to sit,' that is, 'the chair "sits" good' or 'the chair is good to seat.' In (63b), I offer an example of this derivation with the dynamic verb *hupaɨ* to 'touch,' which display similar semantic and morphosyntactic properties.

(63) a. *kihi tëkëotima tihi tëkëmuu totihi .*
kihi tëkë =o -tima tihi= tëkë =mu =ɨ totihi
that sit =STV -NMLZ CLN:wood= sit =INTRZ =DYN be_good
'That chair sits well.'

b. *hei kamixa kiki hupamuu si utiti*
hei kamixa kiki= hupa =mu =ɨ si= utiti
this cloth CLN:fabric= touch =INTRZ =DYN V.PTC= be_weak
'This t-shirt feels soft to the touch.' (lit. 'This t-shirt touches soft')

The meaning 'to taste,' like in 'this banana tastes sweet', is obtained through the intransitivization of the dynamic verb *waɨ* 'to eat,' as in (64).

(64) *hei thëi wamuu ãrĩkĩ mahi*
hei thë= i= wa =mu =ɨ ãrĩkĩ mahi
this CLN.GNR= DIM= eat =INTRZ =DYN parch much
'This small piece [of food] tastes very roasted.' (wtx_iwa)

Note that in the previous examples the V_{comp} did not take any morpheme because the predicate has a present stative reading and in this context attributive stems are unmarked. Nevertheless, the dynamic version (inchoative) of the attributive stem can also be the head of the complement predicate and take any type of tense or aspectual morpheme of Cluster C. In the example in (65), the inchoative verb *totihii* 'to better' takes the perfective morpheme *=rayu* and the past marker *=ma*.

(65) *kama wamotima ethëkɨ wamuu*
kama wamotima e= thë= kɨ= wa =mu =ɨ
3 food DIF.PART= CLN.GNR= PL= eat =INTRZ =DYN
totihirayoma .
totihi =rayu =ma
be_good =PFV1 =PST
'his food tastes better now.'

Even though the attributive stem seems to be the prototypical V_{comp} of this construction, other types of verb stem can also appear in this position. This is particularly frequent when the V_{matrix} is *taamuu* 'to seem,' which may select a dynamic or positional predicate as its complement. When it occurs, the V_{matrix} *taamuu* 'to seem' is often preceded by the verbal particle *nëhë=*, as in (66a), but this is not obligatory, like the example (66b) shows. Note that in (66a), the V_{comp} is transitive and that the index for 3rd person in the predicate refers both to the subject of the V_{matrix} and the patient of the V_{comp}. The alignment of the argument shared between V_{matrix} and V_{comp} displays an absolutive pattern.

(66) a. *a naha taamuu*
a= naha= taa =mu =i
3SG= V.PTC= see =INTRZ =DYN
thatarini [...]
tha =ta =ri =ni
do; make =CEL =PFV1 =REL.PST
'Seeming to do like this quickly [...]' (s_chck_marc)

b. *pihi taamu kutarioma*
pihi= taa =mu =i ku =ta =rio =ma
V.PTC:thought= see =INTRZ =DYN say =CEL =PFV1 =PST
'[He] seemed to think [like that].' (s_chck_marc)

This construction can be represented as in Schema 10.9.

Schema 10.9 – Morphosyntactic structure of the predicative complementation constructions

[ERG] ABS Cluster B= $\underbrace{V_{non\text{-}attributive}=INTRZ=DYN}_{V_{matrix}}$ V_{comp}=Cluster C

As a final note, this complement construction may resemble the adverbial modification construction, especially when the V_{comp} is an attributive stem and the predicate is in the present tense and imperfective aspect, as in the examples from (61) to (64). These constructions are apparently very similar to constructions that clearly involve adverbial modification, such as (26a), particularly with respect to the position of the adverbial word (which is also an attributive verb) and the lack of marking on it. There are two main differences about the use of the attributive stem in these two constructions. In predicative complementation, the attributive stem is participant-oriented and is not a peripheral (and optional) constituent of the predicate. When used as an adverbial word, on the other hand, the attributive stem modifies the whole predicate and is an adjunct, i.e. its absence does not affect the grammaticality and the core meaning of the clause.

10.6. Summary of the differences between the multi-verbal constructions

Below, Table 10.4 and Table 10.5 summarize the main formal and semantic diagnostic features of multi-verbal constructions in YMA.

Table 10.4 – Differences between the multi-verbal constructions (I)

	Secondary Predication		Adverbial modification	SVC
parameter	Canonical	Non-canonical		
order of verbs	V_2 V_1	V_2 V_1	[V_{adv}] V_1 [V_{adv}]	V_1 V_2 ... Vn
extra morphemes required?	×	✓	×	×
participant vs. event oriented	participant	participant	**event**	**event**
meaning of V_1 or V_{matix}	literal	literal	literal	literal
meaning of V_2 or V_{comp}	literal	literal	literal	**modified**
verb stem type of V_2 or V_{comp}	attributive	dynamic	adverbial words	all types
verb stem type of V_1 or V_{matrix}	non-attributive (positional, dynamic, irregular)	dynamic	non-attributive (positional, dynamic, irregular)	all types

Table 10.5 – Differences between the multi-verbal constructions (II)

	Complementation			
parameter	Motion with purpose	Verbs 'know' and 'try.'	Verbs 'see,' 'accuse' and 'forbid.'	Predicative complement
order of verbs	V_{comp} V_{matrix}	V_{comp} V_{matrix}	V_{comp} V_{matrix}	V_{matrix} V_{comp}
extra morphemes required?	✓	✗✓[1]	✗	✗[1]
participant vs. event oriented	participant	participant	participant	participant
meaning of V_1 or V_{matix}	literal	literal	literal	literal
meaning of V_2 or V_{comp}	literal	literal	literal	literal
verb stem type of V_2 or V_{comp}	non-attributive (positional, dynamic, irregular)	non-stative (dynamic and irregular)	all types	attributive
verb stem type of V_1 or V_{matrix}	motion verbs (dynamic)	'to know', 'to try' (dynamic)	'to see', 'to accuse', 'to forbid' (dynamic)	some non-attributive stems (positional, dynamic, irregular) derived with the intransitivizer *=mu*

10.7. Final remarks

In this chapter, we explored mono-clausal constructions with more than one verb. These grammatical domains of YMA lie on the boundaries of what this book intended to cover, the single clause. We saw that several constructions allow two or more verb stems to be integrated into a single clause in YMA. Eight types of such multi-verbal clauses were so far attested in the language. I tried to give a complete overview of them, according to my current knowledge of the language I demonstrated that these multi-verbal constructions do not only express different semantic functions but also display different morphosyntactic features. We also saw that in some tense-aspectual contexts some of them may not be formally distinguishable. We still need a prosodic characterization of these constructions, which I believe will provide further formal parameters to distinguish them. The interaction and combination of the different types of multi-verbal predicates, as in the example in (55) , also remains to be investigated systematically.

We will move on to the description of the evidential categories, many of which are constructed with the help of a dummy verbal element inflected with tense, aspectual and spatial markers. In this sense, these are also multi-verbal constructions, as we will see in the next chapter.

11. Evidentiality: time, location, direction

11.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the morphological mechanisms found in YMA for the expression of evidentiality in independent clauses. The language has a quite complex evidentiality system, distinguishing at least five basic evidentiality categories. The speaker of YMA can choose between not making explicit the source of the information she is conveying by not marking the sentence with an evidential (1a), or indicating whether she has eye-witnessed (1b) or heard (1c) it happening, inferred it by objective pieces of evidence (1d), assumed it happened by common sense or logical reasoning (1f) or heard it reported by others (1e).

(1) a. *apiama a ithorayoma .*
apiama a= itho =rayu =ma
airplane 3SG= alight =PFV1 =PST
'The airplane landed.'

b. *apiama a ithorayu kaniɨ .*
apiama a= itho =rayu ku =niɨ
airplane 3SG= alight =PFV1 COP =HOD
'The airplane landed today (I witnessed).'

c. *apiama wãa ithorayu kaniɨ .*
apiama wãa= itho =rayu ku =niɨ
airplane sound= alight =PFV1 COP =HOD
'The airplane landed today (I heard when it landed).'

d. *apiama a ithorayono kaniɨ .*
apiama a= itho =rayu =no ku =niɨ
airplane 3SG= alight =PFV1 =INFR COP =HOD
'The airplane landed today (I did not see it, but I inferred it from the new people that are around).'

e. *apiama ehã ithorayono kanɨ* .
apiama e= hã= itho =rayu =no ku =nɨ
airplane HSY= HSY= alight =PFV1 =INFR COP =HOD
'The airplane landed today (I've been told so).'

f. *apiama pi a ithoa mariha* .
apiama pi= a= itho =a ma =ri =ha
airplane FOC.INT= 3SG= alight =PFV.VWL COP.ASS =PFV1 =HOD
'The airplane (must have) landed today (I am assuming it, for instance, because today is the day of the month when the plane usually comes[1]).'

The phenomenon is strongly intertwined with the expression of tense and of spatial categories, such as location and direction, and partially overlaps with the expression of modality and aspect as well. This applies in particular to two sets of morphologically complex words, called *k*-words and *m*-words here, which appear in most of the constructions with evidentiality specification. At the end of the examples (1b-e), we can see the *k*-words *ka =nɨ* and *ku =ratu=nɨ*, and at the end of (1f), the *m*-word *ma=rɨ=ha*.

The chapter begins with an overview of the literature on evidentiality and of the phenomenon in the languages of the world and in YMA (§11.2). Section §11.3 presents the evidentiality categories expressed in simple declarative clauses in YMA, starting with the description of the *k*-words in §11.3.1.1. These are responsible, when not combined with other evidentiality morphemes, for the expression of eye-witnessed events. I will also discuss the expression of tense and spatial categories with these words and their interaction with aspectual categories. In §11.3.1.2, I point to a probable source of grammaticalization of the *k*-words. In §11.3.1.3, I present a form similar to a *k*-word, which however begins with *t*-. The use of this word *tha =re* is restricted to pre-hodiernal contexts marked with inferential *=no*.

[1] In Papiu, there are two days in the month (every 3rd an 18th) when an airplane regularly comes from Boa Vista with supplies for the health care workers in the region.

Subsection §11.3.2 shows how the inflection of the main verb with the enclitic *=no* allows the speaker of YMA reports on an event whose actual existence was only inferred by her, given some pieces of evidence she had access to.

Section §11.3.3 deals with the proclitic *wãa=*. It indicates first-hand information acquired by auditory means, i.e. the event was heard by the speaker. Section §11.3.4 discusses the proclitics *e=hã=*, which marks reported (and quotative) events. These two evidentiality categories (auditory source and reported) are similar, for both indicate that the event was heard by the speaker. They obviously differ, nevertheless, in that the auditory category refers to first-hand information while the reported category indicates second-hand information.

The last grammatical evidentiality category, assumed information, will be described in section §11.3.5. This category indicates that the information the speaker conveys is an assumption or presupposition based on common sense or some previous knowledge. It differs from the inferential as to the nature of the evidence claimed in each situation. While the inferential implies objective (and consequently visual) evidence, assumed information can rely on less precise or even idiosyncratic evidence (like a hunch). The expression of this category makes use of the *m*-words, which will be contrasted with the *k*-words.

Section §11.4 argues that the system is made of heterogeneous morphemes, but it still builds a system in that the morphology is mutually exclusive. Section §11.5 discusses the status of evidentiality in terms of obligatoriness/systematicity and frequency.

It is worth underlining at this point that I will be mainly concerned with the evidentiality in the morphology, leaving the description of its expression through analytic constructions such as the English correlates “I saw him fishing” or “I heard that she has died” to a later study. One exception is made for a type of complex construction with adverbial modification by the stem *mahari* ‘dreamlike’, described in §11.6. This construction is used to indicate that the speaker dreamt the event she is now reporting. I included this mechanism here because, on the one hand, the Yanomami people attach great cultural importance to the information provided by dreams, which may be as reliable as witnessed information in some cases. On the

other hand, I consider it necessary to distinguish this construction with adverbial modification from those with morphological evidentiality marking, given the semantic resemblance of both constructions.

In §11.7, I will discuss the construction with the proclitic *nëhë=* 'apparently,' which seems to semantically overlap some usages of the construction with the inferential *=no*. I will claim, nevertheless, that this is not an evidentiality construction either since its scope of reference is not the source of information itself.

In Section §11.8, I will briefly discuss the presence of evidentiality categories in other syntactic contexts than the main declarative clause, indicating how evidentiality categories are still required in dependent clauses such as relative constructions. Finally, in §11.9, I will present some concluding remarks on this phenomenon in YMA.

11.2. Earlier literature

Every language provides its speakers with grammatical or lexical resources for expressing the source of the information they present while speaking. Many languages of the world, including the Indo-European languages, primarily rely on lexical means for that purpose. In English, for instance, the most frequent strategies (Chafe and Nichols, 1986: vii) are the use of adverbial words, such as 'allegedly' or 'apparently' (2a-b), constructions with modal verbs, such as 'must' (2c), and complementation clauses of sensorial verbs, such as 'see' or 'hear' (2d), appearance verbs, like 'seem' or 'sound' (2e), communication verbs, such as 'tell', 'report' or 'read' (2f-g), or verbs of cognitive activity, such as 'infer' or 'suppose' (2h). The examples in (2) illustrate these strategies in English.

(2) a. *He allegedly killed her dog.*

b. *She apparently arrived.*

c. *It must be freezing outside (seeing through the window someone outside wearing a heavy coat, gloves...).*

d. *I heard them talking about you.*

e. Anna seems hungry.

f. *I've been told that Ararima left yesterday.*

g. *I read that today will rain.*

h. *I suppose he must have left by this time.*

By contrast, many lesser known languages, "scattered all over the world" (Aikhenvald, 2004:17), have developed dedicated morphology (typically verbal) to express these meanings. In many of these languages, the system is very simple with only one marked evidentiality category. It often consists of a verbal morpheme or a particle that indicates that the information has previously been reported to the actual speaker by a third person (reported/'hearsay', and it conflates all the remaining possible sources of information under the same unmarked category. This type of system is very common among the Tibeto-Burman languages and widespread in South America, present in languages of different families, including Zaparoan, Makú, Arawak (both Southern and Northern), Tupi-Guarani and Pano (Aikhenvald, 2004: 32). Mueller (2013) points out that it is the most prevalent system in South America: in her sample of 63 languages, 23 (or 37%) display such a two-way system, and only 14 South American languages do not encode evidentiality by morphological means.

Some languages have grammaticalized more forms to express distinct evidentiality meanings. All the Quechua languages, for instance, have markers for three evidential categories: direct evidence, inferred, and reported (Aikhenvald, 2004: 43). This same pattern is found in other South American languages such as Mosetén (isolate), Bora (Bora-Witoto family) and Koreguaje (West-Tukano) (Aikhenvald, 2004: 44). Other languages still display three-way systems with different arrangements, often substituting one of the previously mentioned categories by the non-visual sensory category. Languages with this type of system are found in Asia (Tibeto-Burman and Uralic languages) and are quite common in North America. In South America, these systems are found in some Panoan languages (Capanahua, for

instance) and in Tukanoan languages. Several Uto-Aztecan languages and other North American languages have systems with three categories in which there is a marker for reported events, another for quoted events (events that were reported by an identifiable and explicit author), and the other evidentiality categories are unmarked. In her 63 language sample, Mueller (2013) has found 11 languages with the above mentioned tripartite systems.

There are languages with yet more complex evidentiality systems (Aikhenvald 2004). Several East Tucanoan languages, for instance, distinguish four categories, i.e. visual (or direct), non-visual sensory, inferred and reported. Other South American languages, like Tsafiki (Barbacoan), Shipibo-Konibo (Panoan), Mamainde (Northern Nambiquara), display a slightly different four-ways system, in which assumed information is morphologically marked instead of the non-visual sensory category.

Languages with five or more categories are very rare, and only a handful of examples can be mentioned, like Kashaya (Pomoan) and Wintu (Wintuan), both spoken in California, and, in South America, Tariana (Arawak), Tuyuca and Desano (East Tucanoan), Hupda (Makú) and the Southern Nambiquaran languages. “Systems which contain five evidentiality choices may have two sensory evidentials, one inferred and one assumed evidential, and also one reported marker” (Aikhenvald 2004: 60).

In spite of the richness – and, most importantly, the obligatoriness – of these systems, first descriptions of many of these languages completely missed these categories. The analytic nature of the Indo-European expression of evidentiality, illustrated by the examples in (2), is probably one of the reasons for this. Moreover, morphological evidentiality systems do not seem to be very common in natural languages; they are particularly frequent in the Americas, however.

Boas (1911:43) was the first to draw the attention of the linguistics community to the existence of such grammatical categories in natural languages, noting that they are especially common in the languages of the US West Coast. The first comprehensive collection of studies on the subject, Chafe and Nichols (1986), underlined the productivity of these systems in several regions of North America, and presented the first in-depth description of the phenomenon in South America. Later

on Aikhenvald and Dixon (1988) identified the Northern Amazon region, and particularly in and near the Vaupes River basin, the hotspot of evidentiality systems, where languages have typically four or five morphologically marked evidentiality categories. The authors argue that, given the low frequency of these systems in the natural languages of the world, the most likely explanation for high productivity of these systems in the Vaupés region was diffusion by long-term contact.

The idea of the Vaupés River basin (or more broadly, the Northwestern part of Amazon) as a cultural and linguistic area has been proposed by different authors (Sorensen 1967, Aikhenvald and Dixon, 1998, 1999, Aikhenvald, 1996, 1999, 2002). Aikhenvald and Dixon (1998), in particular, claim that the 'strong evidentiality systems', as they call the complex systems found in the Vaupés region, should be considered a diagnostic areal feature, i.e. the presence of such a complex system in a language spoken in the neighborhood of Vaupés River basin should be taken as evidence of linguistic exchange.

As for the Yanomami languages, their evidentiality systems have been described, with different levels of comprehensiveness. According to Borgman (1990: 165-73) Sanima has at least three evidentiality categories: first-hand, inferential and 'verification' (a category which seems to conflate reportative and non-witnessed). Goodwin-Gomes (1990: 97) reports only two in Ninam: eye-witnessed and non-eye-witnessed, which are the same categories described by Lizot (1996:112-124) for a Yanomamɨ variety of Venezuela. Another Yanomamɨ variety (Xamatauteri) described by Ramirez (1994: 316) displays an evidentiality system of four members: witnessed, inferred, assumed and quotative (which seems to conflate the quotative and reportative). Yanomami languages are spoken in the Northwestern Amazon and some occidental varieties of the family, particularly the Yanomamɨ (Xamatauteri) described by Ramirez, are indeed in the neighborhood of the Vaupés River basin. Dixon and Aikhenvald (1999:388), however, do not consider these western varieties to be under direct influence of the Vaupés linguistic complex. By contrast, Aikhenvald and Dixon (1998:247) suggest that the different complexity levels of the evidentiality systems described for the Yanomami languages is correlated to the distance of these languages from Vaupés River basin, since complex evidentiality systems are one of the features

that characterize the region. The closer the language to the area, the more complex the system is. This would explain for them why Xamatauteri, the closest Yanomami language to the Vaupés, displays such a complex four-member system, and Sanima, a language spoken more to the north, has only three. "[...T]he language furthest from the Vaupes (north-east of Xamatauteri and east of Sanima) is Yanam, which Gomez (1990: 97) says shows only two evidentials [...]." (Aikhenvald, 2004: 247).

As we will see in this chapter, this possible correlation proposed by Aikhenvald and Dixon between the complexity of the evidentiality systems of the Yanomami languages and closeness to the Vaupés does not stand up against the YMA data. YMA has a relatively rich evidentiality system with five categories, one more than the Vaupés neighbor Xamatauteri, according to Ramirez's description. Sanima is also geographically closer to that river. Only Ninam is indeed spoken further away from the Vaupés than YMA.

As an alternative explanation already hinted by Aikhenvald (2004: 18) , I suggest that such differences are related to the fieldwork methodology and the different theoretical frameworks adopted in the descriptions. She noticed that "Migliazza (1972), in his cross-dialectal grammar of Yanomami,—analyzed within the framework of the transformational grammar of the time—missed evidentiality altogether" (ibid.). Moreover, I also acknowledge that the description of any language or language complex is a cumulative and, in some respects, communal enterprise. Previous pieces of work lay the basis for further advancements in the description of a language. And this is particularly the case for languages such as of the Yanomami family, which historically have had very low rates of native-speakers with good command of national languages[2] (i.e. Portuguese and Spanish). We linguists describing such languages have to rely on the patience of the native speakers to teach us their language and on the precious notes and analyses left by previous researchers. The increasing complexity of the evidentiality systems of the Yanomami languages

[2] This has been changing recently, as some members of the Yanomami linguistic community have been developed their skills in those national languages quite reasonably. The number of fully bilingual speakers is still very low, however.

as presently documented seems to correlate, not inversely to the distance from Vaupés, but positively to our growing knowledge of the Yanomami languages.

11.3. Evidentiality in simple declarative clauses

YMA can express at least five basic epistemic categories with dedicated morphology and a few others with derived or combined strategies. YMA allows the speaker to indicate whether the event was WITNESSED by her (3a), HEARD by her (3d), INFERRED from objective pieces of evidence (3b), ASSUMED/SUPPOSED through reasoning or based on well-known information (3c), or REPORTED to her by a third person (3e).

(3) a. *Kunathoi a kopohuru kanɨ .*
kunathoi a= ko =pi =huru ku =nɨ
Kunathoi 3SG= return_home =PFV3 =DIR.AND COP =HOD
'Kunathoi left (I witnessed him leaving).'

b. *Kunathoi a kopohuruno kanɨ*
kunathoi a= ko =pi =huru =no ku =nɨ
Kunathoi 3SG= return_home =PFV3 =DIR.AND =INFR COP =HOD
'Kunathoi seems to have left (I did not witness him leaving, but I can see his hammock missing where he usually sleeps).'

c. *Kunathoi pi a kõa*
kunathoi pi= a= kõ =a
Kunathoi FOC.INT= 3SG= return_home =PFV.VWL
mapohuruha .
ma =pi =huru =ha
COP.ASS =PFV3 =DIR.AND =HOD
'Kunathoi left (I assume it because he told me some time ago that he was going to leave today).'

d. *Kunathoi wãa kopohuru kanɨ .*
kunathoi wãa= ko =pi =huru ku =nɨ
Kunathoi sound= return_home =PFV3 =DIR.AND COP =HOD
'Kunathoi left (but I heard him saying goodbye to others).'

e. *Kunathoi ehã kopohuruno*
kunathoi e= hã= ko =pi =huru =no
Kunathoi HSY= HSY= return_home =PFV3 =DIR.AND =INFR
kanɨ .
ku =nɨ
COP =HOD
'Kunathoi left (I've been told so).'

In the next sections, I will describe each of these morphosyntactic mechanisms, beginning with the description of the *k*-words and the expression of eye-witnessed information.

11.3.1. Witnessed information

11.3.1.1. The *k*-words

The *k*-words are a set of grammatical words in YMA that can express tense, relative location and direction, and few other verbal categories. These markers are not bound morphemes that attach to the verb, but morphologically complex and independent words. They consist of the copular element *ku* 'to be', 'to exist' (a free word), and, at least, one clitic expressing tense: *=re* for pre-hodiernal or distant past events and *=nɨ* for present and hodiernal past contexts. In (4) I give two (made-up) examples of how these *k*-words as used.

(4) a. *hiima a nomarayu* ***kure*** .
hiima a= noma =rayu ***ku*** ***=re***
dog 3SG= die =PFV1 **COP** **=PRE.HOD**
'The dog died (yesterday or before).'

b. *hiima a nomarayu* ***kanɨ*** .
hiima a= noma =rayu ***ku*** ***=nɨ***
dog 3SG= die =PFV1 **COP** **=HOD**
'The dog has just died / The dog died (today).'

The use of *k*-words in the pair of examples above contrasts with the unmarked past morpheme *=ma*, as in (5), which does not make explicit whether the event took place recently or a long time ago. Not only that, the choice for a *k*-word in (4) indicates, in this case, that speaker has witnessed the event (e.g. she was present at the precise moment in which the dog passed away). The example (5) with *=ma* is neutral also in this respect.

(5) *hiima a nomarayo**ma*** .
*hiima a= noma =rayu **=ma***
dog 3SG= die =PFV1 **=PST**
'The dog died.'

In non-perfective sentences, such as the ones in (6), the *k*-words can still host morphemes that express spatial categories, such as the relative location morphemes *=raharu* 'upriver' (6a), *=rakuru* 'downriver' (6b), and the directional morphemes *=ima* (6d), with andative orientation (i.e. centrifugal), and *=imatu* (6e-f), with venitive (i.e. centripetal) meaning. The last two morphemes can convey associated motion readings to non-motion verbs (6d-e) or just indicate the relative direction of motion verbs, as in (6f). For other morphological strategies to express associated motion and directionality in YMA, please check §6.6 in the chapter on verb morphology.

(6) a. *hiima a nomaɨ ku**raharu**re* .
*hiima a= noma =ɨ ku **=raharu** =re*
dog 3SG= die =DYN COP **=LOC:upriver** =PRE.HOD
'The dog was dying up there (yesterday) (+witnessed).'

b. *hiima a nomaɨ rë ku**rakuru**nɨ* .
*hiima a= noma =ɨ rë= ku **=rakuru** =nɨ*
dog 3SG= die =DYN FOC= exist **=LOC:downriver** =HOD
'The dog is/was dying down there (today) (+witnessed).'

c. *hiima a nomaɨ ku**imatu**re* .
*hiima a= noma =ɨ ku =**imatu** =re*
dog 3SG= die =DYN exist **=DIR.AND** =PRE.HOD
'The dog was dying and going away (yesterday) (+witnessed).'

d. *hiima a nomaɨ rë ku**ima**nɨ* .
*hiima a= noma =ɨ rë= ku **=ima** =nɨ*
dog 3SG= die =DYN FOC= COP **=DIR.VEN** =HOD
'The dog is/was dying and coming towards here (today) (+witnessed).'

Table 11.1 shows the most common *k*-words found in YMA. Some rare spatial markers with an obscure meaning were not listed. The spatial deictic markers are in bold, and their meaning is in the third column. Note that the last two pairs of words do not have any spatial specification and are used in complementary aspectual contexts, namely imperfective and perfective. The interface with the aspectual marking system will be discussed below.

Table 11.1 – The *k*-words

Pre-hodiernal past (=*re*)	Present and hodiernal past (=*nɨ*)	Meaning
ku **=*pe***=*re*	*ku* **=*pa***=*nɨ*	not marked for spatial categories (used only in imperfective contexts)
ku =*re*	*ka* =*nɨ*	not marked for spatial categories (used only in perfective contexts)
ku **=*ra***=*re*	*ku* **=*ra***=*nɨ*	nearby
ku **=*ratu***=*re*	*ku* **=*ratu***=*nɨ*	a bit far away
ku =***raharu***=*re*	*ku* =***raharu***=*nɨ*	upriver, on the other side of the river bank
ku =*rak**u**ru*=*re*	*ku* =***rakuru***=*nɨ*	downriver
ku **=*pië***=*re*	*ku* **=*pië***=*nɨ*	outside the house, near a pond, in an open field or forest clearing
ku **=*piëtu***=*re*	*ku* **=*piëtu***=*nɨ*	outside the house, near a pond, in an open field or forest clearing (+a bit far away)
ku =***piëhuru***=*re*	*ku* =***piëhuru***=*nɨ*	left in the house
ku =***pohoru***=*re*	*ku* =***pohoru***=*nɨ*	in a higher position (e.g. on the top of a mountain, or on the top of the river bank [speaking from the water])
ku **=*potu***=*re*	*ku* **=*potu***=*nɨ*	in a lower position (e.g. in a valley, or on the water [speaking from the river bank])
ku **=*im**a**tu***=*re*	*ku* **=*imatu***=*nɨ*	andative (centrifugal)
ku **=*ima***=*re*	*ku* **=*ima***=*nɨ*	venitive (centripetal)

Syntactically, the *k*-words always appear at the end of the clause, after the verb stem[3] and the clitics of the Sub-Cluster CB. However, the *k*-words 'kidnap' the remaining morphemes of the Sub-Cluster CC, such as the marker for 3rd person agent *=he* (in bold) in the examples in (7), which cann no longer be hosted by the main verb.

(7) a. *napë pënɨ ipa hiima a xëprari*
napë =pë =nɨ ipa hiima a= xë =pra =ri
foreigner =3PL =ERG 1POS dog 3SG= beat; kill =DRV =PFV1
*kura**he*** .
*ku =ra **=he***
COP =LOC:nearby **=3PL**
'The white people killed my dog (yesterday or before).'

b. *napë pënɨ ipa hiima a xëprari*
napë =pë =nɨ ipa hiima a= xë =pra =ri
foreigner =3PL =ERG 1POS dog 3SG= beat; kill =DRV =PFV1
*ke**he**nɨ* .
*ku **=he** =nɨ*
COP **=3PL** =HOD
'The white people killed my dog (today).'

Note that the hodiernal and pre-hodiernal past enclitics *=nɨ* and *=re* occupy distinct slots in the clitic chain of CC and have their phonological material affected differently by those morphemes. We will see in §11.3.1.2 that this difference in the positions of these two morphemes is due to their different sources. While the morpheme for pre-hodiernal events *=re* came from the marker (with similar meaning) used in the relative clauses, the enclitic for present and hodiernal events *=nɨ*, which does not have a correlate cognate form in relative constructions[4], has its origins in the past marker *=nɨ*, used in subordinate clauses. I will argue these two tense clitics, alongside with the locational and directional morphemes of the *k*-words, merge into

[3] Or after the last verb in a multi-verbal clause (cf. Chapter 10).
[4] The marker for hodiernal past in relatives is *=ha* (see §11.8 for more details on relatives). This marker *=ha* still appears with the *m*-words with the hodiernal meaning (see §11.3.5).

the Sub-Cluster CC. The Schema 11.1 below indicates the position of each type morpheme that is hosted by the *k*-words.

Schema 11.1 – Morphological structure of the *k*-words[5]

K =SPT =PRE.HOD =CC =HOD

In contrast, the past enclitic *=ma*, not marked for evidentiality, belongs to the Cluster CB and interacts phonologically with the perfective morphemes *=rayu* and *=re*, which also belong to CB. Note in (8) that *=ma* causes the perfective morphemes (in bold) to harmonize with it, lowering their final vowel. The presence of the copular element *ku*, which retains many of the features of a free word in the language, prevents the assimilation processes between the clitics of CB and CC to happen, as each of them are being hosted by different free words.

(8) a. *hiima a noma**rayo**ma* .
*hiima a= noma **=rayu** =ma*
dog 3SG= die **=PFV1** =PST
'The dog died.'

b. *napë pëni ipa hiima*
napë =pë =ni ipa hiima
foreigner =3PL =ERG 1POS dog
*a xëpra**re**mahe* .
*a= xë =pra **=ri** =ma =he*
3SG= beat; kill =DRV **=PFV1** =PST =3PL
'The white people killed my dog.'

The Schema 11.2 illustrates the syntactic position of the *k*-words in relation to the main verb and the clitics of the sub-clusters of C (CA, CB, CC).

[5] SPT means "spatial morpheme."

Schema 11.2 – Verb morphology and the *k*-words

main **V** =CA=CB **K** =CC

It is worth underlining that the *k*-words are not *witnessed markers* themselves. As we will see in the Sections §11.3.1.3, §11.3.3 and §11.3.4 below, these words may also appear in constructions marked for inferred, auditory and reported information. I will argue that the *k*-words can be used anytime when an evidentiality category is being marked in the sentence. In the cases where there is no actual morphological marker (for inferred, auditory or reported information), the sentence always gets an eye-witnessed reading. Interestingly, first-hand/eye-witnessed information is, therefore, the *default* category in YMA, i.e. the unmarked (or the less marked) category among the evidentiality categories.

In Chapter 6, we saw that the categories of tense, aspect, and spatial relations can be marked in YMA by a set of enclitics of the Sub-Cluster C. In the examples in (9) I present some of these enclitics (in bold) in use.

(9) a. *Ararima ani xama a*
Ararima =a =ni xama a=
Ararima =SG =ERG tapir 3SG=
*xëprare**harayo**ma* .
*xë =pra =ri **=harayu** =ma*
beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 **=LOC:upriver** =PST
'Ararima killed a tapir upriver.'

b. *napë pëni yano a*
napë =pë =ni yano a=
white person =3PL =ERG house 3SG=
*tha**kiri*** .
*tha **=kiri** =i*
do; make =LOC:downriver =DYN
'The white people are builduing a house downriver.'

An alternative means of expressing the tense and spatial deictic categories is by the utilization of a *k*-word (10).

(10) a. *Ararima ani xama a*

Ararima =a =ni xama a=

Ararima =SG =ERG tapir 3SG=

*xëprare**haru** rë kani .*

*xë =pra =ri **=haru** rë= ku =ni*

beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 **=LOC:upriver** FOC= COP =HOD

'Ararima killed a tapir upriver.'

b. *napë pëni yano a thai rëkë*

napë =pë =ni yano a= tha =i rëkë=

white person =3PL =ERG house 3SG= do; make =DYN FOC=

*ku**raharu**heni .*

*ku **=rakiri** =he =ni*

COP **=LOC:downriver** =3PL =HOD

'The white people are/were building a house downriver (+witnessed, +hodiernal).'

The examples in (10) show an essential feature of the *k*-words in their interaction with aspectual marking system. When the sentence is overtly marked for perfectivity, as in (10a), the deictic spatial marker has to remain attached to the main verb as an enclitic of the Sub-Cluster CB. In contrast, when there is not a perfective marker in the clause, the spatial marker, if any, must be hosted by the copular element *ku*, such as (10b). The hypothetical constructions in (11) sound ungrammatical to native speakers.

(11) a. * *Ararima anɨ xama a xëprare rë*

Ararima =a =nɨ xama a= xë =pra =ri rë=

Ararima =SG =ERG tapir 3SG= beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 FOC=

*ku**raharu**nɨ* .

ku ***=raharu*** *=nɨ*

COP **=LOC:upriver** =HOD

'Ararima killed a tapir upriver.'

b. * *napë pënɨ yano a*

napë =pë =nɨ yano a=

white person =3PL =ERG house 3SG=

*tha**kirɨ*** *rëkë kehenɨ* .

tha ***=kirɨ*** *=ɨ rëkë= ku =he =nɨ*

do; make **=DIR:downriver** =DYN FOC= COP =3PL =HOD

'The white people are building a house downriver.'

Table 11.2 contrasts the form of these enclitics when hosted by a main verb and by a *k*-word.

Table 11.2 - Correspondence between the spatial deictic markers in evidential and non-evidential paradigms

Hosted by the main verb	Hosted by a *k*-word	Meaning
=tayu	*=ratu*	a bit far away
=harayu	*=raharu*	upriver, on the other side of the river bank.
=kirɨ	*=rakuru/rakirɨ*	downriver
=ima	*=ima*	venitive
=huru	*=imatu*	andative
=imatayu	*=imatu*	progressive

All *k*-words express tense, but not all of them convey spatial relations as well. There are two pairs of *k*-words that are not marked for spatial categories and can only be used in past situations. The first pair is exclusive to perfective contexts and is formed by the simple composition of the copular element *ku* and a tense marker: pre-hodiernal *ku =re* (12a) and hodiernal *ka =nɨ* (12b). The second pair is formed by the addition of the imperfective marker *=pe* in between the copular element and the tense marker. These markers, pre-hodiernal *ku =pe=re* (12c) and hodiernal *ku =pa=nɨ* (12d), are used only in imperfective contexts, i.e. they do not coexist with perfective morphemes.

(12) a. *Ararima a waroki* ***kure*** .
Ararima a= waro =ki ***ku =re***
Ararima 3SG= arrive =PFV2 **COP** **=PRE.HOD**
'Ararima arrived yesterday.'

b. *Ararima a waroki* ***kanɨ*** .
Ararima a= waro =ki ***ku =nɨ***
Ararima 3SG= arrive =PFV2 **COP** **=HOD**
'Ararima arrived today.'

c. *thuë thëpë herii* ***kupanɨ*** .
thuë thë= pë= heri =ɨ ***ku =panɨ***
woman CLN.GNR= 3PL= chant =DYN **COP** **=HOD**
'The women were chanting today.'

d. *thuë thëpë herii* ***kupere*** .
thuë thë= pë= heri =ɨ ***ku =pere***
woman CLN.GNR= 3PL= chant =DYN **COP** **=PRE.HOD**
'The women were chanting yesterday.'

All the remaining *k*-words are incompatible with the perfective markers. These markers, in addition to the tense and evidentiality categories, also express one spatial category, which always has a deictic nature. i.e. it indicates the location in which the event is taking place in relation to the speaker. Moreover, these remaining markers

only oppose pre-hodiernal situations to non-pre-hodiernal ones, conflating the hodiernal past and present categories under the same marker *=nɨ*. It is quite understandable how this conflation was semantically possible, especially when a spatial category is marked. That is, if someone reports on a current and "witnessed" event that is taking place at some distance from the place where she is reporting it, as in example (13), it is possible that her statement is not simultaneous with the event anymore. The event may have carried on while the speaker is reporting about it, but not necessarily and, most importantly, the speaker can assure it as an eye-witness. We believe that it was from this logical impossibility of the speaker to report on a faraway event as an actual eye-witnessed event that the present and the recent past categories were fused.

(13) a. *Kunathoi a yurimuu kurakɨrɨnɨ* .
kunathoi a= yurimu =ɨ ku =rakɨrɨ =nɨ
Kunathoi 3SG= fish =DYN COP =LOC:downriver =REL.PST
'Kunathoi is fishing downriver.'

b. *thuë pënɨ xote hepë tiyëɨ rëkë*
thuë =pë =nɨ xote he= pë= tiyë =ɨ rëkë=
woman =PL =ERG basket CLN:round= 3PL= weave =DYN FOC=
kupiëhuruhenɨ .
ku =piëhuru =he =nɨ
COP =LOC:left_at_home =3PL =HOD
'The women are/were weaving baskets at home (+witnessed, –pre-hodiernal).'

11.3.1.2.The probable source of the *k*-words

With the only exception of the present/hodiernal past marker *=nɨ*, all remaining morphemes that appear in a word of the *k*-words have their origins in the relative construction with the existential *ku* plus the markers for tense, relative location, and direction regularly used in relative constructions with other types of verbs. More precisely, all the spatial markers of the *k*-words (*=ra*, *=ratu*, *=rakuru*, *=raharu,*

=pië...) can also appear in the relative construction, with the same form. In (14) I present some examples of these markers being used in relative constructions. In (14a) we have a construction with positional *ku* 'to exist, to be', as the head of a relative clause, while in (14b-c) we have relative clauses with dynamic verbs.

(14) a. *kihi napë a ka*
kihi napë a= ka=
that white person 3SG= FOC=
kurakururii , yanomama thãa
ku ***=rakuru*** ***=re*** *=i yanomama thã= ã=*
exist **=LOC:downriver** =PRE.HOD =REL yanomami CLN.GNR= sound=
pou .
po =ɨ
hold =DYN

'That white person, who was downriver (+witnessed, +hodiernal), knows Yanomama language.'

b. *kihi napë anɨ yano a ka*
kihi napë =a =nɨ yano a= ka=
that white person =SG =ERG house 3SG= FOC=
tharakururii , yanomama
tha ***=rakuru*** *=re =i yanomama*
do; make **=LOC:downriver** =PRE.HOD =REL yanomami
thãa pou .
thã= ã= po =ɨ
CLN.GNR= sound= hold =DYN

'That white person, who was building the house downriver (+witnessed, + pre-hodiernal), knows Yanomama language.'

c. *hutukana hamɨ kihi warõ a ka kiãraharii ,*
hutukana =hamɨ kihi warõ a= ka= kiã ***=raharu*** *=i*
garden =OBL that man 3SG= FOC= work **=LOC:upriver** =REL
ipa hepara a .
ipa hepara =a
1POS brother =3SG

'That man, who is working over there in the garden (+witnessed, +hodiernal), is my brother.'

As the example (14b) shows, *=re* also marks pre-hodiernal past in relative constructions. On the other hand, as the examples (14a) and (14c) indicate, there is no explicit marker for present or hodiernal past relative clauses. In any event, as the hodiernal past marker *=ha* is not obligatory, the absence of the pre-hodiernal marker may give either a present or a recent past reading. As I showed in §11.3.1.1, in the *k*-words, the conflated present/hodiernal past category is expressed through the morpheme *=ni*, and also contrast with the pre-hodiernal *=re*.

It is worth mentioning that, in relative constructions, the tense markers *=ha* and *=re* do not indicate a witnessed event themselves. This reading, in the examples in (14), is given by the combination of the focalizer *ka=* and the bare relativizer *=i*. With the addition of the enclitic *=ni* before the relativizer, the construction will get a non-witnessed reading. The example in (15) illustrates the non-witnessed marking in relative clauses.

(15) *kihi napë ani yano a **ka***
*kihi napë =a =ni yano a= **ka=***
that foreigner =SG =ERG house 3SG= **FOC=**
*tharakuru**ni**i yanomama*
*tha =rakuru **=ni** =i yanomama*
do; make =DIR:downriver **=PRE.HOD.NON.WTNS** =REL yanomami
thãa pou .
thã= ã= po =i
CLN.GNR= sound= hold =DYN

'That white person, who was building the house downriver (-witnessed), knows Yanomama language.'

In any event, our hypothesis is that the whole relative construction with the copula *ku* 'to exist', except the proclitics of Cluster B (i.e. the focalizer and the argument markers), has been grammaticalized as grammatical words to be used in the main clause. As the examples above indicate, the relative clause goes before the main

clause (and the main verb, consequently). The *k*-words, nevertheless, has a final position in the clause. To explain this difference in positions, or better, this movement of the relative clause to the end of the construction, we rely on the typological profile of the language. YMA is an OV language which seems to confirm quite strictly the typological correlations described by Greenberg (1966) and others (e.g. Dryer, 1992). The language has postpositions (the oblique case marker *=ha* /*=hamɨ*) instead of prepositions, subordinate clauses go before the main clause, conjunctions and connectives go after the verb and, most importantly for our argument, the language prefers suffixes to prefixes (or enclitics to proclitics). Developing our argument, once the construction is not considered by the speakers to be a relative clause but is reanalyzed as a tense and spatial marker, the speakers began to move it to the end of the construction. Nevertheless, we do not have any synchronic piece of evidence that unequivocally shows this movement taking place.

11.3.1.3. The t-word *tha =re*

There is only one word that does not begin in *k*- and that can occupy the same syntactic position of the *k*-words in declarative clauses. This word, *tha =re*, is made up of the copular element *tha*, possibly from the dynamic verb *thaɨ* 'to do' or the positional verb *thaa* 'to (be) put', the pre-hodiernal marker *=re*. It has a similar meaning to the *k*-word *ku =re* and *ku =pe=re* refers to pre-hodiernal events without specifying any spatial information. Regarding their syntactic usage, nevertheless, the two types of words are in complementary distribution.

In perfective contexts, the *t*-word *tha =re* can only be used in combination with the inferential *=no*, as in (16a). In this context, the use of *k*-word *ku =re* is ungrammatical, (16c). We will see in §11.3.1.3 that the *k*-word *ku =re* is not compatible with the inferential *=no*, as in (16b).

(16) a. *apiama a kerayo**no** **thare** .*
*apiama a= ke =rayu **=no** **tha** **=re***
airplane 3SG= fall =PFV1 **=INFR** **COP** **=PRE.HOD**
'The airplane fell (+inferred) (+pre-hodiernal).'

b. * *apiama a kerayono* ***kure*** .
apiama a= ke =rayu =no ***ku =re***
airplane 3SG= fall =PFV1 =INFR **COP** **=PRE.HOD**
'The airplane fell (+inferred) (+pre-hodiernal).'

The *t*-word *tha =re* cannot be used in perfective sentences with eye-witnessed readings (17b). Only *ku =re* is acceptable in this situation.

(17) * *apiama a* ***kerayu*** ***thare*** .
apiama a= ke ***=rayu*** ***tha =re***
airplane 3SG= fall **=PFV1** **COP** **=PRE.HOD**
'The airplane fell (+witnessed) (+pre-hodiernal).'

The *t*-word *tha =re* can be used in imperfective contexts in a very restrict context. Its used when the speaker wants to signals an event as a general rule or indefinite (like in "anacondas kill/defeat caimans") but with a less emphatic modality (more like "anacondas may kill/defeat caimans" [at least I have witnessed it]). The example in (18a) illustrates this usage. In this case, it contrasts with the *k*-word *ku =pe=re*, which would be preferable in a more defined context (18b). Although the example in (18c) refers to a definite entity, the clause has a potential modality, i.e. it refers less to a specific event than to its potentiality to happen again.

(18) a. *apiama pë kei* ***thare*** .
apiama pë= ke =i ***tha =re***
airplane 3PL= fall =DYN **COP** **=PRE.HOD**
'Airplanes fall (+witnessed) (+pre-hodiernal) (I have seen airplanes falling, i.e. they may fall).'

b. *apiama pë kei* ***kupere*** .
apiama pë= ke =i ***ku =pere***
airplane 3PL= fall =DYN **COP** **=PRE.HOD**
'The airplanes fell (+witnessed) (+pre-hodiernal) (Those airplanes that we know about).'

c. *hei apiama a kei* ***thare*** .
hei apiama a= ke =i ***tha =re***
this airplane 3SG= fall =DYN **COP** **=PRE.HOD**
'This airplane has fallen (+witnessed) (+pre-hodiernal) (I have seen this airplane falling before, i.e. it may fall again).'

The *t*-word *tha =re* is obligatory in negation constructions in which the speaker chooses the allomorph *mii* 'not to be' to negate the clause. In the cases in which the speaker wishes to negate the sentence with the form *ma* 'not to be' only the *k*-word *ku =pe=re* is the only one accepted.

(19) a. *napë pëni* *oru pë toai* ***mii***
napë =pë =ni oru pë= toa =i ***mii***
white person =3PL =ERG gold 3PL= take =DYN **not_be**
tharahe .
tha =ra =he
COP =PRE.HOD =3PL
'The white people were not collecting gold (yesterday or before) (I have not seen them doing that).'

b. *napë pëni* *oru a toai* ***maa***
napë =pë =ni oru a= toa =i ***ma*** ***=o***
foreigner =3PL =ERG gold 3SG= take =DYN **not_exist** **=STV**
kupeheni .
ku =pe =he =ni
exist =IMPFV =3PL =HOD
'The white people were not collecting gold (yesterday or before) (+witnessed) (I have not seen them doing that).'

We will see below that the copular element *tha* is still required in YMA to express evidentiality in domains of the grammar other than in declarative clauses. In any event, this copula always conveys a pre-hodiernal meaning to the construction in which it appears.

11.3.2. Inferred (*=no* / *=no* + *k*-word/*t*-word)

Inferentiality is an evidentiality category expressed by morphological means in YMA, with the morpheme *=no*. It is used to flag that the event was not eye-witnessed by the speaker, but that she had access to objective evidence that led her to think that it indeed took place. The sentences in (20) illustrate this usage.

(20) a. *Ararima ani xama a xëprare**no*** .
*Ararima =a =ni xama a= xë =pra =ri **=no***
Ararima =SG =ERG tapir 3SG= beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 **=INFR**
'Ararima killed the tapir (I did not see it happening, but I infer it, for instance, from the arrow point that I found in the tapir's body, which I know as made by/belongs to Ararima).'

b. *watori ani yano a këprario**no*** .
*watori =a =ni yano a= kë =pra =rio **=no***
wind =SG =CAUS house 3SG= break =DRV =PFV1 **=INFR**
'The house went down because of the wind (I did not see it happening, but I can deduce it because I know, for instance, that there was a huge windstorm recently).'

Note that in (20), even though it is implicit that both events occurred in the past, the clauses were not marked for tense. We will see below that the enclitic *=no* is not a tense marker; it is neutral in this respect and incompatible with the unmarked past morpheme *=ma*. The sentences in (21) are not grammatical.

(21) a. * *Ararima ani xama a*
Ararima =a =ni xama a=
Ararima =SG =ERG tapir 3SG=
*xëprareno**ma*** .
*xë =pra =ri =no **=ma***
beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 =INFR **=PST**
'Ararima killed the tapir (–witnessed +inferred).'

b. * *watori ani yano a*
watori =a =nɨ yano a=
wind =SG =ERG house 3SG=
këprarionoma .
kë =pra =rio ***=no*** ***=ma***
break =DRV =PFV1 **=INFR** **=PST**
'The house went down because of the wind (–witnessed +inferred).'

In order to explicitely specify whether it is a hodiernal or pre-hodiernal situation, the speaker must use the *k*-word *ka =nɨ* (22a), for hodiernal events, or the *t*-word *tha =re* (22b) for pre-hodiernal ones. The use of the pre-hodiernal *ku =re* (22c) with the inferential *=no* was considered ungrammatical by most speakers from Papiu.

(22) a. *Ararima ani xama a xëprare**no***
Ararima =a =nɨ xama a= xë =pra =ri ***=no***
Ararima =SG =ERG tapir 3SG= beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 **=INFR**
kanɨ .
ku ***=nɨ***
COP **=HOD**
'Ararima killed the tapir (–witnessed +inferred +hodiernal).'

b. *watori ani yano a këprario**no***
watori =a =nɨ yano a= kë =pra =rio ***=no***
wind =SG =ERG house 3SG= break =DRV =PFV1 **=INFR**
thare .
tha ***=re***
COP **=PRE.HOD**
'The house went down because of the wind (–witnessed +inferred +pre-hodiernal).'

c.* *watori* *anɨ* *yano* *a* *këprario**no***
watori *=a* *=nɨ* *yano* *a=* *kë* *=pra* *=rio* ***=no***
wind =SG =ERG house 3SG= break =DRV =PFV1 **=INFR**
kure .
ku ***=re***
COP **=PRE.HOD**

'The house went down because of the wind (–witnessed +inferred +pre-hodiernal).'

The marking of the inferential evidentiality category is not restricted to past events. The morpheme *=no*, with inferential meaning, can still combine with the future/potential marker *=pë*, as in the examples in (23). Note that, when in contact with *=no*, *=pë* undergoes a dissimilation process and has its vowel fronted to an *e*.

(23) a. *henimotima* *thëpë* *ohi**peno*** .
henimo *-tima* *thë=* *pë=* *ohi* ***=pë*** ***=no***
hunt_ritually -NMLZ CLN.GNR= 3PL= be_hungry **=FUT** **=INFR**

'The hunters will get hungry (+inferred) (I will not see them getting hungry, but I know it will happen because the people that were supposed to bring them their food are still here and they going to leave soon).'

b. *[huuu]* *Ararima* *anɨ* *Kunathoi* *a*
huuu *Ararima* *=a* *=nɨ* *Kunathoi* *a=*
IDEO Ararima =SG =ERG Kunathoi 3SG=
*xëpra**peno*** .
xë *=pra* ***=pë*** ***=no***
beat; kill =DRV **=FUT** **=INFR**

'Gosh! Ararima is going to kill Kunathoi (+inferred) (I did not see Ararima leaving to do it, but I heard him saying that he was going to do so, and now I am not seeing him arround neither his weapons, so I inferred that he left to kill Kunathoi).'

Table 11.3 indicate the tense contexts in which the *k*- or *t*-word is used in clauses marked with inferential *=no*. Note that in non-past contexts those words are not acceptable.

Table 11.3 – Inferential *=no* and the expression of tense

Non-past and unmarked tense	Hodiernal past	Pre-hodiernal past
=no	*=no (rë)/(rëke) ka =nɨ*	*=no tha =re*

Inferential *=no* can appear in main clauses in combination with the compound attributive stem *nɨ= mii* 'almost', the enclitic *=no* inflecting the main verb, while the phrasal verb *nɨ= mii* functions as the secondary predication of the clause. For more on secondary predication, see Chapter 10 (§10.2). This construction, exemplified by (24), alters the mood of the sentence, similarly to what the future subjunctive mood does in Romance languages.

(24) *kaho wanɨ ya ka nakari kunaha*
kaho =wa =nɨ ya= ka= naka =ri =kunaha
2 =2SG =ERG 1SG= FOC= call; ask =PFV1 =CNT.FACT
*wa**nɨ** **mii** pairipra**re** **no** .*
*wa= **nɨ=** **mii** pairi =pra =ri **=no***
2SG= **V.PTC=** **not_be** help =DRV =PFV1 **=INFR**
'If you had called me, I would have helped you.'

In the examples in (20), (22) and (24) above, the constructions were overtly marked for perfectivity with the morphemes *=rayo* or *=re*, according to the clause's transitivity. Indeed, in most cases in which the inferential marker is present, a perfective marker also appears. This is not a requirement, however, as in (23) above and (25) below, or even constructions in which there are typical imperfective markers, as in the serial verbs construction in (25c).

(25) a. *Hero u õki**o**no thare .*
*Herou u= õki **=o** =no tha =re*
Herou CLN:liquid= overflow **=STV** =INFR COP =PRE.HOD
'The river Herou overflew (–witnessed +inferred +hodiernal) (I inferred it for the missing brigde, which was probably washed away by the high waters, for instance).'

b. *kihi napë pëni oru a toano rë*
kihi napë =pë =ni oru a= toa =no rë=
that white person =3PL =ERG gold 3SG= take =INFR FOC=
*kehen*i .
ku =he =ni
COP =3PL =HOD
'Those white people were extracting gold (–witnessed +inferred +hodiernal) (I inferred it by the mud in the water, for instance).'

c. *kihi napë pëni oru a toa**i***
*kihi napë =pë =ni oru a= toa **=i***
that white person =3PL =ERG gold 3SG= take **=DYN**
*xoano rëkë kehen*i .
xoa =no rëkë= ku =he =ni
continue =INFR FOC= COP =3PL =HOD
'Those white people were still extracting gold (–witnessed +inferred +hodiernal) (I inferred it by the mud in the water, for instance).'

I will argue, nevertheless, that the marker *=no*, *per se*, causes the predicate to behave as if it was being overtly marked for perfectivity. The first piece of evidence in support of this analysis comes precisely from the incompatibility observed between the marker *=no* and the *k*-words that express spatial relations. I showed in §11.3.1.1 that these *k*-words are used exclusively in imperfective contexts and do not coexist with the perfective morphology. In other words, the same restrictions that apply to overtly marked perfective predicates, also apply to clauses marked with the inferential

=no, no matter if there is another (or an actual) perfective marker in the clause. The use of these spatially marked *k*-words with inferential *=no* always results in ungrammatical sentences, as in (26).

(26) a. * *kihi napë pëni̵ oru a toano rë*
kihi napë =pë =ni̵ oru a= toa =no rë=
that white person =3PL =ERG gold 3SG= take =INFR FOC=
kuraharuheni̵ .
ku =raharu =he =ni̵
COP =LOC:upriver =3PL =HOD
'Those white people were extracting/extracted gold upthere (–witnessed +inferred +hodiernal) (I inferred it by the mud in the water, for instance).'

b.* *Hero u õkiono*
Herou u= õki =o =no
Herou CLN:liquid= overflow =STV =INFR
kurakurure .
ku =rakuru =re
COP =LOC:downriver =PRE.HOD
'The river Herou overflew down there (–witnessed +inferred +hodiernal) (I inferred it for the missing brigde, which was probably washed away by the high waters, for instance).'

If the speaker wants to give any spatial information about the event through morphology, she has to make use of the enclitics from the Sub-Cluster CB (*=tayu*, *=harayu*, *=ki̵ri̵*...), not a *k*-word with a spatial marker. This is precisely what is expected for a perfective predicate, as we saw in §11.3.1.1, particularly in the examples (10). In (27) I present the grammatical alternatives for the sentences in (26).

(27) a. *kihi napë pënɨ oru a*

kihi napë =pë =nɨ oru a=

that white person =3PL =ERG gold 3SG=

*toa**harayo**no rë kehenɨ .*

*toa **=harayu** =no rë= ku =he =nɨ*

take **=LOC:upriver** =INFR FOC= COP =3PL =HOD

'Those white people were extracting/extracted gold upthere (–witnessed +inferred +hodiernal) (I inferred it by the mud in the water, for instance).'

b. *Hero u õkio**kiri**no*

*Herou u= õki =o **=kiri** =no*

Herou CLN:liquid= overflow =STV **=LOC:downriver** =INFR

thare .

tha =re

COP =PRE.HOD

'The river Herou overflew down there (–witnessed +inferred +hodiernal) (I inferred it for the missing brigde, which was probably washed away by the high waters, for instance).'

Another piece of evidence for the perfective status of *=no* comes from other use of this morpheme in the grammar. This morpheme derives, for instance, dynamic causative and anticausative verbs in attributive verbs, with *resultative* meaning. Resultative states are intrinsically perfective states since it is implicit that the described state is the outcome of a process that has been completed. Note that in this derivation, the enclitic *=no* attaches to the dynamic stem (transitive or intransitive) without a perfective marker in between. Indeed, a perfective marker in this position would give the derivation an undesired meaning.

(28) a. *ixii* 'to burn' (intrans) > *ixino* 'burned'

b. *iximaɨ* 'to burn' (trans) > *iximano* 'burned'

c. *krëaɨ* 'to break' (trans) > *krëano* 'broken'

d. *aramaɨ* ‘to put sth above sth else’ (trans) > *aramano* ‘to be placed’

This may explain why *=no* is not compatible with the *k*-words that have a spatial specification, which is exclusively used in imperfective clauses.

11.3.3. Auditory information (*wãa=/ã=*)

Auditory evidentiality indicates that the speaker did not witness the event “with her eyes”, but heard it happening as a first-hand hearer. This type of evidentiality is expressed in YMA by the noun of Type 2 *wãa=* or *ã=* ‘sound’ incorporated into the main predicate in its regular position, i.e. the Cluster B. The sentences in (29) are marked for this category.

(29) a. *hama thëpë**ã*** *kopema* .
*hama thë= pë= **ã=** ko =pi =ma*
guest CLN.GNR= 3PL= **sound=** arrive =PFV3 =PST
‘The guests arrived (I heard a motor boat arriving) (–eye-witnessed, +auditory).’

b. *mau uha oxe thëpë**ã***
*mau =u =ha oxe thë= pë= **ã=***
water =CLN:liquid =OBL youngster CLN.GNR= 3PL= **sound=**
iriamuu kuratunɨ .
iriamu =ɨ ku =ratu =nɨ
play =DYN COP =LOC:a bit far away =HOD
‘The kids were playing in the water (I did not see them, but I could hear their voices) (–eye-witnessed, +auditory).’

c. *thuë thëpë**ã*** *herii* .
*thuë thë= pë= **ã=** heri =ɨ*
woman CLN.GNR= 3PL= **sound=** chant =DYN
‘The women are singing (I can hear they singing) (–eye-witnessed, +auditory).’

This formal characteristic makes it look like other meronymic constructions, as in (30), body-part terms are, by default, semantically linked to the entity occupying the absolutive position of the clause. This means that, when the clause is transitive, the meronym will always refer to the syntactic patient of the clause as its whole entity, and never the ergative agent.

(30) a. *Ararima ani xama pariki niaprarema .*
Ararima =a =ni xama pariki= nia =pra =ri =ma
Ararima =SG =ERG tapir chest= shoot =DRV =PFV1 =PST
'Ararima shot the tapir in the chest.'

b. *Kunathoi ani huu tihi poko*
kunathoi =a =ni huu tihi= poko=
Kunathoi =SG =ERG tree CLN:tree= branch=
këprarema .
kë =pra =ri =ma
break =DRV =PFV1 =PST
'Kunathoi broke a branch of the tree.'

I will argue that that is not always the case for noun *wãa=/ã=*, especially when this word is functioning as a marker for the auditory source of information. On one hand, we find cases in which this noun explicitly refers to a "part" of the absolutive argument, as in the examples in (31). Note that in these constructions *wãa=/ã=* does not have an auditory evidentiality meaning.

(31) a. *kiha kami yani Ararima yaã*
kiha kami =ya =ni Ararima ya ***ã=***
there 1 =1SG =ERG Ararima 1SG **sound=**
hirirema .
hĩri =ri =ma
hear =PFV1 =PST
'I heard the voice of Ararima over there.'

b. *Kunathoi ani* *TV* ***siã***

kunathoi =a =ni *TV* *si=* ***ã=***

Kunathoi =SG =ERG television V.PTC= **sound=**

waipramarema .

wai =pra =ma =ri =ma

be_quiet =DRV =CAUS =PFV1 =PST

'Kunathoi lowered the volume of the TV.'

On the other hand, in constructions in which *wãa=/ã=* indicates that the event was heard, this semantic dependency on the absolutive argument is not strict, as it may clearly refer to a sound that was not produced at all by any entity occupying that position. In several cases, more evidently in transitive sentences, this "body-part" term seems to have the event itself as the whole "entity" and not only the entity in the absolutive position. The sentences in (32) exemplify the wider scope of reference of this morpheme when used as an auditory marker. These examples allow us to consider *wãa=/ã=* as a real evidentiality marker and not a simple meronym incorporated into the verb, whose usage is distinct, if not syntactically, at least semantically.

(32) a. *Ararima ani* *yaro* ***wãa*** *xëprarema*

Ararima =a =ni *yaro* ***wãa=*** *xë* *=pra =ri =ma*

Ararima =SG =ERG animal **sound=** beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 =PST

'Ararima shot an animal (I heard a gunshot or him shouting in the forest[6]) (– eye-witnessed, +auditory).'

[6] When a Yanomami hunter kills an animal, he may ask for the help of others by shouting or whistling in a conventional manner.

b. *Kunathoi* *anɨ* *huu* *tihiã* *tiyëi* *rë*
kunathoi *=a* *=nɨ* *huu* *tihi=* ***ã=*** *tiyë* *=ɨ* *rë=*
Kunathoi =SG =ERG tree CLN:tree= **sound** weave =DYN FOC=
kuratunɨ .
ku *=ratu* *=nɨ*
COP =LOC:a bit far away =HOD
'Kunathoi is cutting down the tree over there (I hear the sound of ax hitting the wood) (–eye-witnessed, +auditory).'

As we can see in the examples in (29) and (32), the auditory morpheme can be used in present (29c) (32b), or past situations (29a-b) (32a), and in perfective (29a) (32a), and imperfective (29b-c) (32b) contexts. More precisely, it coexists with verbs inflected with the dynamic *=ɨ* (29c) and unmarked past morpheme *=ma* (29a) (32a), and appear in clauses together with the *k*-words, when the speaker wants to mark the event for hodiernality, (29b), or a spatial deictic category (32a). Differently from what happens with the inferential marker *=no*, there is no restriction on the use of a *k*-word with the auditory evidentiality marker *wãa=/ã=*. The two marking systems seem to operate independently. When questioned about the difference between the use of a *k*-word and a neutral marker, such as the past *=ma* or dynamic morpheme *=ɨ*, native speakers say that, when there is a *k*-word, the person is surer that what she heard actually corresponds to the event she is reporting, as in (33b). With the neutral markers, she is less emphatic about that, (33a).

(33) a. *napëpënɨ* *Kunathoi* *a* *kãyo**ã***
napë *=pë* *=nɨ* *Kunathoi* *a=* *kãyo=* ***ã=***
white person =PL =ERG Kunathoi 3SG= APPL= **sound=**
warokemahe .
waro *=ki* *=ma* *=he*
arrive =PFV2 =PST =3PL
'The white people arrived with Kunathoi (I can't see them but I can hear them talking, for instance).'

b. *Ararima ani* *yaro* ***wãa***
Ararima =a =ni *yaro* ***wãa=***
Ararima =SG =ERG animal **sound=**
xëpraretayu ***kani*** .
xë *=pra* *=ri* *=tayu* ***ku*** ***=ni***
beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 =LOC:not_far **COP** **=HOD**
'Ararima killed an animal (I heard the shot or the animal agonizing).'

The auditory source marker can still appear combined with the inferential *=no* and a *k*-word, (33c), in which cases it is implicit that the speaker is not sure about the relationship between the auditory information and the actual event reported by her.

c. *Ararima ani* *yaro* ***wãa***
Ararima =a =ni *yaro* ***wãa=***
Ararima =SG =ERG animal **sound=**
*xëpraretayo****no*** ***kani*** .
xë *pra* *=ri* *=tayu* ***=no*** ***ku*** ***=ni***
beat; kill lie =PFV1 =LOC:not_far **=INFR** **COP** **=HOD**
'Ararima killed an animal (I heard the shot or the animal agonizing).'

This construction with *wãa* is similar to the construction with reportative hearsay *e=...hã=...=no* (see §11.3.4 below) in the sense that the source of information is allegedly sensorial in both cases. They differ, nevertheless, for the reportative information is always second-hand in nature while the auditory source provides first-hand information.

11.3.4. Reported hearsay/quoted information (*ẽ=hã=*)

This evidentiality category appears in contexts in which the speaker wants to underline that the event was not eye-witnessed by the speaker, but told to her by a third person. It is, therefore, second-hand information category. The category is

expressed by the combination of the different participant proclitic *e*= and the morpheme *(a)hã*=, which is a variant of the noun of Type 2 *wãha*=/*ahã*= 'name'.

(34) *Ararima ani yano **ehã** thai rëkë*
*Ararima =a =ni yano **e**= **hã**= tha =i rëkë=*
Ararima =SG =ERG house **HSY=** **HSY=** do; make =DYN FOC=
kuratuni .
ku =ratu =ni
COP =LOC:a bit faraway =HOD
'Ararima is building a house over there (–witnessed+reported).'

As we can see by the example (35a), and much like other morphemes of the Cluster B, this combination of morphemes does not coexist with the singular marker *a*=, which would be expected in regular[7] clauses with a noun of Type 1 (*yano* 'house) in the absolutive position, as in example (35b).

(35) a. *Ararima ani yano **ehã** thai rëkë*
*Ararima =a =ni yano **e**= **hã**= tha =i rëkë=*
Ararima =SG =ERG house **HSY=** **HSY=** do; make =DYN FOC=
kuratuni .
ku =ratu =ni
COP =LOC:a bit far away =HOD
'Ararima is building a house over there (–witnessed+reported).'

b. *Ararima ani yano **a** thai rë*
*Ararima =a =ni yano **a**= tha =i rë=*
Ararima =SG =ERG house **3SG=** do; make =DYN FOC=
kuratuni .
ku =ratu =ni
COP =LOC:a bit far away =HOD

[7] i.e. not marked for reportative.

'Ararima is building a house over there (+witnessed).'

Nevertheless, the combination of morphemes *e=hã=* does appear together with other markers of the Cluster B, such as the dual *kɨpë=* (36a-b), and the plural *pë=* (36c), and with noun classifiers, such as *he=* 'round objects' (36d). The examples in (36) also show that *e=* and *hã=*, do not occupy contiguous positions in Cluster B.

(36) a. *Kunathoi anɨ porokapi wana* ***e*****kɨpë*****ahã***

kunathoi =a =nɨ porokapi wana ***e=*** *kɨpë=* ***ahã=***

Kunathoi =SG =ERG two case **HSY=** DU= **HSY=**

pono thare .

po =no tha =re

hold =INFR COP =PRE.HOD

'Kunathoi had two arrow-point cases (–witnessed+reported+perfective).'

b. *Kunathoi anɨ porokapi wana* ***e*****kɨpë*****ahã***

kunathoi =a =nɨ porokapi wana ***e=*** *kɨpë=* ***ahã=***

Kunathoi =SG =ERG two case **HSY=** DU= **HSY=**

pou kurare .

po =ɨ ku =ra =re

hold =DYN exist =LOC:nearby =PRE.HOD

'Kunathoi had two arrow-point cases (–witnessed+reported+imperfective).'

c. *napë pënɨ oru* ***e*****pë*****ahã***

napë =pë =nɨ oru ***e=*** *pë=* ***ahã=***

white person =3PL =ERG gold **HSY=** 3PL= **HSY=**

torari kurahe .

to =ra =ri ku =re =he

take =DISTR =PFV1 COP =PRE.HOD =3PL

'The white people reportedly extracted gold.'

d. *Pokarari ani xote* ***e****he****ahã***
Pokarari =a =ni xote ***e=*** *he=* ***ahã=***
Pokarari =SG =ERG basket **HSY=** CLN:round= **HSY=**
tiyëi rë kupiëhuruni .
tiyë =i rë= ku =piëhuru =ni
weave =DYN FOC= COP =LOC:left_at_home =REL.PST
'They say that Pokarari was weaving a basket (alone at home).'

Ramirez (1994: 170) describes the morpheme *hõra=*[8] as a quotative (or *citatif*, in French) marker in Xamatauteri[9], used with the exact same function of *e=hã=* in YMA. Aikhenvald (2004:177) points out that term "quotative" was probably misused by Ramirez, as he did not present an example where the exact authorship of the information is explicit. To Aikhenvald the Xamatauteri *horã=* does not seem to be compatible with quotative situations. I will argue that both the reportative hearsay *stricto sensu* and the quotative are conflated under the category named *reportative* here, since we do find, at least in YMA, examples of *e=hã=* being used in sentences in which the speaker makes clear who was the original source of information. The sentences in (37) illustrate this usage of *e=hã=* with quotative meaning.

(37) a. *Ararima wãa haiha Kunathoi* ***ẽha***
Ararima wãa= ha =i =ha Kunathoi ***e=*** ***hã=***
Ararima sound= speak =DYN =OBL Kunathoi **HSY=** **HSY=**
kopohuruno kani
ko =pi =huru =no ku =ni
return_home =PFV3 =DIR.AND =INFR COP =HOD
'For what Ararima said, Kunothoi has left (+reportative/quotational).'

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[8] Ramirez does not call this marker "clitic", but "*incorporé*" and uses a plus sign + to indicate it. The members of the *incorporé* paradigm are basically the same of the sub-clusters A and B of the YMA and their formal properties are identical as well.
[9] Or Yanomami from Marauiá.

b. *Kunathoi ani yamaki noa thai wei ,*
kunathoi =a =ni yamaki= noa= tha =i =wei
Kunathoi =SG =ERG 1PL= V.PTC= do; make =DYN =NMLZ
*napë pëni oru **epë**ahã* *toai*
*napë =pë =ni oru **e**= pë= **ahã**= toa =i*
white person =3PL =ERG gold **HSY=** **3PL=** **HSY=** take =DYN
kuraharuheni .
ku =raharu =he =ni
COP =LOC:upriver =3PL =HOD

'From what Kunathoi alerted us about, white people are extracting gold downriver.'

As we can see by the examples above, the reportative *e=hã=* can be used in both perfective and imperfective contexts, and in present or past situations. Moreover, this complex morpheme cooccurs with the *k*-words and the focalizer *rë(kë)=*, and, in perfective contexts, the inferential *=no* is frequently required in the construction.

The origin of the reportative marker is the different participant marker *e=* and the meronym (noun of Type 2) *wãha=/ãha=* 'name', which itself is probably related to another meronym, *wãa=/ã=* 'sound,' 'voice.' As I showed in §11.3.3, *wãa=/ã=* 'sound,' 'voice' is the source of the first-hand auditory information marker. Ramirez (1994: 170) does not identify an evidentiality category of auditory source of information in Xamatauteri (Yanomami) and, according to the author, the marker for reported information in the language, has its origins on the incorporated noun *hõra=* 'sound', 'noise', not on 'name', as YMA. As Aikhenvald points out (2002: p.284) evidentials rarely come from nouns crosslinguistically. However, when it happens, auditory and reported information markers are the most frequent evidential markers grammaticalized from nouns, and nouns related to 'voice,' 'sound,' 'noise' or 'rumor' are the most common source of this process. YMA seems to follow this general tendency.

11.3.5. Assumed or supposed information: the *m*-words

This evidentiality category can be expressed in situations in which the speaker wants to flag the information is an assumption or supposition, in general, based on common sense (38a), previous knowledge (38b), or even imprecise evidence (38c). This category is expressed in main clauses through the combination of the interrogative focalizer *pi=*, from Cluster B, and a series of complex words, similar to the *k*-words in many respects, which I will call the *m*-words. In (38), I present some clauses that are marked for assumptive evidentiality. The morphemes responsible for this meaning are in bold.

(38) a. *Papiu thëri pënɨ reahu **pi** a*
*Papiu thëri =pë =nɨ reahu **pi=** a=*
Papiu inhabitant =PL =ERG festival **FOC.INT=** 3SG=
*thaɨ **marãharu** .*
*tha =ɨ **ma** **=rãharu***
do; make =DYN **COP.ASS** **=LOC:upriver**

'The people from Papiu must be organizing a funeral festival upriver (I am saying that because I know, for instance, that there has been many deaths recently in the region, so funeral festivals are expected to come anytime soon).'

b. *Ararima anɨ ai thuë **pi** a toaɨ*
*Ararima =a =nɨ ai thuë **pi=** a= toa =ɨ*
Ararima =SG =ERG other woman **FOC.INT=** 3SG= take =DYN
***marã** .*
ma** **=ra
COP.ASS **=LOC:nearby**

'Ararima wants to marry another woman (I am saying that because I know, for instance, he is unhappy with the current marriage and he keeps visiting neighboring village every day, apparently without a reason).'

c. *ĩhĩ napë pëni **pi** yamaki*
*ĩhĩ napë =pë =ni **pi=** yamaki=*
ANA white person =3PL =ERG **FOC.INT=** 1PL=
*mëraa **mamarituhahe** . .*
*mëra =a **ma** **=ma** **=ri** **=ha** **=he***
blunder =PFV.VWL **COP.ASS** **=CAUS** **=PFV1** **=HOD** **=3PL**

'Those white people deceived us (I am not sure why I am saying that, it is just a hunch).'

This category resembles the inferential category in the sense that they do not only indicate non-witnessed information but also that the information is the result of reasoning or deduction by the speaker. The two categories seem to differ, nevertheless, in the type of evidence used in this deductive process and, consequently, in the degree of certainty about the event's actual realization. In assumptive situations, the speaker may base her reasoning on pieces of evidence which are not material or visual, while in inferential contexts she is often relying on more objective and tangible evidence. The pair of examples in (39) try to capture this subtle difference between these two categories.

INFERENTIAL

(39) a. *Ararima a rama arayo**no** **kani** .*
*Ararima a= rama a =rayu **=no** **ku** **=ni***
Ararima 3SG= hunt SG =PFV1 **=INFR** **COP** **=HOD**

'Ararima went out to hunt (+inferred) (I am not seeing him arround neither his weapons).'

ASSUMED INFORMATION

b. *Ararima a pi rama aa*
Ararima a= pi= rama a =a
Ararima 3SG= FOC.INT= hunt go =PFV.VWL
mariha
ma =ri =ha
COP.ASS =PFV1 =HOD

'Ararima went out to hunt (+assumed) (I heard her wife complaining yesteday with Ararima that she was *naiki* i.e. 'hungry of meat'. Today it is not raining so, being a good day to hunt, I am assuming he did went out to hunt).'

The morphemes involved in this construction are the interrogative focalizer enclitic *pi*= and one word of the *m*-words. The focalizer *pi*= is the morpheme regularly found in interrogative clauses (40). For more on this interrogative focalizer, please refer to §12.3 in the chapter on non-declarative acts of speech.

(40) a. *uti **pi** a waroki kuha ?*
*uti **pi=** a= waro =ki ku =ha*
INT.PRO **FOC.INT=** 3SG= arrive =PFV2 COP =HOD
'Who has arrived?'

b. *hei uti rakama **pi** e thuku tha?*
*hei uti rakama **=pi** =e =thuku =tha*
this INT.PRO hammock **=FOC.INT** =DIF.PART =CLN:hammock =PTC.INT
'Whose hammock is this?'

The other set of morphemes that appear in this construction is the *m*-words. This set is similar to the *k*-words in several respects. The paradigms of both series are, for instance, morphologically independent words in the language and made up of one copular element and a set of grammatical morphemes. Interestingly, while the *k*-words have *ku* 'to exist' as their copular element, the *m*-words have *ma* 'not to exist' as theirs. This root appears in verb stems as in (41), always with a non-existential meaning.

(41) a. *ipa* *são* *pë* ***ma****prarioma* .
ipa *são* *pë=* ***ma*** *=pra* *=rio* *=ma*
1POS salt 3PL= **not_exist** =DRV =PFV1 =PST
'I ran out of salt.'

b. *urihi* *hamɨ* *aho* *hiima* ***ma****rayoma* .
urihi= *=hamɨ* *aho* *hiima* ***ma*** *=rayu* *=ma*
CLN:forest= =OBL 2POS dog **not_exist** =PFV1 =PST
'Your dog disappeared in the forest.'

The *m*- and *k*-words are also alike for both types of words always appear at the end of the clause and can host tense and spatial markers. Nevertheless, some of the marked categories are not the same and the syntactic restrictions applied to each type of word are different as well. The first fundamental difference concerns the distinction between present and hodiernal past tenses, which in the *k*-words were conflated under the same category and marked with *=nɨ*, both in imperfective and perfective sentences. In the *m*-words, nevertheless, these two tense categories are not alike. Present events are never marked while hodiernal past events are marked, in imperfective contexts, with the discontinuous morpheme *=a...=ha* and, in perfective contexts, with *=ha*. The examples in (42) illustrate these morphemes in use.

(42) a. *Ararima* *pi* *a* *wakëmamuu*
Ararima *pi=* *a=* *wakë* *=ma* *=mu* *=ɨ*
Ararima FOC.INT= 3SG= red =CAUS =INTRZ =DYN
mara .
ma *=ra*
COP.ASS =LOC:nearby
'Ararima must be painting himself.' (present, unmarked)

b. *Ararima pi a wakëmamuu*
Ararima pi= a= wakë =ma =mu =ɨ
Ararima FOC.INT= 3SG= red =CAUS =INTRZ =DYN
*ma**aha*** .
ma ***=a*** ***=ha***
COP.ASS **=IMPFV.HOD** **=IMPFV.HOD**
'Ararima must have been painting himself (+assumed, +imperfective, +hodiernal).'

c. *Ararima pi a wakëa*
Ararima pi= a= wakë =a
Ararima FOC.INT= 3SG= red =PFV.VWL
*mamamori**ha*** .
ma *=ma* *=mu* *=ri* ***=ha***
COP.ASS =CAUS =INTRZ =PFV1 **=HOD**
'Ararima must have painted himself (+assumed, +perfective, +hodiernal).'

Note that the hodiernal past morphemes of the *m*-words, *=a...=ha* and *=ha*, are not cognate with the hodiernal past/present marker *=nɨ* used in the *k*-words. In §11.3.1.2, I argued that several of the morphemes that appear in the *k*-words have their origins in markers of the relative construction, with the exception precisely of the hodiernal past/present marker *=ni*, which probably came from the connective/conjunction *=nɨ*, used in subordinate clauses of time. The different origin of this morpheme has morphosyntactic consequences, such as the position of the morpheme *=nɨ* in relation to other morphemes that appear together with it. We saw, for instance, that in the *k*-words the marker for third person plural agent *=he* goes before the marker *=nɨ* but after the hodiernal past marker *=re* (please check examples in (7)). On the other hand, the hodiernal past marker of the *m*-words *=ha* or *=a...=ha* has its origins also in the marker found in the relative clauses *=ha* (see §11.8 for details). This may explain why the marker for third person agent does not go before the hodiernal marker in the *m*-words but remains in it typical final position. In (43), I

present an example of the interaction between the agent marker *=he* and the past marker *=ha*.

(43) *Papiu thëri pëni naxi pi kohiu*
Papiu thëri =pë =ni naxi pi= kohiu=
Papiu inhabitant =PL =ERG cassava FOC.INT= CLN:beer=
*koa maprari**hahe** .*
*ko =a ma =pra =ri **=ha** **=he***
drink =PFV.VWL COP.ASS =DRV =PFV1 **=HOD** **=3PL**

'The people from Papiu must have drunk cassava beer today (+assumed) (I am saying that because nobody from Papiu appeared here today; I assumed that everybody stayed at home because of the cassava beer).'

The marker for pre-hodiernal past of the *m*-words also varies according to the aspect of the clause. In perfective sentences, the marker used is *=re*, just like the marker for the *k*-words, but in imperfective contexts it changes to the discontinuous *=a...=pere* or *=a...=re*. The examples in (44) illustrate what I proposed above. In (44a), we have an imperfective predicate and in (44b) a perfective one.

(44) a. *Ararima pi a wakëmamuu*
Ararima pi= a= wakë =ma =mu =i
Ararima FOC.INT= 3SG= red =CAUS =INTRZ =DYN
*ma**a**tupe (**re**).*
*ma **=a** =tu **=pe** **=re***
COP.ASS **=IMPFV** =LOC:a bit far away **=PRE.HOD** **=PRE.HOD**

'Ararima must have been painting himself over there (+assumed, +imperfective, +pre-hodiernal).'

b. *Papiu thëri pënɨ naxi pi kohiu*
Papiu thëri =pë =nɨ naxi pi= kohiu=
Papiu inhabitant =PL =ERG cassava FOC.INT= CLN:beer=
*koa maprari**re**he* .
*ko =a ma =pra =ri **=re** =he*
drink =PFV.VWL COP.ASS =DRV =PFV1 **=PRE.HOD** =3PL
'The people from Papiu must have drunk cassava beer (+assumed) (+perfective) (+pre-hodiernal).'

In Table 11.4 below I present the tense markers used with the *m*-words in imperfective and perfective contexts, and compare them to those used with the *k*-words.

Table 11.4 – Tense categories markers in the *m*- and *k*-words

	m-words (perfective)	*m*-words (imperfective)	*k*-words (all aspects)
Pre-hodiernal past	*=re*	*=a... =pere / =a...=pe*	*=re*
Hodiernal past / present	*=ha*	*=a...=ha*	*=nɨ*
Present	*=Ø*	*=Ø*	

Similarly to the *k*-words, the *m*-words can also be marked for spatial relations. The two types of words differ, nevertheless, for the *m*-words are able to host spatial deictic morphemes even in perfective clauses, what the *k*-words cannot do, as we saw in 11.3.1.1. The examples in (45a) show a *m*-word with the morpheme that indicates that event in an imperfective clause and, in (45b), the same category being marked in a perfective sentence.

(45) a. *kihamɨ tihɨ pi a huu ma**ratu***
*kihamɨ tihɨ pi= a= hu =ɨ ma **=ratu***
there jaguar FOC.INT= 3SG= go =DYN COP.ASS **=LOC:a bit faraway**

'There is maybe a jaguar running over there (+assumed) (I am saying that because I heard the vocalization of the red-eyed vireo (*Vireo olivaceus*), which is considered to be the sonorous sign of a jaguar's presence nearby) [10].'

b. *pata uha Kunathoi anɨ ai ɨrã*
pata =u =ha Kunathoi =a =nɨ ai ɨrã
big =CLN:liquid =OBL Kunathoi =SG =ERG other footbridge
pi kɨkɨ xatio
pi= kɨkɨ= xati =o
FOC.INT= CLN:collective= stick =STV
mamakuture .
ma =ma =ku ***=tu*** *=re*
COP.ASS =CAUS =PFV2 **=LOC:a_bit_faraway** =PRE.HOD

'Kunathoi must have put another footbridge over the river (+assumed) (I have not seen the new footbridge, but I know that the old one, which was the only access to Kunathoi's community, had been washed away by the high waters some days ago. Kunathoi must have built another one to avoid the isolation of the community).'

Note that two spatial markers used in (45a) and (45b) are not exactly the same, even though they seem to be cognate. In the imperfective contexts, *m*-words take the same set of spatial markers as found in the *k*-words. However, four of these markers behave differently when combined with the past markers (either hodiernal or pre-hodiernal) in imperfective contexts. These markers are *=ra* 'nearby event', *=ratu* 'a bit far away event', *=rakɨrɨ/=rakuru* 'downriver event' and *=raharu* 'upriver event'. All of these markers lose the initial *=ra* in imperfective past contexts. The nearby category is not marked in past circumstances, therefore. Not only that, the category seems not to be active in the past, i.e., unmarked clauses in the past do not refer necessarily to nearby events. The example (46a) refers to an event that is assumedly

[10] This clause could be marked with the inferential *=no* instead.

happening down the river, and in (46b), to an event that *was* happening at the same relative location.

(46) a. *Kunathoi a pi ohi ma**rãkiri*** .
*Kunathoi a= pi= ohi ma **=rãkiri***
Kunathoi 3SG= FOC.INT= be_hungry COP.ASS **=DIR:downriver**
'Kunathoi must be hungry down there (+assumed) (I am saying that because he left early in the morning to hunt and it is afternoon now and he is not back yet).'

b. *Kunathoi a pi ohi*
Kunathoi a= pi= ohi
Kunathoi 3SG= FOC.INT= be_hungry
*maa**kiri**ha* .
*ma =a **=kiri** =ha*
COP.ASS =IMPFV **=DIR:downriver** =HOD
'Kunathoi must have been hungry down there (+assumed) (+hodiernal) (I am saying that because he left early in the morning to hunt and arrived only late in the afternoon).'

As the Table 11.5 shows, the remaining spatial markers of the *m*-paradigm coincide with the markers of the *k*-paradigm and do not behave differently in present and past contexts. As a final note on the imperfective paradigm, it is worth mentioning that the forms beginning with *pië* are surprisingly not compatible with the hodiernal past marker =*ha*.

Table 11.5 – Spatial categories markers in the *m-* and *k*-words – Imperfective paradigm)

	m-words (past)	*m*-words (present)	*k*-words
nearby	*=Ø*	*=ra*	
a bit far away	*=tu*	*=ratu*	
upriver, on the other side of the river bank	*=haru*	*=raharu*	
downriver	*=kiri*	*=rakiri/=rakuru*	
outside the house, near a pond, in an open field or forest clearing	*=pië*		
outside the house, near a pond, in an open field or forest clearing (+a bit far away)	*=piëtu*		
left in the house	*=piëhuru*		
on a higher position (e.g. on the top of a mountain, or on the top of the river bank [speaking from the water])	*=pohoru*		
on a lower position (e.g. in a valley, or on the water [speaking from the river bank])	*=potu*		
andative (centrifugal)	*=imatu*		
venitive (centripetal)	*=ima*		

We saw in §11.3.1.1 that the *k*-words cannot be marked with a spatial deictic if the clause is also being marked for perfectivity. In those cases, the space morpheme must be hosted by the main verb instead. This is a fundamental difference between the *k*- and the *m*-words, since the latter does host spatially related morphemes no matter the general aspect of the clause. Nevertheless, the perfective paradigm of spatial morphemes of the *m*-words is not the one used in imperfective contexts (Table

11.5) but the shorter version of the CB enclitics, the same version used with main verbs in clauses with a *k*-word. In (47) I present examples of clauses being marked for assumed information with spatially marked *m*-words. Note that the perfective forms in the examples below are not the extended version *=rayo* or *=re*, but also the shorter version *=ri*, which does not vary according to the transitivity of the verb, like the long version. Moreover, the number of spatial categories are fewer in the perfective paradigm, since the directional markers *=ima* 'venitive' and *=huru* 'andative' are not compatible with perfective clauses. In order to mark direction in this type of predicate, the speaker must use different perfective markers, as explained in Section §6.2.3 in the chapter on verb morphology, just like a regular perfective clause in the language.

(47) a. *Ararima pi a wakëa*
Ararima pi= a= wakë =a
Ararima FOC.INT= 3SG= red =PFV.VWL
*mamamo**ri**tuha* .
*ma =ma =mu **=ri** =tu =ha*
COP.ASS =CAUS =INTRZ **=PFV1** =LOC:a_bit_faraway =HOD

Ararima must have painted himself over there (I did not see him painting himself, but I assuming it because he was expected to appear soon for the meeting and he usually appears painted).

b. *ṫiḣi aniḣ ipa hiima pi a waa*
ṫiḣi =a =niḣ ipa hiima pi= a= wa =a
jaguar =SG =ERG 1POS dog FOC.INT= 3SG= eat =PFV.VWL
*ma**ri**harure* .
*ma **=ri** =haru =re*
COP.ASS **=PFV1** =LOC:upstream =PRE.HOD

'The jaguar may have eaten my dog (I am saying that because I saw a jaguar in the forest, coming from the direction where my dog had got lost).'

Another significant difference between the *k*- and *m*-paradigms concerns their precise position in the clause in perfective predicates. Although both sets of words appear at the end of the clause, they host different parts of the clitic Cluster C. As I

showed in §11.3.1, the *k*-words only host morphemes from Sub-Cluster CC. On the other hand, in perfective contexts, the *m*-word can take the morphemes of CA and CB as well, such as the derivational morphemes, *=ma* and *=pra*, and perfective markers. This may be the reason that explains why the *m*-words have chosen the spatial morphemes of Cluster C to express these categories in perfective contexts. The two pairs of examples in (48) and (49) make these differences evident in the morphological properties of the *k*- and *m*-words in perfective predicates. In (48a) and (49a) a *k*-word marks the clauses as eye-witnessed events, while in (48b) and (49b) an *m*-word marks an event assumed to have happened.

(48) a. *kihi napë pëni yamaki*
kihi napë =pë =ni yamaki=
that white person =3PL =ERG 1PL=
mëramareharu keheni .
mëra =ma =ri =haru ku =he =ni
blunder =CAUS =PFV1 =LOC:upstream COP =3PL =HOD
'Those white persons deceive us down there (+witnessed).'

b. *ĩhĩ napë pëni pi yamaki*
ĩhĩ napë =pë =ni pi= yamaki=
ANA white person =3PL =ERG FOC.INT= 1PL=
mëraa
mëra =a
blunder =PFV.VWL
mamarikirihahe .
ma =ma =ri =kiri =ha =he
COP.ASS =CAUS =PFV1 =DIR:downriver =HOD =3PL
'Those white people deceived us down there (+assumed) (I am not sure why I am saying that, it is just a hunch).'

(49) a. *Papiu thëripënɨ reahu a thaprari*
Papiu thëri =pë =nɨ reahu a= tha =pra =ri
Papiu inhabitant =PL =ERG festival 3SG= do; make =DRV =PFV1
kurehe .
ku =re =he
COP =PRE.HOD =3PL
'The people from Papiu organized a festival (+witnessed).'

b. *Papiu thëripënɨ reahu pi a*
Papiu thëri =pë =nɨ reahu pi= a=
Papiu inhabitant =PL =ERG festival FOC.INT= 3SG=
thaa maprarirehe .
tha =a ma =pra =ri =re =he
do; make =PFV.VWL COP.ASS =DRV =PFV1 =PRE.HOD =3PL
'The people from Papiu must have? organized a festival (+assumed).'

Note that in the examples (48b) and (49b), the main verb takes the perfective vowel *=a*. As we will see in Chapter 10 (§10.4), this is precisely the pattern found in the constructions with serial verbs in perfective situations, i.e. the last verb of the series takes the whole C cluster while the first verbs of the constructions (in the cases above there is only one other verb) take the perfective vowel *=a*. The two constructions are morphologically different, nevertheless, for the *m*-words take only the reduced form of the morphemes of C (such as *=haru, =tu, =rɨ*) while in a real serial verbs construction the last verb takes the long form of these morphemes (*=harayu, =tayu, =rayo*). Schema 11.3 below illustrates the syntactic position of the *m*-words in imperfective predicates in relation to the main verb and the clitic Cluster C.

Schema 11.3 – Verb morphology and the *m*-words – Perfective predicates

main **V** =PERF.VW **M** =CA=CB=CC

The sentence in (50) exemplifies this schema.

(50) *yãrɨ anɨ karaka pi pë nomaa*
yãrɨ =a =nɨ karaka pi= pë= noma =a
storm =SG =ERG chicken FOC.INT= 3PL= die =PFV.VWL
mariharure .
ma =ri =haru =re
COP.ASS =PFV1 =LOC:upstream =PRE.HOD
'The chickens must have died up there because of the storm (+assumed) (+pre-hodiernal) (I am saying that because yesterday there was a huge storm in the region and I know that the chickens that were being raised in the house upriver did not have proper shelter from such a storm).'

We saw above that, in imperfective contexts, the *m*-words behave similarly to the *k*-words. Their morphosyntactic position in the clause are also alike, as the *m*-words take only the Sub-Cluster CC in imperfective contexts while the remaining clitics of C (CA and CB) keep being hosted by the main verb. The Schema 11.4 illustrates the position of the *m*-words in this aspectual context.

Schema 11.4 – Verb morphology and the *m*-words – Imperfective predicates

main **V** =CA=CB **M** =CC

Morphologically, in imperfective predicates, the two types of words differ in one detail, nevertheless. While the present/hodiernal past marker *=nɨ* of the *k*-words goes after the enclitics of CC, the corresponding hodiernal past marker *=ha* of the *m*-words remains before them. The Schema 11.5 presents the morphological structure of the *m*-words.

Schema 11.5 – Morphological structure of the *m*-words – Imperfective predicates

M =SPT =TENSE =CC

The sentence in (51) exemplifies this schema.

(51) *napë pënɨ yano pi a thaɨ*
napë =pë =nɨ yano pi= a= tha =ɨ
white person =PL =ERG house FOC.INT= 3SG= do; make =DYN
maaruhahe .
ma =a =ru =ha =he
COP.ASS =IMPFV =PFV1 =HOD =3PL
'The white people must be builduing a house upriver (+assumed, +hodiernal).'

11.4. Is there a single evidentiality system in YMA or is it multiplex?

It is not entirely clear to me whether YMA has one single complex evidentiality system or rather multiple coexisting systems. The pieces of evidence available seem to be contradictory.

On the one hand, the different distribution of each set of morphemes in the clause suggests that there are multiple systems. The morpheme *=no*, which indicates inferred information, for instance, is an enclitic of Cluster C (Sub-Cluster CB), while the markers for reported (*e=hã=*) and auditory (*wãa=*) information, appear as proclitics of Cluster B. The latter forms differ in their level of morphological complexity, as *e=(a)hã=* is discontinuous combination of proclitics and *wãa=* is a single morpheme. On the other hand, even though the *k*- and *m*-word appear at the end of the clause, the precise place in which each of them is adjoined is different as they can take different morphemes from Cluster C. While the *k*-words can host morphemes only from Sub-Cluster CC (they cannot take the perfective morphemes, for instance), the *m*-words can take not only the perfective morphemes but can host enclitics even from Sub-Cluster CA, such as derivative *=pra* or causative *=ma*.

The different positions of these morphemes (or a combination of morphemes) in the clause are partially explained by the various sources and different degrees of grammaticalization of these forms. As we saw above, the morphemes that indicate reported information *e=(a)hã=* have their probable origins in the combination of the different participant marker *e=* and the meronym (noun of Type 2) *ahã=* 'name.' The exact process through which these forms acquired their reportative meaning is not at

all clear but was certainly very different from the process that led to the enclitic *=no* to acquire its inferential meaning. The marker for the auditory source of information has its origins in the meronym *wãa=* 'sound', 'voice'.

In other words, from the perspective of their morpho-syntactic distribution in the clause, there is no evidence supporting the analysis that the YMA evidentiality markers are members of the same paradigmatic system.

On the other hand, other features of the YMA evidentiality suggest that there may be only one system. The primary source of evidence favoring this interpretation concerns the impossibility of combining the different evidentiality categories in order to express, through morphological means, more complex arrangements of source of information. The combination of the reportative marker *e=ãha=* with the inferential marker *=no* does not give a cumulative reportative-inferential meaning to the clause, such as the meaning that the ungrammatical example in (52) tries to produce.

(52) * *Ararima anɨ xama **eãha***
*Ararima =a =nɨ xama **e=** **ãha=***
Ararima =SG =ERG tapir **HSY=** **HSY=**
*xëprare**no** kanɨ* .
*xë =pra =ri **=no** ku =nɨ*
beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 **=INFR** COP =HOD

'Ararima reportedly killed a tapir (+inferred) (i.e. I have been told that Ararima killed a tapir, and the people/person who told me did not eye-witnessed the event, but infered it from objective pieces of evidence).'

The combination of these markers seems to be blocked, as far as I know. With or without the inferential marker, the reportative meaning always prevails. The two sentences in (53) appear to have the same meaning.

(53) a. *Ararima ani xama* ***eãha***

Ararima =a =ni xama ***e= ãha=***

Ararima =SG =ERG tapir **HSY= HSY=**

*xëprare**no*** *kani* .

xë =pra =ri ***=no*** *ku =ni*

beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 **=INFR** COP =HOD

'Ararima reportedly killed a tapir.'

b. *Ararima ani xama* ***eãha***

Ararima =a =ni xama ***e= ãha=***

Ararima =SG =ERG tapir **HSY= HSY=**

xëprarema .

xë =pra =ri =ma

beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 =PST

'Ararima reportedly killed a tapir.'

Taking into account that the possibility of combination of the markers is an important parameter to decide about the independence of different evidentiality systems in a language (Aikhenvald 2002:103), we should then consider that YMA has a single very complex system, composed of five members. As we mentioned before, two categories express the direct knowledge of the event by the speaker, one visual (eye-witnessed) and another auditory. On the other hand, three categories imply indirect knowledge, one visual (or based on visual evidence), one auditory (the reportative hearsay), and the last one based exclusively on an inmaterial source of information, that is, assumption. The Table 11.6 below summarizes the evidentiality marking system in YMA.

Table 11.6 – Summary of the five categories evidentiality system of YMA

Speaker experience with the event	Mean of experience	Mechanism of expression
first-hand	visual	*k*-words
	auditory	*wãa=*
second-hand	visual (inference)	*=no*
	auditory (report)	*e=ãha=*
	thought (assumption)	*m*-words

11.5. On the obligatoriness of the evidentiality markers

As I pointed out in the examples in (1), YMA allows the speaker to choose between morphologically marking the clause for one of the five evidentiality categories, or leaving the clause without such type of marker. For every clause overtly marked for evidentiality, there is an alternative unmarked construction, which is neutral regarding the indication of how that information was acquired by the speaker. In other words, in principle, clauses unmarked for evidentiality are perfectly grammatical. Most importantly, these neutral clauses are very frequent in the language, probably the most common ones. In a sample of 2100 clauses extracted from 38 natural texts produced during story-retelling experiments with different speakers, only 46 clauses displayed any evidential marker. The very low frequency (about 2.2% of the clauses, and only 1.2 evidential marker per text) of the evidential markers in this sample indicates that YMA clearly has a non-obligatory evidentiality system.

On the other hand, these figures should not give the false impression that evidentiality marking mechanisms are marginal and non-productive in YMA. First, the methodology used during the experiment biased the results in some way. We can have a measure of this bias by the limited variety in evidentiality markers found in the sample. Only two types appeared: the markers for eye-witnessed and reported events. This is what we expected given the methodology we used in the experiments, according to which first a speaker watched a video then retold the story to another

speaker who then retold the reported story to a third speaker again. There were two types of speakers in this experiment, therefore, one that had a first-hand visual experience and another one that only had second-hand auditory experience of the same story. The markers for precisely these two categories were the only ones registered in the sample.

Moreover, and most importantly, all participants of this experiment had a clear and shared notion of the source of the conveyed information. Indeed, this was clearly stated when the researcher presented the experiment to the speakers: first, one watches the video alone, retell the story to another one, who in turn tell the story again to someone else. Each one in the experiment knew beforehand that the person to whom she was telling the story was aware of the source of that information (i.e. whether the video itself or the person who watched the video). That is, how the speaker acquired the information she is reporting on never was relevant (i.e. new) information during the experiment.

We have not proceeded yet to an extensive count of the evidential markers in other types of texts. Nevertheless, in a much smaller sample of 502 clauses extracted from a single interview with a woman on her personal history (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18), the frequency of these markers was significantly higher (46 tokens or 9.2% of the clauses), even though these markers are far from being pervasive or even prevalent throughout the text. The diversity of markers was much higher in this text as well, since all of the five evidentiality mechanisms were found in PDYP_MIC_A_03_18 and each of them more than once. Thus, overall, evidentiality marking in YMA is probably far from marginal.

In any event, evidentiality flagging does not seem to be a grammatical requirement in YMA. Moreover, not marking a clause for evidentiality does not mean a lack of linguistic or communicative competence by the speaker, and neither does it result in artificial or 'awkward' clauses, as seems to be the case for Kamaiurá and Shipibo-Konibo (*apud* Aikhenvald, 2002:78). As an alternative explanation, we prefer to consider them to have a pragmatic or discursive status in the language, in the sense that the speaker seems to base her choice of making use of these mechanisms exclusively on the knowledge she attributes to her interlocutor about the source of the

information she is conveying. That is, when the speaker considers this source sufficiently clear, she does not flag the clause with an evidentiality marker; when this source changes or is seen as not clear enough, then a marker is likely to be used. This probably explains why evidential markers may be found in the first five clauses in several texts, and not in the remaining part of the discourse. The example in (54), extracted from story retelling experiment illustrates this situation. The speaker here heard the story from another participant and is now telling it again. In these first six clauses of the text, the speaker uses two evidentiality markers (in bold), one in the first sentence to indicate that he eye-witnessed Himotona telling the story and another one in the third clause to indicate that this part of the text (and onwards) was reported to him. Even though the following events were also reported to him by Himotona, they were not marked with the reportative *ẽ=ahã=*, since the source of information remained the same, and was clearly stated by the speaker. The reportative *ẽ=ahã=* appears again in this text only ten clauses later.

(54) *hapai naha thãa kure Himotona*
hapai =naha thã= ã= ku =re Himotona
CAT =thereby CLN.GNR= sound= COP =PRE.HOD Himotona
*anɨ thãa thaɨ **kupani** , hapa*
*=a =nɨ thã= ã= tha =ɨ **ku** **=pani** hapa*
=SG =ERG CLN.GNR= sound= do; make =DYN **COP** **=HOD** before
mahi porepore pë rakɨopëha , hãyokoroma
mahi porepore pë= rakɨ =o =pë =ha hãyõkõrõma
much tools 3PL= lean =STV =NMLZ =OBL axe
***eãha** yaireno kanɨ , hãyokoroma a*
***e=** **ãha=** yai =ri =no ku =nɨ hãyõkõrõma a=*
HSY= **HSY=** choose =PFV1 =INFR COP =HOD axe 3SG=
ha yairɨnɨ , ĩhĩ tëhë a aa
ha= yai =ri =nɨ ĩhĩ =tëhë a= a =a
REL.PST= choose =PFV1 =REL.PST ANA =REL.PRS 3SG= go =PFV.VWL
ha xoarɨnɨ [...]
ha= xoa =ri =nɨ
REL.PST= afterwards =PFV1 =REL.PST

'Himotona told the following story (+witnessed). First, where the tools were leaning, he reportedly chose the axe, and having chosen the axe, then he went out afterwards [...]'

Finally, another aspect that should always be observed when analyzing the obligatoriness of any evidentiality system is that every language allows their speakers to lie about and to manipulate the information they are conveying in the discourse, and ultimately, to manipulate other speakers. Evidentiality marking is not obligatory in YMA, but even if it were, it would certainly not imply that the speaker would have to state every time the actual source of information. Aikhenvald (2002: 98) describes how someone can tell a lie in languages like Tariana with such obligatory evidentiality system. It does not really differ much from what languages with non-obligatory systems, like YMA, do, which is just the conscious misuse of one evidentiality marker when a different marker was clearly the one that would truthfully correspond to the actual source of that piece of information. The example (55) below illustrates this type of "morphological lie." This sentence belongs to a traditional narrative in which a young woman kills the son of her sister while taking care of him. When her sister arrives, she alleges that she does not know why the child has gotten ill, and she marks the event with an inferential, with the clear intention of covering up her deed.

(55) *ei asima ai haari mahiprariono .*
ei asima a= i= haari mahi =pra =rio =no
this son SG= DIM= ill, sick much =DRV =PFV1 =INFR
'The child has gotten badly ill (+inferred) (trad_nar_Terema).'

11.6. Dreamed information *mahari/utupë*

For the Yanomami people, dreams are a highly relevant source of information. What someone had dreamed about during the night is an important parameter to decide about her daily activities. If you dream of a snake or being bitten by a snake in one night, for instance, is better to stay at home during the following morning to avoid an actual snake bite. This may be the reason why information acquired by dreams is

frequently cast as first-hand visual information in YMA, i.e. expressed by the use of a *k*-word without any additional evidentiality marker, like in (56).

(56) *ya maharimuu tëhë xama waa*
ya= mahari =mu =ɨ =tëhë xama wa= =a
1SG= dreamlike =INTRZ =DYN =REL.PRS tapir 2SG= =3SG
xëprari ***kanɨ*** .
xë =pra =ri ***ku*** ***=nɨ***
beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 **COP** **=HOD**
'When I was dreaming, you killed a tapir (+witnessed).'

This is not a strict rule, nevertheless, since it is indeed possible to find other types of evidentiality markers in reports on dreams. The example in (57) is marked with the reportative *e=ãha=* and is perfectly grammatical.

(57) *ya maharimuu tëhë , wa****ẽãha***
ya= mahari =mu =ɨ =tëhë wa= ***e=*** ***ãha=***
1SG= dreamlike =INTRZ =DYN =REL.PRS 2SG= **HSY=** **HSY=**
nomarayono *kanɨ* .
noma =rayu =no ku =nɨ
die =PFV1 =INFR COP =HOD
'When I was dreaming, you had died (+reported).'

I will argue that the speakers of YMA grant to the information obtained in dreams the same treatment to that acquired in the "objective world" regarding the indication of its precise source. That is if the event was actually 'eye-witnessed' by the speaker in her dreams, and if she wants to flag it, she will do it as if it was regular eye-witnessed (non-dreamed) event (i.e. with *k*-words). If the event was heard or reported to her in her dreams, she might signal it in the clause with the correspondent evidentiality marker.

As I indicated, there is no dedicated morphology available to the speaker of YMA to express that the information she is conveying was dreamed by her. In the two examples above, the source of information was indicated by a subordinate clause of

time ('when I was dreaming'). However, there is another mean for doing that, which may be (mistakenly) analyzed as morphological evidentiality. Formally, this mechanism is a complex construction with the adverbial stem *mahari* 'dreamlike' added to the main verb.

(58) *hei tëhë oru kɨkɨnɨ ya* ***mahari***
hei =tëhë oru =kɨkɨ =nɨ ya= ***mahari***
this =REL.PRS snake =CLN:serpentiform =ERG 1SG= **dreamlike**
warema .
wa =ri =ma
eat =PFV1 =PST
'Today a snake bit me in my dreams.'

Alternatively, the speakers can still use the word *utupë* 'image' to give a slightly different meaning to the clause. Even though in this case the word *utupë* is not directly related to dream (like *mahari* 'dreamlike'), it is clear that speaker refers to either a dream or a hallucination.

(59) *hei tëhë oru kɨkɨnɨ ya* ***utupë***
hei =tëhë oru =kɨkɨ =nɨ ya= ***utupë***
this =REL.PRS snake =CLN:serpentiform =ERG 1SG= **image**
warema .
wa =ri =ma
eat =PFV1 =PST
'Today a snake bit my image (i.e. bit me in my dreams).'

I do not consider *mahari* or *utupë* to be evidential markers for two reasons. First, both forms are lexical words, and they do not seem to have undergone any grammaticalization process to get in this syntactic position with this particular meaning. In other words, this appears to be a normal lexico-syntactic mechanism, not a morphological one. Indeed, as I pointed out above, this is an adverbial modification construction, as described in detail in Chapter 10 (§10.3).

The second reason is a consequence of the first one. If the construction is a regular lexico-syntactic phenomenon, other similar forms/words are expected to be able to occupy the same syntactic position with similar semantics implication. This post can be filled by typical adverbial-like words such as *rope* 'quickly', *opisãi* 'slowly' (60a) and by others with more unlikely or culture-specific adverbial meanings, such as *mahari* 'dreamlike' itself and *suaha* 'as marital payment' (60b). In order to understand the context of use of this last 'adverbial' stem *suaha* 'as marital payment,' one must know that when a man takes a women as his spouse, he must work for and ideally live with her family for some months or even years. During this period when the husband is paying for the marriage and living with his wife's relatives, every action he performs may be characterized as 'as marital payment' (60c).

(60) a. *Ararima a **rope** iarayoma .*
*Ararima a= **rope** ia =rayu =ma*
Ararima 3SG= **quick** eat =PFV1 =PST
'Ararima ate quickly.'

b. *Kunathoi a **suaha** kiãɨ .*
*kunathoi a= **suaha** kiã =ɨ*
Kunathoi 3SG= **marital payment** work =DYN
'Kunathois is working [as marital payment].'

c. *Papiu hamɨ Kunathoi a **suaha** piɾia .*
*Papiu =hamɨ kunathoi a= **suaha** piɾi =a*
Papiu =OBL Kunathoi 3SG= **marital payment** lie =POST
'Kunathois lives in Papiu [as marital payment].'

The adverbial modification with *utupë* or *mahari* is of course not obligatory in each clause of the reported dream. Usually, the adverbial stem modifies the first two or three clauses of the report and do not appear in the remaining clauses anymore. The example in (61) illustrates it. Note that two clauses are being marked as an eye-

witnessed events with a *k*-word. In the example below the word *mahari* ‘dreamlike’ and the *k*-words are in bold.

(61) *hei tëhë ya **mahari** nomarayoma ,*
*hei =tëhë ya= **mahari** noma =rayu =ma*
this =REL.PRS 1SG= **dreamlike** die =PFV1 =PST
*hapai naha thë **mahari** kuo **kupani** , proro*
*hapai =naha thë= **mahari** ku =o **ku** **=pani** proro*
CAT =thereby CLN.GNR= **dreamlike** exist =STV **COP** **=HOD** miner
pëni oru a toai he tëhë , ĩhĩ tëhë kami
=pë =ni oru a= toa =i =he =tëhë ĩhĩ =tëhë kami
=PL =ERG gold 3SG= take =DYN =3PL =REL.PRS ANA =REL.PRS 1
yaxo federal pëxo yama pë huërema
=ya =xo federal =pë =xo yama= pë= huë =ri =ma
=1SG =ADD federal police =PL =ADD 1PL= 3PL= grab =PFV1 =PST
*makii , yamaki xëprari **keheni** mokawa*
*=makii yamaki= xë =pra =ri **ku** =he **=ni** mokawa*
=CONCS 1PL= beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 **COP** =3PL **=HOD** rifle
pëni .
=pë =ni
=PL =ERG

‘Today I died in my dreams, the following happened in my dreams, when the miners were mining gold, the federal policemen and I, we tried to catch them, but they killed us with rifles.’

11.7. Apparently - Low level of certainty (*nëhë=*)

If the speaker of YMA wants to indicate that she is not confident about the information she is conveying, she can flag it with the proclitic *nëhë=* from Cluster B, (62b). In some respects, the semantics of this construction resembles the one with the inferential *=no*. Sometimes the two constructions seem even to be commutable without a relevant change in the meaning, (62b).

(62) a. *Kunathoi a* ***nëhë*** *kopohuruma* .
kunathoi a= ***nëhë=*** *ko* *=pi* *=huru* *=ma*
Kunathoi 3SG= **V.PTC=** return_home =PFV3 =DIR.AND =PST
'It seems that Kunathoi went back home (I am not seeing him arround, for instance).'

b. *Kunathoi a* *kopohuru**no*** *kanɨ*
kunathoi a= *ko* *=pi* *=huru* ***=no*** *ku* *=nɨ*
Kunathoi 3SG= return_home =PFV3 =DIR.AND **=INFR** COP =HOD
'Kunathoi went back home (–witnessed, +inferred) (I did not see him leaving, but I am not seeing him arround, for instance, so I inferred he left).'

Nevertheless, the semantic equivalence between the two constructions is only partial and their inter-commutability is incidental. The construction with *nëhë=* does not indicate any evidentiality category *stricto senso* (Aikhenvald 2004:7-8). Its scope of reference is not the source of information itself but the indetermination of the positive or negative status of the clause, i.e., the veracity the information. The fact that this morpheme can coexist with the evidentiality markers, without adding any evidentiality meaning, confirms this analysis. As we can see by the examples in (63), this morpheme can appear in clauses marked as eye-witnessed (63a), auditory source (63b), or inferred (63c).

(63) a. *Kunathoi e* ***nëhë*** ***ãha*** *kopohuru*
Kunathoi e= ***nëhë=*** ***ãha=*** *ko* *=pi* *=huru*
Kunathoi HSY= **V.PTC=** **HSY=** return_home =PFV3 =DIR.AND
kani .
ku ***=nɨ***
COP **=HOD**
'People are saying that Kunathoi seems to have left.'

b. *Kunathoi wãa* ***nëhë*** *kopohuru*
kunathoi wãa= ***nëhë=*** *ko* *=pi* *=huru*
Kunathoi sound= **V.PTC=** return_home =PFV3 =DIR.AND
kani .
ku ***=ni***
COP **=HOD**
'It sounds like Kunathoi have left (+heard) (I did not see him leaving, but I heard what seemed to be a motorboat).'

c. *Kunathoi a* ***nëhë*** *kopohuru****no***
kunathoi a= ***nëhë=*** *ko* *=pi* *=huru* ***=no***
Kunathoi 3SG= **V.PTC=** return_home =PFV3 =DIR.AND **=INFR**
kani .
ku ***=ni***
COP **=HOD**
'It seems that Kunathoi went back home (–witnessed, +inferred) (I did not see him leaving, but I am not seeing him arround, for instance, so I inferred he left).'

The construction with *nëhë=* can be used in both past (64a) and non-past contexts (64b), and is not restricted to any particular aspect of the clause, appearing in both perfective (64b), and imperfective contexts (64a).

(64) a. *Papiu thëri pëni* *reahu* *a* *nëhë*
Papiu thëri *=pë* *=ni* *reahu* *a=* *nëhë=*
Papiu inhabitant =PL =ERG festival 3SG= V.PTC=
thaprari *kure* .
tha *=pra* *=ri* *ku* *=re*
do; make =DRV =PFV1 COP =PRE.HOD
'It seems that the people from Papiu organized a festival.'

b. *Papiu thëri pëni̵ reahu a nëhë thai̵*
Papiu thëri =pë =ni̵ reahu a= nëhë= tha =i̵
Papiu inhabitant =PL =ERG festival 3SG= V.PTC= do; make =DYN
rëkë kurani̵ .
rëkë= ku =ra =ni̵
FOC= exist =LOC:nearby =HOD
'It seems that the people from Papiu are organizing a festival.'

The verbal particle *nëhë=* appears in several phrasal verbs in the language, such as *nëhë= warĩ* 'to mistreat' or *nëhë= ruai̵* 'to hinder' or 'to disturb.' This usage is described in Chapter 5 on verb stems (see §5.5.2).

11.8. Evidentiality in subordinate clauses

In the previous sections, I described the morphosyntactic mechanisms found in YMA to express evidentiality categories in simple independent clauses. In dependent clauses, such as subordinate clauses, the mechanisms for marking the evidentiality categories are different and, moreover, the evidentiality categories themselves are not the same. In this section, I will briefly describe the system found in dependent clauses and discuss its particularities. Since the scope of this study is the simple clause, I will not describe the various types of the dependent clauses in detail, and neither discuss their semantic and syntactic properties. I will be exclusively concerned with the morphosyntactic mechanisms that mark evidentiality categories. The system is basically the same in all types of dependent clauses. For this reason, and given the relative morphological simplicity of the relative clauses (in comparison to other types of subordinate clauses), I choose examples of this type of subordinate clause to illustrate evidentiality marking in complex constructions, in particular, the marking of eye-witnessed and non eye-witnessed information.

I will begin pointing out that the evidentiality system of dependent clauses can specify eye-witnessed, reported and (first-hand) auditory information but lacks the inferential and assumed information categories, which are merged into a single

category – non eye-witnessed information. In Table 11.7 presents the evidentiality categories found in dependent and independent clauses.

Table 11.7 – Evidentiality categories in independent and dependent clauses

Independent clauses	Dependent clauses
eye-witnessed	eye-witnessed
inferential	non eye-witnessed
assumed information	
reportative	reportative
auditory information	auditory information

The morphemes used to mark reportative and auditory information are the same of those of independent clauses, i.e. *e=ãha=* and *wãa=*, respectively. In dependent clauses, no particularity can be mentioned regarding the expression of these categories. In (65) I present examples of these markers as used in complex sentences.

(65) a. *Ararima ani xama* ***wãa***
Ararima =a =ni xama ***wãa=***
Ararima =SG =ERG tapir **sound=**
xëprarepëha , komi yamaki
xë =pra =ri =pë =ha komi yamaki=
beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 =NMLZ =OBL all 1PL=
rërërayoma .
rërë =rayu =ma
run =PFV1 =PST
'We all ran to the place where Ararima killed (+auditory information) a tapir.'

b. *Ararima anɨ xama* ***eãha***

Ararima =a =nɨ xama ***e= ãha=***

Ararima =SG =ERG tapir **HSY= HSY=**

xëprarema makii eãha tukurayoma

xë =pra =ri =ma =makii e= ãha= tuku =rayu =ma

beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 =PST =CONCS HSY= HSY= flee =PFV1 =PST

'Even though Ararima had reportedly shot the tapir, it reportedly ran away.'

For eye-witnessed and non-eye-witnessed information, the construction with the focalizer *ka=* and the relativizer *=i* is required. Eye-witnessed information is the default reading for constructions with these morphemes. When the event was not witnessed, on the other hand, an additional morpheme is required, which is the same *=no* used in independent clauses for inferred information. In dependent clauses, however, we prefer to consider this morpheme as a marker for non-eye-witnessed information, since its scope of use is broader in this context, including not only information that was acquired by inference given objective evidence, but to all situations to which the speaker did not have direct access, including assumed and even reported events. The example in (66) illustrates this usage. Note that the morpheme's vowel harmonizes with the relativizer *=i*.

(66) a. *napë anɨ hei yuri pë* ***ka***

*napë =a =nɨ hei yuri pë= **ka=***

foreigner =SG =ERG this fish 3PL= **FOC=**

*rëkërareni**i*** *ipa hepara a* .

*rëkë =ra =ri =no **=i** ipa hepara =a*

pull =DISTR =PFV1 =INFR **=REL** 1POS brother =3SG

'The white person who caught this fishes (-witnessed) is my brother.'

b. *heamɨ yutuha yano a* ***ka***

heamɨ yutuha yano a= ***ka=***

here a_long_time_ago house 3SG= **FOC=**

kuonii eãha prauku mahioma .

ku =o =no ***=i*** *e= ãha= prauku mahi =o =ma*

exist =STV =INFR **=REL** HSY= HSY= wide much =STV =PST

'The house that existed here a long time ago (-witnessed) was reportedly very large.'

It is important to mention that in the examples in (66) the subordinate clauses (both relative clauses) are not morphologically marked for tense. It is only from the context and the semantics of the entire sentence (but with the explicit help of the perfective marker *=re* in (66a) and the lexical item *yutuha* 'a long time ago' in (66b)) that is clear that both clauses refer to events in the past. Without the need of adding any other grammatical morpheme, those clauses could refer to events in the present, as in (67).

(67) a. *napë anɨ yuri pë ka rëkëanii*

napë =a =nɨ yuri pë= ka= rëkë =a =no =i

foreigner =SG =ERG fish 3PL= FOC= pull =DISTR =INFR =REL

ipa hepara a .

ipa hepara =a

1POS brother =3SG

'The white person who is catching fishes (-witnessed) is my brother.'

b. *kihamɨ yano a ka kuonii eãha*

kihamɨ yano a= ka= ku =o =no =i e= ãha=

there house 3SG= FOC= exist =STV =INFR =REL HSY= HSY=

prauku mahi .

prauku mahi

wide much

'The house that exists over there (-witnessed) is reportedly very large.'

In order to make morphologically explicit that the event in the subordinate clause took place in the past, the copular element *tha* is required. If the clause refers to an event that took place in a hodiernal frame of reference, there is no additional morpheme in the clause other than *tha* (68a). Pre-hodiernal events are indicated with the tense marker *=re* attached to the copular element (68b). As we can see in both examples, the relativizer *=i* always appears in the last morphological position in the clause.

(68) a. *napë anɨ yuri pë ka rëkëano*
napë =a =nɨ yuri pë= ka= rëkë =a =no
foreigner =SG =ERG fish 3PL= FOC= pull =DISTR =INFR
thai *ipa hepara a* .
tha ***=i*** *ipa hepara =a*
COP **=REL** 1POS brother =3SG
'The white person who was catching fishes (-witnessed, +hodiernal) is my brother.'

b. *kihamɨ yano a ka kuono*
kihamɨ yano a= ka= ku =o =no
there house 3SG= FOC= exist =STV =INFR
tharii *eãha prauku mahioma* .
tha ***=re*** ***=i*** *e= ãha= prauku mahi =o =ma*
COP **=PRE.HOD** **=REL** HSY= HSY= wide much =STV =PST
'The house that existed over there (-witnessed, -hodiernal) was reportedly very large.'

As I mentioned above, the remaining evidentiality category – eye-witnessed information – is the default reading for subordinate clauses with the focalizer *ka=* and the relativizer *=i*. In this case, at least another morpheme in the construction, either a spatial deictic morpheme (the same that appear in the *k*-words) or a tense morpheme, such as *=pi* for non-specified past, *=re* (or *=pi=re* > *=pi=ri*) for pre-hodiernal past, or *=ha* for hodiernal past. There is no marker for present tense. Below,

the relative clauses of the examples in (69) refer to events about which the speaker had direct (visual) knowledge.

(69) a. *kihi napë anɨ xama a ka*
kihi napë =a =nɨ xama a= ka=
that foreigner =SG =ERG tapir 3SG= FOC=
*xëprare**he**i ipa hepara a .*
*xë =pra =ri **=ha** =i ipa hepara =a*
beat; kill =DRV =PFV1 **=HOD** =REL 1POS brother =3SG
'That white person that killed the tapir (+witnessed) is my brother.'

b. *kihamɨ yano a ka kuraharui a prauku*
kihamɨ yano a= ka= ku =raharu =i a= prauku
there house 3SG= FOC= exist =DIR:upriver =REL 3SG= wide
mahi .
mahi
much
'The house that exists upriver (+witnessed) is very large.'

This mechanism of expression of evidentiality in dependent clauses (in particular eye-witnessed and non eye-witnessed information) is not exclusive to relative clauses. Other types of subordinate clauses also make use of the construction with the focalizer *ka=* plus the relativizer *=i* to indicate that the event was visually experienced by her, and also require the addition of *=no* to indicate second-hand information. Indeed, several other types of subordinate clause seem to be a variation on (or derivation of) the relative construction, by the addition of one or more morphemes that specify their syntactic and semantic function. In (70) I present examples of these other (derived) types of subordinate clauses. In a (70a) we have an adverbial subordinate clause of time, (70b) an adverbial subordinate clause of manner, and in (70c) a comparison construction (that also makes use of adverbial clause of manner).

(70) a. *Papiu hamɨ proro pë ka kiãpirii*

Papiu =hamɨ proro pë= ka= kiã =pi =ri =i

Papiu =OBL miner 3PL= FOC= work =PRE.HOD =PRE.HOD =REL

tëhë *ya oxe mahioma* .

=tëhë *ya= oxe mahi =o =ma*

=REL.PRS 1SG= youngster much =STV =PST

'I was very young when the miners were working (+witnessed) here in Papiu.'

b. *kami yamakɨ patapë ka kuanii*

kami yamakɨ= pata =pë ka= ku =a =no =i

1 1PL= elder =VBLZ FOC= exist =POST =INFR =REL

naha *ya thëpëã hĩrĩpuu* .

=naha *ya= thë= pë= ã= hĩrĩ =pu =ɨ*

=thereby 1SG= CLN.GNR= 3PL= sound= hear =CSVT =DYN

'I have heard (i.e. I know) the stories of how our ancestors lived (-witnessed).'

c. *weyaha aho thuë pënɨ xote hepë*

weyaha aho thuë =pë =nɨ xote he= pë=

yesterday 2POS woman =PL =ERG basket CLN:round= 3PL=

tiyëɨ ka kuaɨ tharahii

tiyë =ɨ ka= kua =ɨ tha =ra =hi =i

weave =DYN FOC= behave =DYN COP =PRE.HOD =3PL =REL

naha *ipa thuëpënɨ hepë pree*

=naha *ipa thuë =pë =nɨ he= pë= pree*

=thereby 1POS woman =PL =REL.PST CLN:round= 3PL= also

tiyëɨ kuaɨhe

tiyë =ɨ kua =ɨ =he

weave =DYN behave =DYN =3PL

'My wives/women are weaving baskets in the same manner that your wives were weaving [baskets] yesterday (i.e. using the same technique or weaving pattern).'

There is one particular use of the relative clause specified for evidentiality that should be mentioned for its productivity. This construction makes use of a copular element, *ku* 'to exist' or *tha* 'to do to make', plus the regular morphemes used in relative constructions to indicate eye-witnessed events, i.e. the focalizer *ka=* and the relativizer *=i*.

(71) a. *kihi napë a ka **ki**i ipa hepara a .*
*kihi napë a= ka= **ku** =i ipa hepara =a*
that white person 3SG= FOC= **COP** =REL 1POS brother =3SG
'That white person is my brother.'

b. *kihi napë a ka **tha**i ipa hepara a .*
*kihi napë a= ka= **tha** =i ipa hepara =a*
that white person 3SG= FOC= **COP** =REL 1POS brother =3SG
'That white person (that was here today) is my brother.'

c. *kihi napë a ka **tha**rii ipa hepara*
*kihi napë a= ka= **tha** =ri =i ipa hepara*
that white person 3SG= FOC= **COP** =PRE.HOD =REL 1POS brother
a .
=a
=3SG
'That white person (that was here yesterday or before) is my brother.'

This construction seems to have a focalizer function in the discourse (allowing the speaker to specify a type of nominal tense) and, probably as a consequence of its productivity, seems to be undergoing a process of grammaticalization and becoming part of nominal morphology. The fact that the phonological material of the copular element *ku* has already eroded, and its vowel has harmonized with the relativizer *=i* (which does not occur in actually regular relative clauses, even with the copula *ku* 'to exist', like in the examples (66b) and (67b) above, but is similar to what had occurred with the *k-words*) is evidence that the grammaticalization process may have already started. On the other hand, the process does not seem to have reached its end (i.e. the

form is not fully grammaticalized yet), since other verbs may still replace the copular elements in that position, as in (72).

(72) *hei napë a **ka** ro**i** ipa hepara a* .
*hei napë a= **ka**= ro **=i** ipa hepara =a*
this white person 3SG= **FOC=** squat **=REL** 1POS brother =3SG
'This white person squatting here is my brother.'

Much more could be sad, not only about the subordinate clauses themselves but also about the expression of evidentiality in this context. However, as mentioned before, since the scope of this thesis is the simple clause, we prefer to leave the full description of these aspects of the YMA grammar for later studies.

11.9. Final discussion

We have seen in this chapter that YMA has a very rich evidentiality system consisting of five marked categories, two first-hand information categories – eye-witnessed and auditory source – and three second-hand information categories – reported, inferred and assumed information. This corresponds exactly to the type D1 presented by Aikhenvald (2004:65) for languages with a five choices evidentiality system found in languages of Vaupes River basin and a few other scattered languages. However, YMA still allows the speaker formulate the clause in a neutral way regarding how she acquired that information. Very few languages have been described with such a complex system (Aikhenvald 2004: 61). Mueller (2013: 215-216) did not find any language of this type in her South American sample of 63 languages, and no Yanomami language has been described with such a complex system. The variety of Yanomami (Xamatateuri) described by Ramirez (1996) with a five-option system is the most similar to YMA while other languages have significantly poorer systems. We believe that this is due to the increasing and accumulated knowledge of the Yanomami languages. More (and deeper) descriptive work on other varieties of the family (including those with a grammatical description) will probably show that YMA is not "particularly complex" within the family in this respect.

12. Non-declarative speech acts

12.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters, we have been discussing the morphosyntactic features that characterize the declarative clauses. Although several of these features also apply to dependent clauses, we have been mainly concerned with independent clauses, while dependent ones will be the subject of future work. This chapter describes the formal properties of non-declarative independent clauses, that is, constructions whose dominant function is not referential (i.e. to report on an event) but conative (i.e. to provoke a response from the hearer).

I will begin in §12.2 with the truly manipulative speech acts, which are the imperative (§12.2.1) and the prohibitive (§12.2.2). I will also touch upon on the cessative construction, which is particular type of imperative, phrased as a complementation construction. We will see that YMA does not have dedicated morphology for the expression of these categories and borrows morphemes from other grammatical domains to do that.

I will then turn to the grammatical devices that indicate that a clause should be read as a question. We will see that the language has three strategies for that purpose; some make use of morphosyntactic elements in combination with prosodic ones, while other ones only rely on prosody. Yes/no questions will be discussed in §12.3.1, and constituent questions in §12.3.3. Permission questions, which are a kind of polarity inquiry where the speaker requests authorization to bring about an action, will be dealt with in §12.3.2. Section 12.3.3 gives an overview of adverbial questions, even though a full description of these constructions will be left to a later study, in which I will deal with complex constructions, including adverbial subordination.

Before we start, it is worth mentioning that we have already seen in Chapter 4 (§4.2.9) that kinship terms acquire a different form when used as a vocative. I will not make any further reference to the vocative in this chapter.

12.2. Manipulative speech acts

In this section, I will describe how the imperative (§12.2.1) and prohibitive (§12.2.1) functions are expressed in YMA. Interestingly, we will see that, while there is no specialized morphology for the imperative, the expression of the prohibitive is made through a combination of morphemes only found in this context. The expression of cessative imperative, which will be discussed in §12.2.3, is not made through morphology but with a complementation construction.

12.2.1. Imperative

There are several strategies to convey the imperative function in YMA but none makes use of dedicated morphology. Only dynamic and irregular stems can take part in imperative constructions. Positional and attributive stems can only appear in this context in their dynamic versions (change of posture and inchoative, respectively). The first strategy to express the imperative relies on the use of the perfective morphemes without a tense marker (the past marker). The relevant perfective marker is determined by the verb stem type of the primary predicate. In (1a), we have an example with perfective *=ri* used with a dynamic stem, in (1b), an instance with a positional stem in its change of posture version, and in (1c) an imperative sentence with a originally attributive stem in its inchoative reading. In these constructions, prosodic stress always falls on the last syllable of the clause, which is precisely the perfective morpheme. Note that literate speakers often double the vowel of the last syllable when writing an imperative sentence, as in (1b) and (1c). According to my analysis, however, the second *i* is not a morpheme but just the written representation of the length of the vowel, which is increased as a consequence of the change in prosodic stress.

(1) a. *naa ãri , amatha wa uku*
naa =a =rĩ amatha wa= uku=
my_mother =SG =HON sp. of fruit 2SG= CLN:porridge=
*koa**ri** !*
*koa **=ri***
drink **=PFV1**
'Mom, drink juice of the *amatha* fruit (*Duguetia stelechantha*)!'.
(PDYP_MIC_A_05_81)

b. *wa ɨmiki , wa ɨmɨa xoa**kii** !*
*wa= ɨmɨ =ki wa= ɨmɨ =a xoa **=ki***
2SG= cross =PFV2 2SG= cross =PFV.VWL continue **=PFV2**
'Cross [the footbridge], cross!' (PDYP_MIC_A_18_02)

c. *wa moyãmɨ**kii** !*
*wa= moyãmɨ **=ki***
2SG= be_smart **=PFV2**
'Get smart!' (i.e. 'Keep your eyes open!', 'Keep on your toes!', 'Watch out!')
(PDYP_MIC_B_01_17)

Note that the second imperative sentence of example (1b) is an SVC and that the verbs behave accordingly, i.e., the no-final verb takes the perfective vowel *=a* while the last verb receives the regular perfective morphemes of series I, II or III. Example (2) is another instance of an SVC with imperative reading. The perfective morphemes are in bold.

(2) *wa thë hai**a** yapa**a***
*wa= thë= hai **=a** yapa **=a***
2SG= CLN.GNR= pass **=PFV.VWL** be_back **=PFV.VWL**
*kõpra**ri** !*
*kõ =pra **=ri***
again =DRV **=PFV1**
'You pass it [the thread of cotton] back again!' (PDYP_MIC_A_04_12)

The second construction type that can be used as an order or request has the same morphosyntactic structure as a simple declarative clause in the imperfective aspect and present tense. Only native dynamic (3a) and irregular (3b) stems can be head of this construction. Since it is an imperative construction, the nominative argument – i.e. the subject (3b) of the intransitive or the agent (3a) of the transitive predicate – is always the 2nd person. There is no alteration in the placement of prosodic stress in this construction, but there is probably a change in the pitch contour in comparison with an actual declarative clause. The stressed vowel seems to have an even greater length and a higher pitch than in a simple declarative clause. These impressions remain to be confirmed by spectrographic analyses.

(3) a. *ai* *wa* *thë* *utiti* ***taai*** *!*
ai *wa=* *thë=* *utiti* ***taa*** ***=i***
other 2SG= CLN.GNR= be_weak **see** **=DYN**
'Check whether the other one is weak/loose!' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_16)

b. *ropai* *wa* ***tuo*** *hëimai* *!*
ropai *wa=* ***tu*** ***=o*** *hë* *=ima* *=i*
quckly 2SG= **climb** **=STV** remain =DIR.VEN =DYN
'Quick, climb here [after me]!' (n036_heumaunari)

Some constructions marked with the irrealis future maker *=pë* can also be read as a command. We saw in Chapter 6 (see §6.3.1.) that this marker is used to express a variety of grammatical functions, among which are the hortative and the cohortative, which includes the 1st and 3rd persons as the co-targets of the command. From these contexts, the imperative meaning has developed. Indeed, some authors such as Palmer (2001: 179-180), consider the imperative a type of hortative in which the request is directed at the 2nd person alone. Example (4) is an example of this construction with an imperative reading. For examples with hortative and cohortative meaning, see Chapter 6.

(4) *inaha wamaki pihi kupë !*
*inaha wamaki= pihi= ku **=pë***
thereby 2PL= V.PTC:thought= say **=FUT**
'That you all think [like that]!'

There is still a fourth way of expressing an imperative sentence in YMA. This strategy consists in using the subordinate clause of time that expresses relative past without its main clause. When used as a true subordinate clause, this construction indicates that the subordinate predicate [inside the brackets in the example below] happened before the temporal frame of reference provided by the main clause. Roughly speaking, this subordination construction can be translated as "doing X first, she did Y" or "after doing X, she did Y", as in the example in (5).

(5) *[kiki **ha** auprari**ni**] ,*
*kiki= **ha=** au =pra =ri **=ni***
CLN:collective= **REL.PST=** clean =DRV =PFV1 **=REL.PST**
sako siha kiki pree titia
sako =si =ha kiki= pree titi =a
carrying basket =CLN:fiber =OBL CLN:collective= also insert =PFV.VWL
hetua xoakema .
hetu =a xoa =ki =ma
lay_above =PFV.VWL afterwards =PFV2 =PST
'After cleaning them [the fruits], [he] then put them [the fruits] in the basket as well.' (s_pear_cesa)

The imperative dispenses with an apparent main clause and can be literally translated as "Doing/do it first [before anything else]!", as in (6).

(6) a. *wa thë **ha** wa**ni** !*
*wa= thë= **ha=** wa **=ni***
2SG= CLN.GNR= **REL.PST=** eat **=REL.PST**
'You first eat it!' (i.e. 'Eat it!') (wtx_iwa)

b. *hapai naha* *wa* *pihi* ***ha*** *ku**ni*** *!*
hapai *=naha* *wa=* *pihi=* ***ha=*** *ku* ***=ni***
CAT =thereby 2SG= V.PTC:thought= **REL.PST=** say **=REL.PST**
'You first think las follows!' (PDYP_MIC_A_16_01)

We still have to investigate whether there is any pragmatic context in which one of the imperative strategies is preferred over the other ones by the speakers or whether there is any politeness or incisiveness gradation behind their choice between these different constructions. We will now move on to prohibitive sentences.

12.2.2. Prohibitive (=*no mai*)

The negative imperative (prohibitive) is expressed through morphological material and therefore differs greatly from the positive imperative just mentioned. Prohibitive sentences combine the resultative enclitic *=no*, which attaches to the verb, with the negative word *mai*, which is a free morpheme and a variant of *maa*. The verbs that take part in this construction display the same aspectual morphology found in imperfective past sentences, according to their class. That is, dynamic stems do not take any extra morpheme, as in (7a), while irregular and positional verbs require the stative vowel *=o*, in bold in the examples (7b) and (7c). Attributive stems do not appear in this construction in their attributive readings.

DYNAMIC

(7) a. *ai* *thëpëha* *wakë* *waa*
ai *thë* *=pë* *=ha* *wakë* *wa=* *a=*
other CLN.GNR =PL =OBL fire 2SG= 3SG=
*hipɨa**no*** ***mai*** *!*
hipɨ *=a* ***=no*** ***mai***
give =DISTR **=RESULT** **NEG**
'Don't distribute the fire to the others.' (wtx_iwa)

IRREGULAR

b. *wa* *hixio**no*** ***mai*** *!*
wa= *hixi* *=o* ***=no*** ***mai***
2SG= angry =STV **=RESULT** **NEG**
'Don't be angry!' (n002_titikiki)

POSITIONAL

c. *wa* *pɨrio**no*** ***mai*** *!*
wa= *pɨrɨ* *=o* ***=no*** ***mai***
2SG= lie =STV **=RESULT** **NEG**
'Don't lie down!'

If the prohibitive predicate is an SVC, the non-final verbs take the morphology expected in SVCs in the imperfective past (see §10.4): non-final dynamic stems take *=ɨ* as in (8a), and all other types take *=o* as in (8b). Interestingly, this construction is incompatible with the perfective morphology, even though these morphemes are precisely one of the strategies used in the language to express the affirmative imperative.

(8) a. *rata* *wa* *he* *hĩsĩkĩpu**u***
rata *wa=* *he=* *hĩsĩkɨ* *=pu* ***=ɨ***
flashlight 2SG= CLN:round= shoot_light =CSVT **=DYN**
tokoono *mai* *!*
toko *=o* *=no* *mai*
unfortunately =STV =RESULT NEG
'Don't flash the flashlight [at me]!' (s_chck_mark)

b. *wa* *kõ**o*** *pihiono* *mai* *!*
wa= *kõ* ***=o*** *pihi* *=o* *=no* *mai*
2SG= again **=STV** want =STV =RESULT NEG
'You may want to go back home!'

We saw in §6.3.1 and §12.2.1 that the future irrealis morpheme *=pë* can be used in both hortative and imperative sentences. Interestingly, the combination of *=no* and *mai* can also be used in de-hortative predicates, i.e. when the speaker express her desire that the event, which is not under the control of the 2nd person, does not happen. In (9), we have an example of this construction with de-hortative meaning.

(9) *[ɨnaha] hei ai thëpë pihi kuu*
ɨnaha hei ai thë= pë= pihi= ku =ɨ
thereby this other CLN.GNR= 3PL= V.PTC:thought= say =DYN
paxiono mai !
paxi =o =no mai
be obvious =STV =RESULT NEG
'For these others don't think [like that]!'

As a final note, the speakers of YMA in Papiu use yet another prohibitive construction with the morphemes *=pë xiha* instead of *=no mai*. This construction is not attested in my recordings of other varieties of the Yanomam branch, to which YMA belongs. It seems to have been borrowed from Ninam, spoken by the communities in Alto-Mucajaí and Uxiu, with whom the people from Papiu have developed close relations. The enclitic *=pë* used in this alternative construction is the same irrealis future marker found in YMA. I am provisorily glossing *xiha* as a negative element, but I do not know its precise meaning in the language or whether it is segmentable or not. In (10), I present two examples of this borrowed construction used by YMA speakers. According to the description provided by Gomes-Goodwin (1990: 107), in the Ninam spoken in Erico, the prohibitive is expressed by the combination of the *–n* morpheme (which seems to be cognate of the YMA *=no* 'RESULT' and the free word *maharai*, which the author glosses as imperfective negative. This latter contruction is not used in Papiu, though.

(10) a. *wa thomimo**pë** **xiha** !*
*wa= thomimu **=pë** **=xiha***
2SG= steal **=FUT** **=NEG**

‘Don’t steal!’ (n055_kahianoamai2)

b. *aho* *sikɨha* *ei* *pei* *wa* *thãa*

aho *=si* *=kɨ* *=ha* *ei* *pei* *wa=* *thã=* *ã=*

2POS =CLN:fiber =PL =OBL this INDEF 2SG= CLN.GNR= sound=

turu *ɨrama**pë*** ***xiha*** *!*

turu *ɨrama* ***=pë*** ***=xiha***

be_painted copy **=FUT** **=NEG**

‘Do not write these words in your book!’ (n055_kahianoamai2)

In the next section, I will present the construction that conveys the cessative imperative.

12.2.3. Cessative imperative

The cessative is a semantic subtype of the prohibitive in which the speaker asks or orders the hearer to stop doing something. In YMA, this construction is formally an imperative sentence with verbal complementation, where *ma* ‘not to exist’, ‘to be absent’ is the matrix verb and takes the perfective marker *=rio*, often in combination with the celerative morpheme *=ta*. The verb that expresses the predicate which the speaker wants to be stoped is the complement verb of this construction and receives the morphology that it regularly displays in imperfective present sentences, according to its stem type. Dynamic stems take the dynamic vowel *=ɨ*, as in (11a), and positional stems *=a*, as in (11b). Only attributive stems cannot participate in this construction.

(11) a. *waha* *thë* *thaɨ* ***matario*** *!*

waha= *thë=* *tha* *=ɨ* ***ma*** ***=ta*** ***=rio***

2DU= CLN.GNR= do; make =DYN **not_exist** **=CEL** **=PFV1**

‘You two, stop doing that!’ (PDYP_MIC_A_01_52)

b. *wamaki̱ piria* ***matario*** , *wamaki̱ rama*
wamaki̱= piri̱ =a ***ma*** ***=ta*** ***=rio*** *wamaki̱= rama*
2PL= lie =POST **not_exist** **=CEL** **=PFV1** 2PL= hunt
hupë !
hu =pë
go =PL
'You all, enough with lying down and go hunting!'

One should note that, at least from a morphosyntactic perspective, this is a complementation and not a serial verb construction in YMA, as defined in Chapter 10 (§10.5). If it was a SVC, the non-final verbs *thai̱* 'to do' and *piria* 'to lie' in (11) should have been marked with the perfective vowel *=a*, and not with the dynamic *=i̱* and the positional *=a*, respectively.

12.3. Questions

Three parallel strategies can formulate "yes or no" questions in YMA, such as 'Has Ararima arrived yet?', or 'Did you take my arrows with you?' (§12.3.1.) A fourth type is used only to request someone else's consent to carry out an action (§12.3.2). We will see in §12.3.2, that the same strategies are used in questions about a constituent of the clause, even though in those question types an interrogative pronoun is required as well.

12.3.1. Polarity questions

The simplest way of forming a polarity question consists in just altering the pitch contour of a regular declarative clause, without rearranging the words in the clause or adding new morphological material. In these type of questions, the pitch of the ultimate stressed syllable seems to be raised, while the one of the post-tonic syllables (regularly only one) is lowered, creating an even greater contrast between them. I believe that the duration of syllables and the pitch contour of pre-tonic syllables are also playing some role in indicating that the clause should be read as a question. These

observations remain to be confirmed by objective measurements. In (12), I present two examples of this construction.

(12) a. *Titikɨkɨ nɨ kɨpë patëtëkema ?*
Titikɨkɨ =nɨ kɨpë= patëtë =ki =ma
Titikɨkɨ =ERG 3DU= be_smashed =PFV2 =PST
'Did Titikɨkɨ smash them [two]?' (n032_omamayesie)

b. *akɨ nakaa hãthõremahe ?*
a= kɨ= naka =a hãthõ =ri =ma =he
CLN:???= PL= call; ask =PFV.VWL maybe =PFV1 =PST =3PL
'Did they call them [the taioba roots (Xanthosoma sagittifolium)]?' (n041_wahakiki) (note: According to the myth, the taioba roots entered a Yanomami house "walking by themselves" after a hungry old lady had called them)

This question type can be used either for confirming past events, as in (12), or present ones, as in (13).

(13) *wa kõo ?*
wa= kõ =o
2SG= go_back_home =STV
'Are you going back home?'

The second strategy to formulate 'yes or no' questions requires the interrogative enclitic *=tha*, but no reordering of the words either. In this type of question the prosodic stress is shifted to the final syllable, which often is the interrogative morpheme *=tha* itself, as illustrated in (14). The optional presence of the interrogative focalizer *pi=*[1] in (14a) occurs immediately before the proclitics from Cluster B in polarity questions.

[1] The probable origin of this form is the indefinite pronoun *pei* (see §4.3.5).

(14) a. *pi* *kɨpë* *nakɨ* *hipɨayoma* ***tha?***
pi= *kɨpë=* *na=* *kɨ=* *hipɨ* *=a* *=yu* *=ma* ***=tha***
FOC.INT= 3DU= tooth= PL= give =DISTR =RECP =PST **=PTC.INT**
'Did they give each other their teeth?' (n026_opotihi)

b. *thëpë* *taamuu* *totihi* *mahi* *tha?*
thë= *pë=* *taa* *=mu* *=u* *totihi* *mahi* *=tha*
CLN.GNR= 3PL= to_see =INTRZ =DYN good; nice much =PTC.INT
'Do they look great [acting like that]?' (m011_joan_tihi)

The only morpheme that goes after the interrogative particle *=tha* in the clause is the index for 3rd person agent. When it occurs, the interrogative particle appears as the allomorph *=se* (or=*si*), as in the examples in (15).

(15) a. *porisia* *pënɨ* *kaho* *wamakɨ*
porisia *=pë* *=nɨ* *kaho* *wamakɨ=*
policeman =PL =ERG 2 2PL=
pairiprarema ***sehe*** *?*
pairi *=pra* *=ri* *=ma* ***=se*** ***=he***
take part in =DRV =PFV1 =PST **=PTC.INT** **=3PL**
'Did the policemen help you?' (PDYP_MIC_B_08_01)

b. *ɨhɨ* *pënɨ* *tëpë* *kɨkɨ* *pree* *tërema*
ɨhɨ *=pë* *=nɨ* *tëpë* *kɨkɨ=* *pree* *të* *=ri* *=ma*
ANA =PL =ERG glass bead CLN:collective= also take =PFV1 =PST
sihe *?*
=si ***=he***
=PTC.INT **=3PL**
'Did those ones take glass beads as well?' (PDYP_MIC_07_06)

I argue that *=se* (or *=si*) is the result of a series of phonological processes that took place in an older stage of language but which are not active synchronically. First the vowel of the interrogative particle was harmonized with the index vowel of the

3rd person, resulting in the form *=*the*. According to Migliazza's hypothesis (1972: 39, see also §2.3.2) and as the data presented in Chapter 2 on the distribution of these two sounds in YMA suggest (see §2.3.2), the sounds [tʰ] ad [s] were allomorphs in proto-Yanomami. My interpretation is that they were probably in complementary distribution – [s] being used with front vowels and [th] in the remaining vocalic contexts. If this interpretation proves to be right, it would explain why *=*the* turned to *=se*. The variant *=si*, preferred in many dialects, would be a result of the vocalic dissimilation of *=se* with respect to *=he*. The evolution of these forms could be represented as in (16).

(16)

	vowel harmonization		fricativization		vowel dissimilation	
=tha =he	>>	*=the =he*	>>	*=se =he*	>>	*=si =he*

Finally, polarity questions can also be formed with the help of an interrogative *k*-word. As we saw in Chapter 11 (§11.3.1.1), the *k*-words are relative clauses with the copular element *ku* 'to exist' that have been grammaticalized as evidentiality markers. This set of words also has an interrogative version, which is significantly different from the declarative one. The first difference regards stress, which is moved to the last syllable in all interrogative *k*-words, including those that have the same segmental form (in the declarative version, the stress always falls on the penultimate syllable). For instance, the *k*-word *kure*, which expresses pre-hodiernal past, has stress on the first syllable *ku* in declarative sentences, as in (17a), and on the last syllable *re* in interrogative clauses, as in (17b). The stress is represented by an acute accent over the vowel. The *k*-word logically doen not display its evidentiality meaning in a question but one should note that its use implies that the speaker knows at least whether the event took place today or earlier. If this is also unknown, the speaker will inevitably have to use one of the other strategies (either with *=tha* or just changing the prosodic stress).

(17) a. *Merika thëri thë waroki* ***kúre*** .
merika thëri thë= waro =ki ***ku =re***
America inhabitant CLN.GNR= arrive =PFV2 **COP =PRE.HOD**
'An American person arrived.' (+pre hodiernal) (+witnessed)
(PDYP_MIC_A_03_18)

b. *xama waa niaprari* ***kuré*** *?*
xama wa= a= nia =pra =ri ***ku =re***
tapir 2SG= 3SG= shoot =DRV =PFV1 **COP =PRE.HOD**
'Did you kill a tapir?' (+pre hodiernal)

However, most of the interrogative and declarative *k*-words do not resemble each other at the segmental level, the pair *kúre* and *kuré* being one of the few exceptions. One of the reasons of this disparity relates to the different tense morphemes found in these two types of words. As we saw in Chapter 11, the hodiernal past and the present are morphologically neutralized in declarative *k*-words and expressed by the morpheme *=nɨ*. This morpheme does not appear in interrogative *k*-words, neither in the present or proximal past. In the interrogative set, the present is indicated by *=ra*, as in (18a), while the hodiernal past is expressed by *=ha*, as in (18b). The tense markers are in bold.

(18) a. *wa thë yarepuu kura ?*
wa= thë= yarepu =ɨ ku ***=ra***
2SG= CLN.GNR= wear =DYN COP **=PRS**
'Are you wearing it now?' (PDYP_MIC_B_09_02)

b. *ɨhɨ wama thëpë waɨ maa*
ɨhɨ wama= thë= pë= wa =ɨ ma =a
ANA 2PL= CLN.GNR= 3PL= eat =DYN not_exist =POST
kuha ?
ku ***=ha***
COP **=HOD**
'Did you not eat them? (+HOD)' (n028_naikiki)

Another significant difference regards the expression of relative location and direction, which is much more limited in the interrogative set. While in imperfective declarative clauses these categories can be marked in the k-*words* in all tenses (see §11.3.1.1), in interrogative contexts they can only be expressed by *k*-words in the present tense, as in the example in (19a). To convey relative location (or direction) in questions about past events, the speaker has to rely on the locative and directional markers from Cluster C (see Chapter 6, §6.5 and §6.6), as in (19b). The locational markers are in bold in both examples.

(19) a. *Ararima a kiai kuratu ?*
Ararima a= kia =i ku =ratu
Ararima 3SG= work =DYN COP **=LOC:a bit faraway**
'Is Ararima working over there?'

b. *Kunathoi a waroketayu kuha ?*
kunathoi a= waro =ki =tayu ku =ha
Kunathoi 3SG= arrive =PFV2 **=LOC:a_bit_faraway** COP =HOD
'Did Kunathoi arrive over there?'

In questions in the present tense, the speaker can actually choose between a *k*-word marked for a spatial category or use the spatial marker of Cluster C and dispense with a *k*-word. The pair of examples in (20) illustrate these possibilities. Speakers do not report any difference between the two constructions.

(20) a. *Okori a huimai tha ?*
Okori a= hu =ima =i =tha
Okori 3SG= go **=DIR.VEN** =DYN =PTC.INT
'Is Okori coming?'

b. *Okori a huu kuima ?*
Okori a= hu =i ku =ima
Okori 3SG= go =DYN COP **=DIR.VEN**
'Is Okori coming?'

In any event, because spatial markers do not appear in non-past interrogative *k*-words, this set is smaller than the declarative version. For instance, there are only two markers for questions about pre-hodiernal events – *kure* employed in perfective contexts, as we saw in the example in (17b), and *kupere*, its imperfective counterpart as in (21a) below. The *k*-word *kuha*, the only interrogative hodiernal word, is used in questions with either perfective (19b), and imperfective (21b) aspect.

(21) a. *i̵naha hutu pi mosi kuai̵ **kupere** ?*
*i̵naha hutu pi= mosi= kua =i̵ **ku** **=pere***
thereby sky FOC.INT= CLN:sky= behave =DYN **COP** **=PRE.HOD**
'Did the sky behave like this?' (i.e. 'Was it before like it is today?')
(+prehodiernal) (m004_morithue)

b. *wa yurimuu **kuha** ?*
*wa= yurimu =i̵ **ku** **=ha***
2SG= fish =DYN **COP** **=HOD**
'Have you been fishing?' (+hodiernal)

In Table 1 I present the set of *k*-words used in interrogative sentences. Once more, it should be noted that all these forms are oxytone.

Table 1 – Interrogative k-words

Form	Tense	Gloss
ku=ra		nearby
ku=ra=tu		not far
ku=ra=haru		far, upriver
ku=ra=kuru		far, downriver
ku=pië		in a known/fixed place nearby (used to refer to the surroundings of the house)
ku=pië=tu	Present	in a known/fixed place not far away
ku=pië=haru		in a known/fixed place upriver
ku=pië=huru		in a known/fixed place downriver
ku=potu		down (speaking from the top of the tree, the roof…)
ku=pohoru		up (in the tree, on the roof)
ku=imatu		andative
ku=ima		venitive
ku=ha		hodiernal
ku=pe(r)e	Past	pre-hodiernal (imperfective)
ku=(r)e		pre-hodiernal (perfective)

We will now turn to the discussion of a particular type of polarity question which is marked morphologically in the language.

12.3.2. Permission questions *=xa*

A permission question is a type of polarity question, where the speaker asks the hearer's consent to carry out an action. The morpheme *=xa* (in bold in the example

below), which is a final-position enclitic, has specialized in the language as the interrogative element for this type of inquiry, as illustrated in (22). The prosodic stress of the clause always falls on this morpheme and its pitch contour is also raised.

(22) *hapa mori yaa wãrii* ***xa*** *?*
hapa mõri ya= a= wãri =ɨ ***=xa***
before one 1SG= 3SG= ask =DYN **=PERM**
'Can I first ask a question?' (PDYP_MIC_B_10_01)

For semantic reasons, this question type requires a non-stative verb (that is, a dynamic or irregular verb) and a first person subject. Positional stems can only appear in this construction in their dynamic version (change of position), as in (23a). Both intransitive (23a) and transitive (23a) verbs can be the head of this question clause.

(23) a. *ya pɨrɨki* ***xa*** *?*
ya= pɨrɨ =ki ***=xa***
1SG= lie =PFV2 **=PERM**
'Can I lie down?'

b. *yathë ikokoprai* ***xa*** *?*
ya= thë= ikoko =pra =ɨ ***=xa***
1SG= CLN.GNR= push_down =DRV =DYN **=PERM**
'Can I pull it [the thread] down?' (PDYP_MIC_A_04_16)

This construction allows the aspect of the predicate to be either perfective, as in (23a) and (24a-b), or imperfective, as in (23b) and (24c). There seems to be no semantic or pragmatic difference between a permission question with imperfective and perfective aspect. Speakers say that the sentences (24b) and (24c) are equivalent.

(24) a. *yãɨkano* *ya* *thëkɨ* *thaa* *xaari**ki***

yãɨka *=no* *ya=* *thë=* *kɨ=* *tha* *=a* *xaari* ***=ki***

draw =RESULT 1SG= CLN.GNR= PL= put =PFV.VWL right **=PFV2**

xa *?*

=xa

=PERM

'Can I really weave a pattern?'(lit: 'Can I really put a drawing?')

(PDYP_MIC_A_04_16)

b. *kami* *ya* *pree* *a**rayu*** *xa* *?*

kami *ya=* *pree* *a* ***=rayu*** *=xa*

1 1SG= also go **=PFV1** =PERM

'Can I go too?'

c. *kami* *ya* *pree* *hu**u*** *xa* *?*

kami *ya=* *pree* *hu* ***=i*** *=xa*

1 1SG= also go **=DYN** =PERM

'Can I go too?'

As a final comment, one should note that the interrogative particle *=xa* is homophonous with the conditional *xa=* (see §6.3.3), even though they attach to the verb in different positions and belong to different clitic clusters. Given that the two forms appear in functional contexts that have semantic features in common, they may also have a common origin. That is, when someone asks for permission to bring about an event, it implies that the 2nd person's consent is the necessary condition for the event to happen. I still cannot argue for a plausible grammaticalization path, and am not even sure which one would be the source or the target form. I tend to think, however, that originally the form was used as a conditional morpheme and that the sense of 'ask for permission' was acquired in constructions involving the 2nd person as the controller of the predicate that indicates the condition, as in the example in (25).

(25) *“ awei ” wa ku tëhë ya **xa** hu .*
*awei wa= ku =i =tëhë ya= **xa=** hu =i*
yes 2SG= say =DYN =REL.PRS 1SG= **COND=** go =DYN
‘If you say “yes” I will go then.’ (i.e. ‘I go if you agree’)

I cannot explain how the primitive proclitic got encliticized since there is no syntactic rearrangement in question clauses, as we saw in §12.3.1. A study of other languages of the Yanomami family may confirm the shared origin of the forms and give clue about their possible development.

12.3.3. Constituent questions

The same three strategies found in simple polarity questions are used to enquire about the identity of a referent in the nominal argument of the predicate, such as “Who has arrived?” or “With what did you make this”. Constituent questions differ in requiring the interrogative pronoun *uti*, which replaces the unknown argument. Sentences in (26) exemplify the three strategies available to formulate constituent questions. The interrogative focalizer *pi=* in (26a) is optional, just like in polarity questions. This morpheme helps in signaling that the sentence should be read as a question and appears prototypically at the beginning of Cluster B.

FIRST STRATEGY

(26) a. ***uti*** *pi* *pë* *warokema* *?*
uti *pi=* *pë=* *waro* *=ki* *=ma*
INT.PRO FOC.INT= 3PL= arrive =PFV2 =PST
‘Who arrived?’ (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18)

SECOND STRATEGY

b. ***uti*** *wama* *thë* *thai* ***tha*** *?*
uti *wama=* *thë=* *tha* *=i* ***=tha***
INT.PRO 2PL= CLN.GNR= do; make =DYN **=PTC.INT**
‘What are you doing?’ (n001_iwa)

THIRD STRATEGY

c. ***uti ha*** *wa upraa kua* ***kura*** *?*
uti ***=ha*** *wa=* *upra* *=a* *ku* *=a* ***ku*** ***=ra***
INT.PRO **=OBL** 2SG= stand_up =POST exist =POST **COP** **=PRS**
'Where are you standing?' (i.e. 'Where are you?') (n035_amathayoma)

This type of question can refer to any argument of the clause, either core or oblique. In (26) we saw a question about the subject of an intransitive predicate (26a), about the identity of the patient argument of a transitive clause (26b), and about the location of the predicate (26c). In (27a), I present an example of a question about the agent of the transitive predicate, and in (27b), about the instrument.

(27) a. *uti* ***anɨ*** *tëpë* *pi* *pë* *yai* *hɨpɨma* *?*
uti *=a* ***=ni*** *tëpë* *pi=* *pë=* *yai* *hɨpɨ* *=ma*
INT.PRO =SG **=ERG** glass bead FOC.INT= 3PL= true give =PST
'Who gave [you] the glass beads?' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_17)

b. *uti* *thëpë****ni*** *wama* *hoxo* *si*
uti *=thë* *=pë* ***=ni*** *wama=* *hoxo=* *si=*
INT.PRO =CLN.GNR =PL **=INS** 2PL= CLN:airstrip= V.PTC=
utitimama *, nãa* *ãri* *?*
utiti *=ma* *=ma* *nãa* *=a* *=rĩ*
be_weak =CAUS =PST my_mother =SG =HON
'With what did you flatten the airstrip, mom?' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18)

Note that the interrogative pronoun hosts the case markers and the others morphemes from Cluster A when it refers to overtly marked arguments, such as the ergative (27a), instrumental (27c) or oblique (26c). In (28), I present other examples of questions whose scope is a marked argument. In (28a), we have an instance of an inquiry about the identity of the additive noun phrase, and in (28b) a question about the *causee* of a causative derivation, which syntactically is an oblique argument. On the other hand, when it refers to absolutive arguments (subject and patient), which are

not coded for case in the language, the morphemes from Cluster A are incorporated into the predicate, becoming clitics from Cluster B, as we saw in Chapter 7 (§7.5.2). In these latter cases, the interrogative pronoun appears without any bound morpheme, as was illustrated in (26a-b).

(28) a. *uti* ***axo*** *thëpë* *huu* *kura* *?*
uti *=a* ***=xo*** *thë=* *pë=* *hu* *=i* *ku* *=ra*
INT.PRO =SG **=ADD** CLN.GNR= 3PL= go =DYN COP =PRS
'With whom are they going?'

b. *uti* ***eha*** *waa*
uti *=e* ***=ha*** *wa=* *a=*
INT.PRO =DIF.PART **=OBL** 2SG= 3SG=
thapramarema *tha?*
tha *=pra* *=ma* *=ri* *=ma* *=tha*
do; make =DRV =CAUS =PFV1 =PST =PTC.INT
'Whom did you make do it?' (PDYP_MIC_B_09_02)

Moreover, there is no reordering of the elements of the clause in this type of question either, since the interrogative pronoun occupies the same position of the constituent of which the identity is questioned. For instance, in the sentence in (27a) the agent, whose identity is being inquired about, precedes the patient argument, which in turn comes before the predicate. That is, the order APV is conserved in question clauses. If the agent argument of (26a), which is not questioned, appeared in clause, it will also be prototypically placed before the patient argument, as in (29).

AGENT PATIENT VERB

(29) *kaho* *wamakɨnɨ* *uti* *wama* *thë* *thaɨ*
kaho *=wamakɨ* *=nɨ* *uti* *wama=* *thë=* *tha* *=ɨ*
2 =2PL =ERG INT.PRO 2PL= CLN.GNR= do; make =DYN
tha *?*
=tha
=PTC.INT

'What are you doing?'

The interrogative pronoun can refer about the identity of a specific member of a general class. In these cases, the term that relates to the general category, in bold in (30), functions as an adnominal modifier of the interrogative pronoun.

(30) *uti* ***napë*** *pi* *pë* *warokema* *?*
uti ***napë*** *pi=* *pë=* *waro* *=ki* *=ma*
INT.PRO **white person** FOC.INT= 3PL= arrive =PFV2 =PST
'Which type of white person arrived?' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18)

The interrogative pronoun can still refer to the possessor (31a) or the possessed entity (31b) in complex arguments that refer to possessive or kinship relations. Once more, the position in which the pronoun appears is crucial to determine its scope of reference. Note in (31b) that *you* 'brother' modifies the interrogative pronoun *uti.*

(31) a. *hei* *uti* *xaraka* *pi* *e* *tha* *?*
hei *uti* *xaraka* *pi=* *e=* *=tha*
this INT.PRO arrow FOC.INT= DIF.PART= =PTC.INT
'Whose arrow is this?'

b. *hãa* *ãri* *,* *Amathayoma* *pei* *you* *uti* *pi*
hãa *=a* *=rĩ* *Amathayoma* *pei* *you* *uti* *pi=*
my_father =SG =HON Amathayoma INDEF brother INT.PRO FOC.INT=
e *kuoma* *?*
e= *ku* *=o* *=ma*
DIF.PART= exist =STV =PST
'Estimated Dad, who was the brother of the Amathayoma?'
(n035_amathayoma)

In Table 12.2, I offer a summary of the morphological make up of the interrogative pronoun according to the argument it stands for.

Table 12.2 – Interrogative pronouns

Form	Scope of reference	Gloss
uti	subject	Who/what (S)?
	patient	Whom/what?
uti =a=nɨ	agent	Who (A)?
uti =a=xo	additive	With who/whom/what?
uti =thë=nɨ	instrumental	With what?
uti $X_{possessed}$ *=e*	possessor	Whose?
uti[=e]=ha[mɨ]	oblique	To whom? Where? In which direction?

The question about the number or quantity of participants is an exception to the pattern described above for constituent questions. I consider quantity questions as a type of constituent question because the typical answer to them is a numeral or a quantifier, which are adnominal or pronominal in the language and can be the head of a nominal argument of the clause, as we saw in §4.3.3. Questions about this category do not make use of the interrogative pronoun *uti* and a case marker, but combine the interrogative pronoun *uti*, the adverbial marker of manner *=naha* and what seems to be the *k*-word *kure*, as illustrated in (32). Note that the pre-hodiernal marker *=re* of this interrogative expression (in bold below) conflicts with the actual tense of the whole clause which is hodiernal past. This suggests a high level of idiomaticity of this interrogative expression, the elements of which have lost their individual meaning. See also (35) for another example of this mismatch. In any event, because of the type of interrogative expression employed, questions about quantity resemble adverbial questions, as we will see in §12.3.4, and similarly to what was said about the latter ones, a full account of the question about quantity can only be provided in a future study of YMA complex constructions.

(32) ***uti*** ***naha*** ***kure*** *napë* *pi* *pë*
uti ***=naha*** ***ku*** ***=re*** *napë* *pi=* *pë=*
INT.PRO **=thereby** **COP** **=PRE.HOD** white person FOC.INT= 3PL=
ithorayoma *kuha* *?*
itho *=rayu* *=ma* *ku* *=ha*
alight =PFV1 =PST COP =HOD
'How many white people have landed?' (+HOD)

As a final comment, there is a variant of the interrogative pronoun in which *uti* appears combined with the free word *naxima*, which apparently does not add any lexical or grammatical meaning to the construction. This complex interrogative pronoun *uti naxima*, of which we have two examples in (33), does not seem to be very frequent in other Yanomam speaking regions. I do not have a report of this word being used outside question clauses.

(33) a. *uti* ***naxima*** *thëpëni* *pi* *pë*
uti ***naxima*** *=thë* *=pë* *=ni* *pi=* *pë=*
INT.PRO **?** =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG FOC.INT= 3PL=
yaxuakemahe *?*
yaxu *=a* *=ki* *=ma* *=he*
repel =DISTR =PFV2 =PST =3PL
'Who expelled them [the miners]?'(PDYP_MIC_A_03_19)

b. *naa* *arĩ* *, pata* *thëpëni* *uti*
naa *=a* *=rĩ* *pata* *=thë* *=pë* *=ni* *uti*
my_mother =SG =HON elder =CLN.GNR =PL =ERG INT.PRO
naxima *thëni* *apiama* *pi* *hoxo*
naxima *=thë* *=ni* *apiama* *pi=* *hoxo=*
? =CLN.GNR =INS airplane FOC.INT= CLN:airstrip=
tiyëpraremahe *?*
tiyë *=pra* *=ri* *=ma* *=he*
cut_down =DRV =PFV1 =PST =3PL

'With what did the ancestors cut down [the trees that existed in] airstrip?' (PDYP_MIC_A_03_18)

In this section, we saw how speakers of YMA formulate questions that refer to a nominal argument of the clause, either core or oblique. Location is one of the semantic roles that oblique arguments can play, as we saw in Chapter 7 (§7.4.5) and example (26c) above as well. However, other adverbial meanings, such as time, manner and reason, are not expressed in the language through constituents affected or marked by the case system and, in this sense, are not nominal constituents. Questions on these elements will require morphological endings typical of subordinate clauses, as we will see in the next section.

12.3.4. Adverbial questions

In this section, I will give a rough overview of the questions about the adverbial categories of a predicate, such as time, manner and reason. A more detailed description of these constructions will be provided in a future study on subordination and other complex structures, which are closely related to adverbial questions in the language.

Adverbial questions can be formulated using the same three strategies found in constituent questions, but they differ from the latter ones in two fundamental aspects. First, adverbial questions do not have a nominal argument of the clause as their prototypical answer, but adverbs or, most commonly, whole clauses. Below, I provide an example of a question about the time at which an event took or will take place (34a), about the participant's purpose to carry out the action (34b), and on the "manner" of a predicate (34c).

(34) a. *uti* ***tëhë*** *apiama* *pi* *a* *ithou* *pihio*
uti ***=tëhë*** *apiama* *pi=* *a=* *itho* *=i* *pihi* *=o*
INT.PRO **=REL.PRS** airplane FOC.INT= 3SG= alight =DYN will =STV
kura *?*
ku *=ra*
COP =PRS

‘When will the airplane land?’

b. *uti pi* ***thëha*** *thuwë thëpë*
uti *=pi* ***=thë*** ***=ha*** *thuwë* *thë=* *pë=*
INT.PRO =FOC.INT **=CLN.GNR** **=PURP** woman CLN.GNR= 3PL=
utupë *toaihe* *?*
utupë= *toa* *=i* *=he*
image= take =DYN =3PL
‘Why do they take pictures of the women?’ (PDYP_MIC_A_13_13)

c. *kariperu pë rëa* *mahiki* *tëhë* *,*
kariperu *pë=* *rë* *=a* *mahi* *=ki* *=tëhë*
miner 3PL= spill_out =PFV.VWL much =PFV2 =REL.PRS
*uti**naha*** *ya* *pihi* *kurayu* *tha* *?*
uti ***=naha*** *ya=* *pihi=* *ku* *=rayu* *=tha*
INT.PRO **=thereby** 1SG= V.PTC:thought= say =PFV1 =PTC.INT
‘When a lot of miners had spread out, how should I think?’
(m003_manu_gari)

The strategies used in other types of questions to indicate that the clause must be interpreted as interrogative are also found in adverbial questions: this indication can be done by simply changing the prosodic stress to the last syllable of the clause (34b), with the interrogative particle *=tha* (34c), or a *k*-word (34a). The clauses in (34a) and (34c) have their stress shifted to the final syllable as well. Adverbial questions also make use of the interrogative pronoun *uti*.

The second main difference is the following: the interrogative pronoun does not combine with the case marker enclitics of Cluster A but with the conjunctions and other morphemes of Cluster C, such as *=tëhë* ‘when’, *=ha* ‘purpose’ and *=naha* ‘manner’, in bold in (34), or even with one of these morphemes and a relative clause with the copular element *ku* ‘to exist’, as in (35). The construction in (35) is an alternative to (34a) for inquiring about the time of an event that will take place in the future. For asking about the time of a past event, only the constructions with the interrogative expression of (34a) (*uti tëhë* ‘when’) are grammatical.

(35) *uti* ***naha*** ***thëni*** ***kureha*** *ai*

uti ***=naha*** ***thë=*** ***ni=*** ***ku*** ***=re*** ***=ha*** *ai*

INT.PRO **=thereby** **CLN.GNR=** **V.PTC=** **exist** **=PRE.HOD** **=OBL** other

reahu *wamaa* *thaɨ* *kõo* *pihio* *tha*

reahu *wama=* *a=* *tha* *=ɨ* *kõ* *=o* *pihi* *=o* *=tha*

festival 2PL= 3SG= do; make =DYN again =STV will =STV =PTC.INT *?*

'When are you are going to organize another funeral festival?'

This feature is certainly related to the first difference described above, that is, that the answer to these questions is prototypically a clause which can frequently be realized as a subordinate or coordinate clause, taking the same conjunctions (or other morphemes) that appear in combination with the interrogative pronoun *uti* in (33). Possible (full) answers to the questions in (33) are presented in (36). The conjunctions are in bold. It should be noted that the second clause in (36c), which is the information actually focused on in the question, is not a subordinate clause, and that the adverbial morpheme *=naha* occurs in the first clause, which is the mere repetition of predicate already expressed in the question (34c). This is due to the fact that the compound verb *pihi kuu* 'to think' (like in "I think that he is angry at me.") is an intransitive verb in YMA and often appears in predicates either with the anaphoric adverb *ɨnaha* 'thereby', 'like that', as in (4), or the cataphoric counterpart *hapai naha* 'like the following', (36c). The English complement clause 'that he is angry at me' is realized in YMA as a syntactically independent clause, which precedes or succeeds the predicate with the verb 'to think', depending on the directionality of the adverb employed in it (whether cataphoric or anaphoric).

(36) a. *maa* *a* *kei* *maprario* ***tëhë*** *a*

maa *a=* *ke* *=ɨ* *ma* *=pra* *=rio* ***=tëhë*** *a=*

rain 3SG= fall =DYN not_exist =DRV =PFV1 **=REL.PRS** 3SG= *ithorayu* .

itho *=rayu*

alight =PFV1

‘When it stops raining, it will land.’

b. *ai napë pëha thëpë utupë*

ai napë =pë =ha thë= pë= utupë=

other white person =PL =OBL CLN.GNR= 3PL= image=

*taamaihe**ha** thëpë utupë*

*taa =ma =i =he **=ha** thë= pë= utupë=*

see =CAUS =DYN =3PL **=PURP** CLN.GNR= 3PL= image=

toaihe .

toa =i =he

take =DYN =3PL

‘They take pictures of them to show the pictures to other white people.’

c. *hapai naha ya pihi kurayu ; yamaki*

hapai =naha ya= pihi= ku =rayu yamaki=

CAT =thereby 1SG= V.PTCL:thought= to say =PFV1 1PL=

nomarayopë !

noma =rayo =pë

to die =PFV1 =FUT

‘I will think the following: “we are going to die!”’

Table 3 offers some of the interrogative expressions found in adverbial questions in YMA.

Table 3 - Adverbial interrogative expressions

Form	Gloss
uti =naha	How? (manner)
uti =tëhë	When? (past and future)
uti=naha thë=ni= [tete] kuta =ri=ni	When? (future)
uti=naha thë=ni= kure=ha	When? (future)
uti =thë=ha	Why?

One should note that the interrogative expression of reason/purpose ('why') may be regarded as a partial exception to the characterization exposed above since it is the combination of the interrogative pronoun *uti*, the general classifier *=thë* and what seems to be the oblique case marker *=ha*. Indeed, the purpose conjunction *=ha* apparently has its origins in the oblique case marker *=ha*. Moreover, I analyze the requirement of the classifier *=thë* when the conjunction *=ha* appears in combination with the interrogative pronoun *uti* as a fossilized feature related to its nominal origin. Nevertheless, note that the general classifier *=thë* is not required when the conjunction *=ha* is being used outside the question context, as in (36c). See also the formulaic questions with this conjunction in (38). There are still other morphemes and combinations of morphemes that can mark a clause as a subordinate clause of reason/purpose, such as the expression *=kutayo=ni* or the conjunction *=yaro* of the example in (37). However, neither *=yaro* nor *=kutayoni* can combine with the interrogative pronoun *uti*. I do not have an explanation for this restriction.

(37) *ai napë pëha thëpë utupë riã*
ai napë =pë =ha thë= pë= utupë= riã=
other white person =PL =OBL CLN.GNR= 3PL= image= VOL=
*taamaɨ **yaro**he thëpë utupë*
*taa =ma =ɨ **=yaro** =he thë= pë= utupë=*
see =CAUS =DYN **=CNJ.EXPLV** =3PL CLN.GNR= 3PL= image=
toaɨhe .
toa =ɨ =he
take =DYN =3PL
'They take pictures of them to show the pictures to other white people.'

In any event, there are alternative constructions for questioning about the reason or purpose of an event. One them is through a formulaic construction with the verb *thaɨ* 'to do' marked with the purpose conjunction *=ha*, as in the examples in (38). This formula can be translated as 'X did Y, with the purpose of doing what?'.

(38) a. ***uti wamathë thaiha heamɨ***
uti wama= thë= tha =i =ha *heamɨ*
INT.PRO 2PL= CLN.GNR= do; make =DYN =PURP here
wamakɨ huu xi wãripru tha ?
wamakɨ= hu =ɨ xi= wãri =pru =ɨ =tha
2PL= go =DYN V.PTC= always =DRV =DYN =PTC.INT
'What are you doing here to come every time?' (m004_paya_gari)

b. ***uti thë thaiheha*** *proro pë*
uti thë= tha =ɨ =he =ha *proro pë=*
INT.PRO CLN.GNR= do; make =DYN =3PL =PURP miner 3PL=
pi ya taaɨ sihe ?
pi= ya= taa =ɨ =si =he
FOC.INT= 1SG= see =DYN =PTC.INT =3PL
'The miners [come to] see me in order to do what?' (i.e. 'Why do they come here?') (m005_wawa_gari)

Another way of formulating a purpose question is with the subordinate clause of time *uti naha X pihi ha kuni...* which can be translated as 'what X was thinking before...'. Here the main clause is the event for which the speaker is questioning the purpose or reason (i.e. 'what X was thinking before doing Y)'. Example (39) illustrates this formulaic question.

(39) ***uti*** ***naha*** ***wa*** ***pihi*** ***ha*** ***kuni*** *ware*
uti ***=naha*** ***wa=*** ***pihi=*** ***ha=*** ***ku*** ***=ni*** *ware=*
INT.PRO =thereby 2SG= V.PTC:thought= REL.PST= say =REL.PST 1SG=
ãha *haimai* *tha* *?*
ãha= *hai* *=ma* *=i* *=tha*
sound= pass =CAUS =DYN =PTC.INT

'What do you think before you say my name?' (i.e 'With what purpose do you mention my name?') (m006_arok_mari)

This section is a brief introduction to adverbial questions. There are still open issues about other categories, such as an attribute of an entity, and other formulaic questions that were left out of this description. Furthermore, several features of these constructions were not mentioned here because they fall out of the scope of this study, which is the YMA main clause structure.

12.4. Final remarks

This chapter investigated the grammatical features of non-declarative clauses in YMA. Prosody seems to play a major role in structuring these constructions, even though the language also provides morphosyntactic mechanisms that interact with prosodic ones. A more in-depth and detailed description of these suprasegmental features still needs to be conducted to confirm my observations. More investigation is also needed on the morphosyntactic structure of questions, especially on adverbial questions, which were discussed very briefly and superficially here. I expect to fill these gaps in a future study of complex constructions in YMA.

13. What's next: further research on YMA

This study has provided a comprehensive morphosyntactic description of the independent clause in YMA. However, many features like case marking or valency and voicing marking morphology have not been illustrated with independent but with dependent clauses, since the patterns were the same. The pair of examples in (1) ilustrates some of these similarities. Note that the person indexes, the case markers, causative morpheme (*=ma*) and the perfective one (*=ri*) are the same in both sentences.

(1) a. *kami ya**ni*** *ipa* *uhuru* *e**ha*** *himini* ***ya***
kami *=ya* ***=ni*** *ipa* *uhuru* *=e* ***=ha*** *himini* ***ya=***
1 =1SG **=ERG** 1POS child =DIF.PART **=OBL** medicine **1SG=**
kiki *koa**mare**ma* .
kiki= *koa* ***=ma*** ***=ri*** *=ma*
CLN:collective= to drink **=CAUS** **=PFV1** =PST
'I made my son drink some medicine.'

b. *[kami ya**ni*** *ipa* *uhuru* *e**ha*** *himini* ***ya***
kami *=ya* ***=ni*** *ipa* *uhuru* *=e* ***=ha*** *himini* ***ya=***
1 =1SG **=ERG** 1POS child =DIF.PART **=OBL** medicine **1SG=**
kiki *ha* *koa**mari**ni* *] , a*
kiki= *ha=* *koa* ***=ma*** ***=ri*** *=ni* *a=*
CLN:collective= REL.PST= to drink **=CAUS** **=PFV1** =REL.PST 3SG=
hãtõhõprarioma .
hãtõhõ *=pra* *=rio* *=ma*
reduce_intensity =DRV =PFV1 =PST
'My son got better after I had made him drink some medicine.'

Of course, other grammatical domains behave differently and there are in fact many mismatches between these two types of clauses. I would like to give a foretaste of these differences in this last chapter.

The morphology for marking tense in relative clauses, for instance, is very different from that of the main clause, as was mentioned in Chapter 11 (see §11.3.1.1). The examples in (2) illustrate how the tense markers in independent and dependent clauses differ.

(2) a. *[thuë anɨ xote he ta*
thuë =a =nɨ xote he= ta=
woman =3SG =ERG basket CLN:round= FOC=
*toa**piri**i] a nomarayu ku**re** .*
*toa **=piri** =i a= noma =rayu ku **=re***
take **=PRE.HOD** =REL 3SG= die =PFV1 COP **=PRE.HOD**
'The woman that took the basket in the other day died.' (+PRE.HOD)

b. *[thuë anɨ xote he ka toa**pi**i]*
*thuë =a =nɨ xote he= ka= toa **=pi** =i*
woman =3SG =ERG basket CLN:round= FOC= take **=HOD** =REL
*a nomarayu ka**ni** .*
*a= noma =rayu ku **=ni***
3SG= die =PFV1 COP **=HOD**
'The woman that took the basket today has just died.' (+HOD)

Subordinate clauses of time may specify yet other categories that are not found in independent clauses, such as the relative present and the relative past. These two categories are part of an endophoric tense system which places the event expressed by the subordinate clause in the time frame provided by the subsequent clause. The subordinate event may be previous (relative past) or simultaneous (relative present) to the event conveyed by the following predicate, as in (3). Note that the relative present is marked through the enclitic *=tëhë* in (3b), while the relative past is indicated through the combination of the proclitic *ha=* and the enclitic *=nɨ* in (3a).

(3) a. *[napë a* ***ha*** *huëri****ni*** *] a*
*napë a= **ha=** huë =ri **=ni** a=*
white person 3SG= **REL.PST=** grab =PFV1 **=REL.PST** 3SG=
karukupoma .
karuku =po =ma
restrain =CSVT =PST
'[He] kept the white person on the floor after grabbing him.' (s_ball_cesa)
(lit.: 'Having [he] grabbed the white person before, he kept him restrained on the ground')

b. *[napë a katëtëpuu* ***tëhë*** *] pora a*
*napë a= katëtëpu =u **=tëhë** pora a=*
white person 3SG= restrain =DYN **=REL.PRS** ball 3SG=
mairema .
mai =ri =ma
hit =PFV1 =PST
'He threw the ball while the white person was being restrained on the floor [by the other].' (s_ball_niki1)[1]

This study did not touch upon the wide variety of meanings and discourse functions that subordinate clauses can convey in YMA, which include reason/purpose, concession, location, verbal complementation, comparison, and several types of counter-factual functions. Among the latter type of subordinate clauses, the hypothetical counter-factual conjunction *=kunaha* seems to be very rare from a typological perspective (Haiman ande Kuteva, 2002:112). This morpheme is used exclusively to mark subordinate clauses that portrait events which are considered unlikely hypotheses, because they contradict either what actually happened in the past

[1] *karukupuu* and *katëtëpuu* are partial synonyms. Both verbs mean 'to restrain someone on the ground', but they differ in the posture adopted by the restrainer. While *katëtëpuu* implies that (s)he is using only the knees and the hands to keep the other still, *karukupuu* implies that the restrainer is hugging the other person with his/her whole body.

or is going on in the present, as in (4a), or is really not likely to occur in the future, at least in the speaker's opinion, as in (4b).

(4) a. *[maa kei maa* ***kunaha*** *] ya xa*
maa ke =i ma =o ***=kunaha*** *ya= xa=*
rain fall =DYN not_exist =STV **=CNT.FACT** 1SG= COND=
arayono .
a =rayu =no
SG =PFV1 =RESULT
'If it was not raining [but it is], I would have gone.'

b. *[kami yaha wamaki ka huu* ***kunaha*** *] wamaki*
kami =ya =ha wamaki= ka= hu =u ***=kunaha*** *wamaki=*
1 =1SG =OBL 2PL= FOC= go =DYN **=CNT.FACT** 2PL=
pihi kurayuu .
pihi= ku =rayu
V.PTC:thought= say =PFV1
'If you come here, you will understand then.' (m001_joan_tihi) (It implies that [the speaker thinks that] the people will never go to her place).

If the speaker had perceived the hypothetical event in (4b) as a real possibility in the future, she would have used the relative present marker *=tëhë* instead, as in (5).

(5) *[kami yaha wamaki ka huu* ***tëhë*** *] wamaki*
kami =ya =ha wamaki= ka= hu =u ***=tëhë*** *wamaki=*
1 =1SG =OBL 2PL= FOC= go =DYN **=REL.PRS** 2PL=
pihi kurayuu .
pihi= ku =rayu
V.PTC:thought= say =PFV1
'If/when you come here, you will then understand.' (It implies that [the speaker thinks that] the people may go to her place).

There is also much more to be said about the different strategies of relativization in the language. The constructions in (2) illustrate one of the three strategies (and

possibly the less productive one) available in YMA. Indeed, the most common way of relativizing a clause in the language is through clause nominalization with the morpheme *=wei*, like in the examples in (6). The pair of examples in (6) is of typological interest for the following reason. In YMA, relative clauses are head-internal (Comrie, 1989: 145), i.e., their head noun appears inside the relative clause itself. As a consequence of this, the relative clause in (6a) is exactly the same of that in (6b). It is an index marker on the main clause verb that specifies which noun of the clause is the actual antecedent of the relative clause: in (6a) the index *a=* (in bold) refers to the woman (*thuë* ***a***) while in (6b) the noun classifier *he=* (also in bold) indicates that the head of the relative clause is the basket (*xote* ***he***).

(6) a. *[thuë* ***a****nɨ* *xote* *he* *ka* *tiyëɨ*

thuë ***=a*** *=nɨ* *xote* *he=* *ka=* *tiyë* *=ɨ*

woman **=3SG** =ERG basket CLN:round= FOC= weave =DYN

wei *]* ***a*** *nomarayoma* .

=wei ***a=*** *noma* *=rayu* *=ma*

=NMLZ **3SG=** die =PFV1 =PST

'The woman who wove the basket died.'

b. *[thuë anɨ* *xote* ***he*** *ka* *tiyëɨ* *wei*

thuë *=a* *=nɨ* *xote* ***he=*** *ka=* *tiyë* *=ɨ* *=wei*

woman =3SG =ERG basket **CLN:round=** FOC= weave =DYN =NMLZ

] ***he*** *hoximi* .

he= *hoximi*

CLN:round= bad

'The basket that the woman wove is awful.'

One should note that when both nouns of a transitive relative clause take the same morphology, there is a potential ambiguity in the construction. For instance, if the noun of (6b) were *wɨɨ* ***a*** 'carrying basket' instead, the whole structure would turn ambiguous, as in (7).

(7) *[thuë **a**nɨ wɨɨ **a** ka tiyëɨ*

*thuë **=a** =nɨ wɨɨ **a=** ka= tiyë =ɨ*

woman **=3SG** =ERG carrying basket **3SG=** FOC= weave =DYN

*wei] **a** hoximi .*

*=wei **a=** hoximi*

=NMLZ **3SG=** bad

'The carrying basket that the woman wove is awful.' or 'The woman who wove the carrying basket is awful.'

Clause nominalization with *=wei*, which can have yet other syntactic functions, such as verb complementation and noun modification, is the second most productive type of dependent clause. In our sample of 2100 clauses, I found 408 instances of this type. The most common type of dependent clause is the adverbial subordinate clause of relative past (*ha=...=nɨ*) with 453 tokens and the third one the subordinate clause of relative present (*=tëhë*) with 168 examples. These three main types of the dependent clauses correspond by themselves to 1029 or 49% of the total of clauses of the sample, including the independent ones. Indeed, in this sample, there are many more dependent than independent clauses. The proportion is about 17 dependent clauses for every 10 independent ones (1324/776).

These numbers are explained by a feature that arises only at the text level: which is the possibility of chaining several subordinate clauses, one after the other, dispensing with the need of a formal independent clause intervening between them, resulting in sometimes extremely long strings of (inter)dependent clauses. The first 22 clauses of the recording <s_tree_mrio>[2] of our corpus form a clause-chain of this type. The whole narrative is presented in 25 clauses, only 3 of which are independent clauses. Further interesting grammatical features of YMA are related to clause-chaining, such as the switch-reference and coreferentiality devices, which help to structure the information within texts. Although they fall outside the scope of the present study, they certainly call for further detailed analysis.

[2] In this recording, a speaker is telling the story of the video-stimulus he had just seen.

I am still working on these topics, and I expect to bring them to light in a separate study shortly. Hopefully that will be seen as the second volume of a more comprehensive description of the YMA clause structure, the first volume of which is the present study.

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Summary

The primary purpose of this work is to fill a significant gap in the description of the Yanomami languages by offering an in-depth description of the morphology and the syntactic structure of a variety of the Yanomam language, the language of the Yanomami family with the highest number of speakers in Brazil (~12.000). Differently from other Yanomami languages, such as Ninam, Sanima and Yanomami, the varieties of the Yanomam group have not been the subject of such a scrutiny yet. This work intends to be the first of two volumes of a comprehensive grammatical description of the Yanomam variety spoken in the Papiu region by about 400 people and regionally know as Yanomama (YMA). Most of the corpus used in this work was gathered in the context of the Project for the Documentation of the Yanomama of Papiu, which has produced an extensive archive of almost 60 hours of audio and video recordings, 39 hours of which are at least transcribed and 25 are also translated. In this book, I will only deal with grammatical aspects of the YMA's simple sentences, while in a planned second volume I will be focused on aspects of multi-clausal constructions in YMA, such as coordination, subordination, clause-chaining and other discursive resources of the language. This first volume is organized as follows.

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the Yanomami people and their territory and discusses some aspects of the Yanomami linguistic family, such as its internal diversity, possible genetic relations, demography and early literature. The chapter also presents the corpus used in this thesis and outlines its general structure.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the YMA segmental and suprasegmental phonology, by offering the phoneme inventory of the language and the basic phonological features of the YMA words and sentences. In that chapter, some phonological processes will also be discussed and the orthography adopted in this work will be presented.

Chapter 3 lays the basis for the formal definition of nouns and verbs in YMA. Nouns and verbs are not only different by their semantic properties, but they display

a different syntactic distribution and morphological possibilities. One important parameter to identify nouns and verbs in the language regards their position in relation to the three main clitic clusters of the language and their ability to host these different clusters. While nouns can host very few clitic types and only on their right, verbs have both sides opened to receive bound morphemes, which also are much more diverse than nominal morphology.

Chapter 4 investigates the different types of noun in the language. We will see that YMA has three main types, which have different morphological structures and syntactic properties. I will also deal with other constituents of a typical nominal phrase in YMA, such as personal and possessive pronouns, demonstratives and quantifiers.

Chapter 5 examines the different types of verbs in YMA. We will see that there four basic types of verb stems – attributive, positional, dynamic and irregular – which are different from each other by their morphosyntactic properties and, at a certain degree, semantic features. Moreover, we will see that those stems may be morphologically simple words – made of only one lexical element (the verb root) – or complex words – decomposable in one root and one or more deriving morphemes. The notion of flexible roots – i.e. roots that can appear as different types of verb stem, dispensing with the need of any derivation – will also be discussed in that chapter.

Chapter 6 deals with the YMA's extremely rich and polysynthetic verbal morphology. The language has dedicated morphology to express several tense, aspectual, locational, directional and polarity categories. Derivational morphology is also quite rich in YMA, allowing the speakers to create new verbs from almost any noun (and also from other verbs). The morphological mechanisms that derive verbs in nouns will also be discussed there.

Chapter 7 is concerned with the argument marking strategies found in YMA. Besides the word order, which is quite rigid regarding the placement of the

absolutive argument before the verb, we will see that YMA has a case system and set of verbal indexes to express the syntactic configuration of the clause.

Chapter 8 discusses non-verbal predication, i.e. clauses that lack a verb or make use of copular elements only. We will see that verb-less predicates are relatively rare in the language. Many of the constructions that in other languages tend to be expressed by verb-less clauses, such as attributive, equative, locational and possessive predicates, require a copular element or are expressed by lexically rich verbal stems.

Chapter 9 deals with the voice and valence change mechanisms of the language. We will see that YMA displays several morphological possibilities in this subject, allowing the speakers to increase the valence of the verb through causative and applicative derivations (two types of applicatives) and to reduce it through reflexive and reciprocal derivations. The language also has two mechanisms that only change the diathesis (voice) of the clause without changing its valence.

Chapter 10 discusses multi-verbal predicates which occur in clauses that display more than one verb stem. Multi-verbal predicates in YMA include secondary predication, adverbial modification, serial verbs constructions and several types of highly integrated complementation constructions. In this chapter, I intend to characterize these constructions comparatively, point out the main semantic and formal differences and similarities between them.

Chapter 11 describes the expression of the five evidentiality categories found in the YMA's texts. We will see that language developed two series of words (the *k-* and the *m-* words) that take part in most of the constructions marked for an evidentiality category. These words, apart from their evidentiality meaning, are also an alternative way of expressing several verbal categories (such as tense and space) for which the language has a separate and dedicated morphology, as explained in *Chapter 6*.

Chapter 12 deals with non-declarative clauses. I will describe how polarity questions and questions about the arguments of the clause are structured in the

language. Manipulative speech acts, such as imperative, prohibitive and permissive, will also be discussed here.

Finally, the concluding *Chapter 13* presents a discussion of the work that still needs to be done on the description and analysis of YMA.

Resumo

O objetivo principal deste trabalho é preencher uma lacuna significativa na descrição das línguas Yanomami, oferecendo uma descrição em profundidade da morfologia e da estrutura sintática de uma variedade da língua Yanomam, a língua da família Yanomami com a maior número de falantes no Brasil (~12.000). Diferentemente de outras línguas Yanomami, como Ninam, Sanima e Yanomami, as variedades do grupo Yanomam ainda não foram objeto de tal escrutínio. Este trabalho pretende ser o primeiro de dois volumes de uma abrangente descrição gramatical da variedade Yanomam falada na região do Papiu e conhecida regionalmente como Yanomama (YMA). A maior parte do corpus usado neste trabalho foi recolhido no contexto do Projeto de Documentação do Yanomama de Papiu, que produziu um amplo arquivo de 60 horas de gravações de áudio e vídeo, 39 horas das quais estão transcritas e 25 também traduzidas. Este livro trata apenas das orações simples do YMA, enquanto que o planejado segundo volume estará focado em fenômenos do período composto, como coordenação, subordinação, encadeamento de orações e outros recursos discursivos. Este primeiro volume é organizado como a seguir.

O *Capítulo 1* apresenta o povo Yanomami e seu território e discute alguns aspectos da família linguística Yanomami, tais como sua diversidade interna, possíveis relações genéticas, demografia e literatura anterior. O capítulo apresenta também o corpus utilizado nesta tese e sua estrutura geral.

O *Capítulo 2* dá uma visão geral da fonologia segmental e suprassegmental do YMA, oferecendo o inventário fonêmico da língua e as características fonológicas básicas das palavras e frases do YMA. Neste capítulo, serão discutidos alguns processos fonológicos e será apresentada a ortografia adotada neste trabalho.

O *Capítulo 3* estabelece a base para a definição formal de substantivos e verbos no YMA. Substantivos e verbos não são apenas diferentes por suas propriedades semânticas, mas exibem diferentes possibilidades morfológicas e distribuição sintática. Um parâmetro importante para identificar substantivos e verbos na língua refere-se à sua posição em relação aos três principais grupos de clíticos da língua e à

sua capacidade de hospedar esses diferentes grupos. Enquanto os substantivos podem hospedar muito poucos tipos de clíticos e somente pelo lado direito, os verbos têm ambos os lados abertos para receber morfemas ligados, que também são muito mais diversos do que a morfologia dos substantivos.

O *Capítulo 4* investiga os diferentes tipos de substantivos da língua. Veremos que o YMA tem três tipos principais de nomes, que possuem diferentes estruturas morfológicas e propriedades sintáticas. Também tratarei nesse capítulo de outros constituintes de uma frase nominal típica em YMA, como pronomes pessoais e possessivos, demonstrativos e quantificadores. A morfologia nominal, que é muito menos complicada e mais isolante do que a verbal, também será discutida ali.

O *Capítulo 5* examina os diferentes tipos de verbos em YMA. Veremos que existem quatro tipos básicos de radicais verbais na língua – atributivos, posicionais, dinâmicos e irregulares - que são diferentes entre si por suas propriedades morfossintáticas e, em certo grau, pelas características semânticas. Além disso, veremos que esses radicais podem ser palavras morfologicamente simples - feitas de apenas um elemento lexical (a raiz do verbo) - ou palavras complexas - decomponíveis em uma raiz e um ou mais morfemas derivados. A noção de raízes flexíveis - isto é, raízes que podem aparecer em diferentes tipos de radicais verbais, dispensando a necessidade de qualquer derivação - também será discutida nesse capítulo.

O *Capítulo 6* trata da morfologia verbal extremamente rica e polissintética do YMA. A língua apresenta morfologia própria para expressar várias categorias de tempo, aspecto, modo, locação, direção e polaridade. A morfologia derivativa também é bastante rica em YMA, permitindo criar novos verbos a partir de qualquer substantivo (e de outros verbos também). Os mecanismos morfológicos que derivam verbos em substantivos também serão discutidos ali.

O *Capítulo 7* diz respeito às estratégias de marcação argumental encontradas no YMA. Além da ordem das palavras, que é bastante rígida em relação à colocação do argumento absolutivo antes do verbo, veremos que oYMA tem um sistema de casos e um conjunto de índices verbais para expressar a configuração sintática da cláusula.

O *Capítulo 8* discute a predicação não-verbal, isto é, as cláusulas que carecem de um verbo ou fazem uso apenas de elementos copulares. Veremos que os predicados sem verbo são relativamente raros na língua e que construções como predicados atributivos, equativos, locacionais e possessivos, requerem um elemento copular ou são expressas por radicais verbais lexicalmente ricos.

O *Capítulo 9* trata dos mecanismos de mudança de voz e de valência da língua. Veremos que o YMA apresenta várias possibilidades morfológicas neste assunto, permitindo que os falantes aumentem a valência do verbo através de derivações causais e aplicativas (dois tipos de aplicativos) e que a reduzam através de derivações reflexivas e recíprocas. A língua também tem dois mecanismos que só alteram a diátese (voz) da cláusula sem alterar sua valência.

O *Capítulo 10* discute predicados multi-verbais que ocorrem em cláusulas que exibem mais de um verbo. Os predicados multi-verbais no YMA incluem predicação secundária, modificação adverbial, construções de verbos em série e vários tipos de construções de complementação altamente integradas. Neste capítulo, pretendo caracterizar estas construções comparativamente, apontar as principais diferenças e semelhanças semânticas e formais entre elas.

O *Capítulo 11* descreve a expressão das cinco categorias de evidência encontradas nos textos do YMA. Veremos que a língua desenvolveu duas séries de palavras (as palavras *k-* e *m-*) que participam na maioria das construções marcadas para uma categoria de evidencialidade. Estas palavras, além do seu significado de evidencialidade, são também uma maneira alternativa de expressar algumas categorias verbais de tempo e espaço para as quais a língua tem uma outra morfologia, separada e exclusiva, como explicado no *Capítulo 6*.

O *Capítulo 12* trata de cláusulas não declarativas. Ali serão descritas as questões polares (perguntas de sim/não) e as questões sobre um argumento da oração, assim como os atos manipulativos de fala, como imperativo, proibitivo e permissivo.

Finalmente, o *Capítulo 13* apresenta uma discussão sobre o trabalho que ainda resta a ser feito sobre a descrição e análise gramatical do YMA.

Samenvatting

Het primaire doel van dit werk is een significant hiaat in de beschrijving van de Yanomami talen te vullen met een diepgaande beschrijving van de morfologie en de syntactische structuur van de Yanomam taal, de taal van de Yanomami familie met het grootste aantal sprekers in Brazilië (~12.000). Anders dan andere Yanomami talen, zoals Ninam, Sanima en Yanomami, zijn de variëteiten van de Yanomam groep nog niet het onderwerp geweest van een nauwkeurig onderzoek. Dit werk wil het eerste zijn van twee delen van een uitvoerige grammaticale beschrijving van de Yanomam variëteit die in het Papiu gebied door ongeveer 400 mensen wordt gesproken en in de regio als Yanomama (YMA) bekend staat. Het grootste deel van het corpus dat in dit werk wordt gebruikt werd verzameld in de context van het Project voor de Documentatie van Papiu Yanomama, dat een uitgebreid archief van bijna 60 uur audio- en video-opnamen omvat, waarvan ten minste 39 uur zijn getranscribeerd en 25 ook vertaald. In dit boek kan ik slechts grammaticale aspecten van de eenvoudige zin van het YMA behandelen, terwijl in een gepland tweede deel ik op aspecten inga van multi-clausale constructies in het YMA, zoals coördinatie, ondergeschiktheid, zinsketens en andere discursieve middelen van de taal. Dit eerste deel is als volgt georganiseerd.

Hoofdstuk 1 introduceert de lezer bij het Yanomami volk en hun grondgebied en bespreekt sommige aspecten van de Yanomami taalfamilie, zoals de interne diversiteit, mogelijke genetische relaties, demografie en eerdere literatuur. Het hoofdstuk presenteert ook het corpus dat in dit boek wordt gebruikt en schetst de globale structuur van het YMA.

Hoofdstuk 2 geeft een overzicht van de segmentale en suprasegmentale fonologie van het YMA, door de foneeminventaris van de taal en de fundamentele fonologische eigenschappen van de YMA woorden en zinnen te beschrijven. In dat hoofdstuk worden ook een aantal fonologische processen besproken en de spelling die in dit werk wordt gebruikt.

Hoofdstuk 3 legt de basis voor de formele definitie van zelfstandige naamwoorden en werkwoorden in het YMA. De zelfstandige naamwoorden en de werkwoorden verschillen niet alleen door hun semantische eigenschappen, maar zij vertonen ook een verschillende syntactische distributie en morfologische mogelijkheden. Eén belangrijke parameter om zelfstandige naamwoorden en werkwoorden in de taal te onderscheiden betreft hun positie met betrekking tot de drie belangrijke clitic clusters van de taal en hun mogelijkheden om deze verschillende clusters te herbergen. Terwijl zelfstandige naamwoorden zeer weinig clitic types kunnen herbergen en alleen aan hun rechterkant, hebben de werkwoorden beide kanten geopend om verbindende morfemen te ontvangen, die ook diverser zijn dan in de nominale morfologie.

Hoofdstuk 4 onderzoekt de verschillende soorten zelfstandig naamwoorden in de taal. Wij zullen zien dat YMA drie hoofdtypes heeft, met verschillende morfologische structuren en syntactische eigenschappen. Ik behandel ook andere typisch nominale constituenten in het YMA, zoals persoonlijke en possessieve voornaamwoorden, demonstratieven en quantificerende elementen.

Hoofdstuk 5 richt zich op de verschillende soorten werkwoorden in het YMA. Wij zullen zien dat er vier basistypes van attributieve, positionele, dynamische en onregelmatige werkwoordstammen zijn, die allemaal door hun morfo-syntactische en semantische eigenschappen verschillen. Voorts zullen wij zien dat die stammen morfologisch eenvoudige woorden kunnen zijn - die van slechts één lexicaal element (de werkwoordwortel) worden gemaakt - of complexe woorden - ontbindbaar in een wortel en één of meer dervationale morfemen. Het begrip flexibele wortels - d.w.z. wortels die als verschillende types verschijnen kunnen die van werkwoordstam, zonder derivatie - wordt ook besproken in dit hoofdstuk.

Hoofdstuk 6 behandelt de buitengewoon rijke en polysynthetische verbale morfologie van het YMA. De taal heeft de specifieke morfologie gewijd om verschillende categorieën voor tijd, aspect, plaats, richting en polariteit uit te drukken. De derivationele morfologie is ook vrij rijk in het YMA, waardoor de sprekers nieuwe

werkwoorden uit bijna om het even welk zelfstandig naamwoord (en ook van andere werkwoorden) te creëren. De morfologische mechanismen die werkwoorden in zelfstandige naamwoorden afleiden worden ook besproken.

Hoofdstuk 7 gaat over de argumentmarkerende strategieën die in het YMA worden gevonden. Naast woordvolgorde, die betreffende de plaatsing van het absolutieve argument vóór het werkwoord vrij rigide is, zullen wij zien dat YMA een naamvalssysteem en een reeks verbale indexen heeft om de syntactische configuratie van de zin uit te drukken.

Hoofdstuk 8 bespreekt niet-verbale predicatie, d.w.z. zinnen die geen werkwoord hebben of met een koppelwerkwoord. Wij zullen zien dat werkwoordsloze predikaten in de taal vrij zeldzaam zijn. Veel van de constructies die in andere talen vaak met werkwoordsloze zinnen gevormd worden, zoals attributieve, gelijkstellende, locatieve en possessieve predikaten, vereisen in het YMA een koppelwerkwoord of een lexicale verbale stam.

Hoofdstuk 9 behandelt mechanismen van de taal om verbale wijze en valentie te martkeren. Wij zullen zien dat het YMA verscheidene morfologische mogelijkheden heeft, dat de sprekers toestaat om de valentie van het werkwoord te verhogen door causatieve en applicatieve derivaties (twee soorten applicatieven) en te reduceren door wederkerende en wederkerige derivaties. De taal heeft ook twee mechanismen die alleen de diathese (wijs) van de zin aanpassen zonder de valentie te veranderen.

Hoofdstuk 10 bespreekt multi-verbale predikaten, die in zinnen voorkomen die meer dan één werkwoordstam bevatten. De multi-verbale predikaten in het YMA omvatten secundaire predicatie, bijwoordelijke modificatie, seriële werkwoordsconstructies en verschillende types van sterk geïntegreerdee onderschikking. In dit hoofdstuk vergelijk ik deze constructies onderling, in termen van de belangrijkste semantische en formele verschillen en parallellen.

Hoofdstuk 11 beschrijft de uitdrukking van de vijf categorieën voor evidentialiteit die in YMA teksten worden gevonden. Wij zullen zien dat de taal twee reeksen woorden ontwikkelde (*k* en *m* woorden) die in de meeste constructies voor

evidentialiteit voorkomen. Deze woorden zijn, naast hun rol als evidentialiteitsmarkeerders, ook een alternatieve manier om verschillende werkwoordscategorieën (zoals tijd en ruimte) uit te drukken, waarvoor de taal een afzonderlijke en specifieke morfologie heeft, zoals uitgelegd in Hoofdstuk 6.

Hoofdstuk 12 behandelt niet-declatieve zinnen. Ik zal beschrijven hoe ja-nee vragen en de vragen over de argumenten van de zin in de taal gestructureerd zijn. Taalhandelingen zoals imperatief, prohibitief en permissief komen hier ook aan de orde.

Tot slot bespreekt *Hoofdstuk 13* de dingen die voor de beschrijving en de analyse van het YMA nog moeten worden gedaan.

Curriculum vitae

Helder Perri Ferreira was born on July 1st, 1976 in São Paulo, Brazil. He earned a Bachelor's degree in Portuguese Language and Literature from the University of São Paulo (USP/FFLCH) in 2001. In 2002, he moved to Roraima where he got involved in intercultural educational projects among the Yanomami people and eventually learned one of their languages. In 2009, he completed a Master's degree (*cum laude*) in Indoamerican Linguistics at the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS/MLI) in Mexico with a dissertation on the nominal classifiers of Yanomama. Helder has also been working in several documentation projects on different Yanomami languages, being the first to describe and document the Ỹaroamë variety of Serra do Pacu in 2011, a previously unknown Yanomami language. In 2010, he was awarded an ELDP small grant to document the Yanomama language of Papiu. This project received further support from Museu do Índio (Funai), the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA), Hutukara Associação Yanomami (HAY) and the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG/FAE). Most of the examples used in this thesis were extracted from the archive that this documentation project has produced.